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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

SECOND PART

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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART II.

S. IGNATIVS.
S. POLYCARP.

REVISED TEXTS
WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, DISSERTATIONS,
AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY

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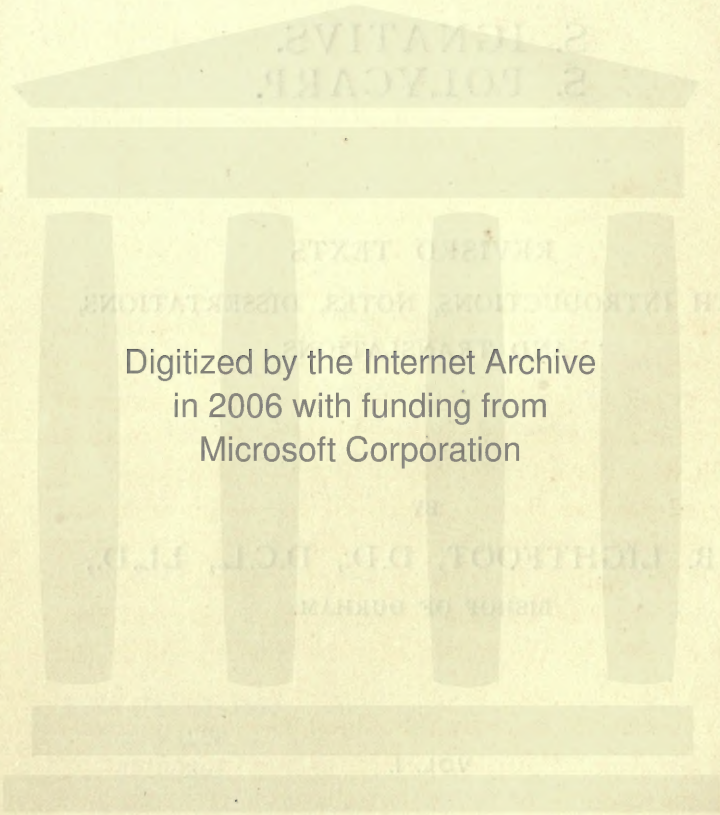
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PREFACE.

THE present work arose out of a keen interest in the Ignatian question which I conceived long ago. The subject has been before me for nearly thirty years, and during this period it has engaged my attention off and on in the intervals of other literary pursuits and official duties. Meanwhile my plan enlarged itself so as to comprehend an edition of all the Apostolic Fathers; and the portion comprising S. Clement (1869), followed after the discovery of Bryennios by an Appendix (1877), was the immediate result. But the work which I now offer to the public was the motive, and is the core, of the whole.

When I first began to study the subject, Cureton's discovery dominated the field. With many others I was led captive for a time by the tyranny of this dominant force. I never once doubted that we possessed in one form or another the genuine letters of Ignatius. I could not then see, and I cannot see now, how this conclusion can be resisted, except by a mode of dealing with external evidence which, if extensively applied, would reduce all historical and literary criticism to chaos. If therefore the choice had lain between the seven Vossian Epistles and nothing, I should without hesitation have ranged

myself with Ussher and Pearson and Rothe, rather than with Daillé and Baur. Though I saw some difficulties, they were not to my mind of such magnitude as to counterbalance the direct evidence on the other side.

When however the short Syriac of Cureton appeared, it seemed to me at first to offer the true solution. I was not indeed able to see, as others saw, any theological difference between the Curetonian and Vossian letters; but in the abridged form some extravagances of language at all events had disappeared, and this was a gain. For a time therefore I accepted the Curetonian letters as representing the genuine Ignatius, and this opinion was expressed in some of my published works. Subsequent investigation however convinced me of the untenableness of this position. At an early stage an independent investigation of the relations between the Armenian and the Syriac assured me that there had existed at one time a complete Syriac version of the seven Vossian Epistles, of which fragments still remained, and of which the Curetonian recension was either the abridgement or the nucleus. The theory of the priority of the Curetonian letters, which I then held, required me to regard it as the nucleus, which had been afterwards expanded into a complete version of the seven Epistles by translating the additional parts from the Greek. This was not the *prima facie* explanation of the facts, but still it then seemed to me possible. Afterwards Zahn's monograph, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, was published (1873). This appears to me to be quite the most important contribution which has been made to the subject since the publication of the Curetonian letters. I could have wished indeed that he had adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards opponents. Moreover his maintenance of untenable positions in other departments of early Christian literature may have created a prejudice against his labours here. But these drawbacks ought not to blind us to the great value of the book. His historical discussions have not only removed difficulties, but have discovered or suggested

harmonies, which are a highly important factor in the solution of the question. I must therefore assign to this work a distinct place in the train of influences which led to my change of opinion. Meanwhile, in revising my own exegetical notes, which had been written some years before, I found that to maintain the priority of the Curetonian letters I was obliged from time to time to ascribe to the supposed Ignatian forger feats of ingenuity, knowledge, intuition, skill, and self-restraint, which transcended all bounds of probability. At this stage I gave expression publicly to my growing conviction that after all the seven Vossian Epistles probably represented the genuine Ignatius. Afterwards I entered upon the investigation, which will be found in this volume (p. 282 sq.), into the language of the two recensions. This dispelled any shadow of doubt which might have remained; for it showed clearly that the additional parts of the Vossian Letters must have proceeded from the same hand as the parts which were common to the Curetonian and Vossian Recensions.

I have explained thus briefly the history of my own change of opinion, not because the processes of my mind are of any value to any one else, but because the account places before the reader the main points at issue in a concrete form.

For reasons therefore which will be found not only in the separate discussion devoted to the subject, but throughout these volumes, I am now convinced of the priority and genuineness of the seven Vossian Letters. Indeed Zahn's book, though it has been before the world some twelve years, has never been answered; for I cannot regard the brief and cursory criticisms of Renan, Hilgenfeld, and others, as any answer. Moreover there is much besides to be said which Zahn has not said. We have indeed been told more than once that 'all impartial critics' have condemned the Ignatian Epistles as spurious. But this moral intimidation is unworthy of the eminent writers who have sometimes indulged in it, and will certainly not be permitted to foreclose the investigation. If the ecclesiastical

terrorism of past ages has lost its power, we shall, in the interests of truth, be justly jealous of allowing an academic terrorism to usurp its place. Only when our arguments have been answered, can we consent to abandon documents which have the unbroken tradition of the early centuries in their favour.

For on which side, judging from the nature of the question, may we expect the greater freedom from bias? To the disciples of Baur the rejection of the Ignatian Epistles is an absolute necessity of their theological position. The ground would otherwise be withdrawn from under them, and their reconstructions of early Christian history would fall in ruins on their heads. On the other hand those, who adopt the traditional views of the origin of Christianity and of the history of the Church as substantially correct, may look with comparative calmness on the result. The loss of the Ignatian Epistles would be the loss of one buttress to their fabric; but the withdrawal would not materially affect the stability of the fabric itself.

It has been stated already that a long period has elapsed since this edition was first conceived. But its execution likewise has been protracted through several years. Nor were the pages passed through the press in the same order in which they appear in the volumes as completed. It is necessary to state these facts, because in some places the absence of reference to works which have now been long before the public might create surprise. In these cases my work has at least the advantage of entire independence, which will enhance the value of the results where they are the same. The commentary on the genuine Epistles of Ignatius and the introduction and texts of the Ignatian Acts of Martyrdom, which form the greater part of the first section of the second volume, were passed through the press before the close of 1878. Some portions of the *Appendix Ignatiana* had been already in type several years before this, though they remained unpaged. In the early part of the year 1879 I removed to Durham, and thenceforward my official duties left me scanty

leisure for literary work. For weeks, and sometimes for months together, I have not found time to write a single line. Indeed the book which is now at length completed would probably have appeared some three or four years before, if I had remained in Cambridge. For the most part the first volume has been written and passed through the press after the second; but in the later parts they have often proceeded *pari passu*, and elsewhere an occasional sheet in either volume was delayed for special reasons.

The long delay in the publication has had this further result, that some of the materials which were here printed for the first time have been anticipated and given to the world meanwhile. This is the case for instance with the Coptic fragments recently published by Ciasca, and with the readings of the Munich and Constantinople MSS of the Long Recension collated by Funk for his edition (1881). So in like manner the text of the Anglo-Latin version in the Caius MS has been anticipated by this latter editor in a separate work (1883). But over and above these, other materials appear now for the first time, such for instance as Ussher's collation of the important Montague MS of the Anglo-Latin version for the Ignatian Epistles, the collation of the Vatican MS of the Syriac version for the Antiochene Acts of Ignatius, and the Coptic version, together with the collation of the hitherto unnoticed Paris MS, for the Roman Acts. Altogether I have striven to make the materials for the text as complete as I could. But I have discarded mere secondary authorities, as for instance several Greek MSS of the Long Recension, because they had no independent value, and I should only have been encumbering my notes uselessly, if I had recorded their readings. Of the use which I have made of the critical materials thus gathered together, I must leave others to judge. Of the introductions, exegetical notes, and dissertations, I need say nothing, except that I have spared no pains to make them adequate, so far as my knowledge and ability permitted. The translations are intended not

only to convey to English readers the sense of the original, but also (where there was any difficulty of construction) to serve as commentaries on the Greek. My anxiety not to evade these difficulties forbad me in many cases to indulge in a freedom which I should have claimed, if a literary standard alone had been kept in view.

I must not conclude without fulfilling the pleasant task of expressing my obligations to many personal friends and others who have assisted me in this work. My thanks are especially due to Dr W. Wright, who has edited the Syriac and Arabic texts (II. p. 657 sq.), and whose knowledge has been placed freely at my disposal wherever I had occasion to consult him; to Professor Guidi who, though an entire stranger to me, transcribed for me large portions of Coptic texts from manuscripts in the Vatican; to Mr P. le Page Renouf, the well-known Egyptian scholar, who has edited the Coptic Version of the Ignatian Acts of Martyrdom from Professor Guidi's transcript (II. p. 865 sq.); and to Bryennios the Metropolitan of Nicomedia, whose name has recently gathered fresh lustre through the publication of the *Didache*, and to whom I owe a collation of the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles from the same manuscript which contains that work. I am also indebted for important services, chiefly collations and transcripts, which will be noted in their proper places, to Dr Bollig the Sublibrarian of the Vatican, to Dr Zotenberg the Keeper of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Paris Library, to Professor Wordsworth of Oxford, and to Dr Oscar von Gebhardt the co-editor of the *Patres Apostolici*. Nor should I be satisfied without recording my obligations to the authorities and officials of the great public libraries at home and abroad. The courtesy and attention with which my troublesome importunities have been almost uniformly met deserve my sincerest gratitude. Other not inconsiderable obligations will be mentioned from time to time throughout these volumes; but it would have been impossible for me, at every point in the progress of the work, where I have consulted private friends, to

note the fact. One name however I cannot pass over in silence. I am only one of many who have profited by the characteristic unselfishness which led the late Mr A. A. VanSittart to devote ungrudgingly to his friends the time which might well have been given to independent literary work of his own. Those sheets which were printed while I was still in Cambridge had the advantage of his careful supervision. Lastly; I have been relieved of the task of compiling the indices by my chaplain the Rev. J. R. Harmer, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, to whom my best thanks are due.

The Ignatian Epistles are an exceptionally good training ground for the student of early Christian literature and history. They present in typical and instructive forms the most varied problems, textual, exegetical, doctrinal, and historical. One who has thoroughly grasped these problems will be placed in possession of a master key which will open to him vast storehouses of knowledge.

But I need not say that their educational value was not the motive which led me to spend so much time over them. The destructive criticism of the last half century is, I think, fast spending its force. In its excessive ambition it has 'o'erleapt itself.' It has not indeed been without its use. It has led to a thorough examination and sifting of ancient documents. It has exploded not a few errors, and discovered or established not a few truths. For the rest, it has by its directness and persistency stimulated investigation and thought on these subjects to an extent which a less aggressive criticism would have failed to secure. But the immediate effect of the attack has been to strew the vicinity of the fortress with heaps of ruins. Some of these were best cleared away without hesitation or regret. They are a rallying point for the assailant, so long as they remain. But in other cases the rebuilding is a measure demanded by truth and prudence alike. I have been reproached by my friends for allowing myself to be diverted from the more congenial task of commenting on S. Paul's Epistles; but the

importance of the position seemed to me to justify the expenditure of much time and labour in 'repairing a breach' not indeed in 'the House of the Lord' itself, but in the immediately outlying buildings.

S. Peter's Day,
1885.

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ON THE DATE OF PIONIUS' MARTYRDOM.

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Map illustrating the route of S. Ignatius. *End of volume*

S. IGNATIUS.

I.

IGNATIUS THE MARTYR.

THE transition from the first to the second Apostolic father—from Clement to Ignatius—is rapid; but, when it is made, we are conscious that a wide chasm has been passed. The interval of time indeed is not great. Twenty years at the outside separate the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians from the letters of Ignatius. But these two decades were a period of exceptionally rapid progress in the career of the Church—in the outward extension of the Christian society, in its internal organization and government, in the progress and ramifications of theological opinion. There are epochs in the early history of a great institution, as there are times in the youth of an individual man, when the increase of stature outstrips and confounds by its rapidity the expectations founded on the average rate of growth.

But lapse of time is not the only element which differentiates the writings of these two Apostolic fathers. As we pass from Rome and Corinth to Antioch and Asia Minor, we are conscious of entering into a new religious and moral atmosphere. The steadying influence of the two great classical peoples—more especially of the Romans—is diminished; and the fervour, the precipitancy, of oriental sentiment and feeling predominate. The religious temperament has changed with the change of locality. This difference impresses itself on the writings of the two fathers through the surrounding circumstances; but it appears to a very marked degree in the personal character of the men themselves. Nothing is more notable in the Epistle of Clement than the calm equable temper of the writer, the ἐπιείκεια, the 'sweet reasonableness,' which pervades his letter throughout. He is essentially a *moderator*. On the other hand, impetuosity, fire, headstrongness (if it be not an injustice to apply this term to so noble a manifestation of

fervid zeal and self-devotion), are impressed on every sentence in the Epistles of Ignatius. He is by his very nature an *impeller* of men. Both are intense, though in different ways. In Clement the 'intensity of moderation[1]'—to adopt his own paradox of language twice-repeated—dominates and guides his conduct. In Ignatius it is the intensity of passion[2]—passion for doing and suffering—which drives him onward.

Not less striking is the change which has passed over the imperial government meanwhile. The letter of Clement synchronizes with the persecution of Domitian; the letters of Ignatius were evoked by the persecution of Trajan. The transition from Domitian to Trajan is a stride in the social and constitutional life of Rome, of which the mere lapse of time affords no adequate measurement. Centuries, rather than decades of years, seem to have intervened between the one and the other.

The attitude of Trajan towards the Christians has been represented in directly opposite lights in ancient and modern times. To the fathers who wrote during the latter half of the second century, as to Christian writers of subsequent ages generally, Trajan appears as anything rather than a relentless persecutor. His lenity is contrasted with the wanton cruelty of a Nero and the malignant caprice of a Domitian. He interposes to modify the laws and so to assuage the sufferings of the persecuted sect. If he does not altogether revoke the persecuting edicts of his predecessors, he at least works them in such a spirit that they shall press as lightly as possible on the unoffending people of God[3].

[1] Clem. *Rom.* 58, 62, *μετὰ ἐκτενοῦς ἐπιεικείας*. See the note on the former of these two passages.

[2] See especially *Rom.* 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, *Philad.* 5, *Smyrn.* 4. In *Rom.* 7 he describes himself as 'enamoured of death' (*ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν*).

[3] Melito, writing about A.D. 170, and addressing M. Aurelius, says (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26) *μόνοι πάντων ... τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός...ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπιπλήξαντες ἐγγράφως, ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι ἐτόλμησαν· ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ Φουνδανῷ...γράφων φαίνεται, ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ πάντα συνδιοικοῦντος (σύμπαντα διοικοῦντος* MSS) *αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν κ.τ.λ.* Here indeed there is no direct mention of Trajan, but he must be included in *ἐν οἷς*, as one who protected the Christians. Perhaps a recollection of the Bithynian persecution deterred Melito from a direct mention, which could not have been made without qualifications and explanations. Tertullian, who otherwise copies Melito, supplies the omission; *Apol.* 5 'reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse... temptaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate... Tales semper nobis insecutores, injusti,

This favourable estimate of Trajan culminates in medieval legend.

impii, turpes, quos et ipsi damnare consuestis...Ceterum de tot exinde principibus ad hodiernum divinum humanumque sapientibus edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum...Quales ergo leges istae quas adversus nos soli exercent impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam omnium curiositatum explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Judaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus, impressit.' Lactantius (*de Mort. Persec.* 3, 4) passes on from Domitian to Decius, omitting all the intermediate persecutions, as if they had never taken place. The passage is quoted below, p. 8, note. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 31—33) studiously exculpates the memory of Trajan himself. He cannot ignore the persecutions which took place in this emperor's reign, but he says that they were partial and local (c. 31 *μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις*, c. 33 *μερικοὺς κατ' ἐπαρχίαν*), and were brought about either by an uprising of the people or by the hostility of individual magistrates (c. 31 *ἐξ ἐπαναστάσεως δήμων*, c. 33 *ἔσθ' ὅπη μὲν τῶν δήμων, ἔσθ' ὅπη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἀρχόντων κ.τ.λ.*); while the emperor himself interposed to mitigate their violence by laying down the rule for Pliny's guidance that the Christian community *μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι*. 'To a certain extent,' adds Eusebius, 'the menace of the persecution, which pressed with exceeding rigour, was quenched; yet nevertheless as good pretexts as ever remained for those who desired to do us (Christians) an ill turn.' The estimate of Eusebius, read either in the original text or in the translation of Ruffinus, for the most part set the fashion to subsequent writers. Sulpicius Severus indeed goes further and represents Trajan as stopping the persecution (*Chron.* ii. 31 'Tertia persecutio per Trajanum fuit; qui cum tormentis et quaestionibus nihil in Christianis morte aut poena dignum reperisset, saeviri in eos ultra vetuit'); but his language may easily be explained. In the original form of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius the words seem to have run *πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν* [Τραϊανὸς] *τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι*, the latter clause *ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι* being absent, as in the Armenian translation (see Schoene II. p. 162) and in the Syriac Abridgment (*ib.* p. 214) likewise. In Jerome's recension (*ib.* p. 165) the second clause is restored direct from the text of Tertullian, 'inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere'; but Sulpicius Severus seems here to have had the original of the *Chronicon* before him (comp. Bernays *Ueber die Chronik des Sulpic. Sever.* p. 46) and to have known nothing of the qualifying antithetical clause.

This favourable view of Trajan however, though it predominates, more especially in writers of reputation, is by no means universal. As Uhlhorn remarks (*Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* p. 258), 'His edict was by one party viewed as a sword, by the other as a shield. In truth it was both.' The authors who represent Trajan in an unfavourable light are chiefly martyrologists and legend-mongers, to whom this dark shadow was necessary to give effect to the picture. Thus in the Acts of Ignatius, more especially the Roman Acts (see II. p. 496 sq.), and in the Acts of Sharbil and his companions preserved in Syriac (Moesinger *Act. Syr. Sarbel.* p. 4), he appears as a brutal persecutor, at least until the receipt of Pliny's letter. So too in the spurious letter of Tiberianus the governor of Palestine, preserved by John Malalas (*Chron.* xi. p. 273, ed. Bonn), and in the narrative of John Malalas himself (p. 276 sq.). Simi-

Gregory the First—so runs the story[1]—walking through the forum of Trajan and admiring the magnificent buildings, was struck among other memorials of this emperor's clemency with one incident more especially which he found commemorated[2]. The emperor, surrounded by his legions, was setting out on a foreign expedition, when he was accosted by an aged widow in tears. She complained that her only son, the staff and solace of her declining years, had been slain by his soldiers, and that she had failed to obtain redress. The emperor, already on the march, put her aside; 'When I return,' said he, 'tell me thy story, and I will do thee entire justice.' 'Sire,' she replied, 'and if thou returnest not, what is to become of me[3]?' The emperor, notwithstanding the

larly in the Armenian Version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (Schone II. p. 162) the negative is omitted from Trajan's order *μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι*, and he is represented as commanding the Christians to be hunted out. From this version of the *Chronicon* doubtless was derived the notice in the *Chronique de Michel le Grand Patriarche des Syriens Jacobites* (Venise 1868, translated by Langlois from the Armenian) p. 105, 'L'empereur lui fit répondre, *Exterminez-les sans pitié.*'

[1] It is told by both the biographers of Gregory—Paul the Deacon (*Vit. Greg.* 27, Greg. *Op.* XV. p. 262 sq., Venet. 1775), who flourished towards the close of the eighth century, and John the Deacon (*Vit. Greg.* ii. 44, Greg. *Op.* XV. p. 305 sq.), who wrote by the command of Pope John VIII (A. D. 872—882).

[2] The earlier biographer Paul writes, 'Cum quadam die per forum Trajani procederet, et insignia misericordiae ejus *conspiceret, inter quae memorabile illud comperiret,* videlicet quod etc.' This implies not only that Gregory saw in the forum of Trajan memorials of Trajan's clemency generally, but that his eye lighted upon a representation of this particular incident. A probable explanation of this account suggests itself. Memorials of Trajan's clemency, such as this story supposes, are still extant. On one bas-relief on the Arch of Constantine (whither it was transferred from the Arch of Trajan), Trajan is represented as supplying the people with provisions; on another, recently discovered in the Forum Romanum, he seems to be issuing the edict relating to the *alimenta* (see Burn's *Rome and the Campagna,* Appendix, p. 452). The incident in question is not related of Trajan by any classical writer, but Dion Cassius (lxix. 6) has a somewhat similar story of Hadrian; *γυναικὸς παριόντος αὐτοῦ ὀδῷ τινι δεομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὅτι Οὐ σχολάζω, ἔπειτα, ὡς ἐκείνη ἀνακραγοῦσα ἔφη Καὶ μὴ βασίλευε, ἐπεστράφη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτῇ ἔδωκεν.* It seems not unlikely that the representation to which Gregory's biographer refers may have been some allegorical figure (like the Italy who is presenting a child to Trajan in the bas-relief of the *alimenta* already mentioned). A sculpture of this kind might easily be mistaken as representing the incident in question, when by a lapse of memory this incident was transferred from Hadrian to Trajan. It is worthy of remark that the later biographer John, who lived at Rome, omits all mention of these sculptures and says simply 'judicii ejus, quo viduam consolatus fuerat, *recordatus.*'

[3] The story is spoilt by the addition of the later biographer John, who continues the conversation: 'My successors in the empire,' rejoins Trajan,

entreaties of his counsellors, stayed his march, paid the widow a compensation from the imperial treasury, and put the offenders in chains, only releasing them on their giving proof of sincere penitence. The great pope was moved to tears by this act of clemency in the great emperor. He betook himself to the tomb of S. Peter, where he wept and prayed earnestly. There, rapt in an ecstasy, he received a revelation to the effect that the soul of Trajan was released from torments in answer to his intercessions; but he was warned never again to presume to pray for those who had died without holy baptism. The miracle, says John Damascene[1] (if indeed the discourse attributed to him be genuine), was attested by the whole East and West. The noble charity which underlies this story may well exempt it from rigorous criticism. But its doctrine has not escaped censure. The tale, writes one of Gregory's biographers[2], John the Deacon, is told by English writers. The Romans themselves, while accepting other miracles recorded of Gregory by these Saxons, hesitate to credit this one story, because it cannot be supposed that Gregory would have prayed for a pagan. He himself however thinks it a sufficient answer to this objection, that Gregory is not said to

'will see to it.' 'And what will it profit *thee*,' says the widow, 'if another shall do me justice?' 'Why nothing at all,' answers Trajan. 'Well then,' says she again, 'is it not better for thee, to do me justice thyself and get thy reward for this, rather than transfer it to another?' Thus the motive is no longer the inherent sense of mercy and righteousness in Trajan, but his fear of personal consequences. In this last form however the story is repeated by John of Salisbury and by Dante.

[1] Joann. Damasc. *In Fide Dormient.* 16 (*Op.* I. p. 591, Lequien) ὅτι τοῦτο γνήσιον πέλει καὶ ἀδιάβλητον, μάρτυς ἡ ἑῴα πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἑσπέριος. The genuineness of this work is questioned by Lequien and other older critics on various grounds. It is condemned also by a recent writer, Langen (*Johannes von Damaskus* p. 182 sq.). His main argument is the impossibility of this story of Trajan and Gregory being already known to John Damascene; but he has much over-stated the difficulty. Thus he speaks of John the Deacon in the ninth century as the earliest authority, whereas it is related a century before by Paul. Whether genuine or not, this passage is already quoted as from John Damascene by Aquinas.

[2] *Vit. Greg.* ii. 41, 44, 'Quae autem de Gregorii miraculis penes easdem Anglorum ecclesias vulgo leguntur, omittenda non arbitror...Legitur etiam penes easdem Anglorum ecclesias, quod Gregorius etc....Sed cum de superioribus miraculis Romanorum sit nemo qui dubitet, de hoc quod apud Saxones legitur, hujus precibus Trajani animam ab inferni cruciatibus liberatam, ob id vel maxime dubitari videtur quod etc.' The intercourse between England and Rome during and after the lifetime of Gregory gives weight to the English tradition. Nevertheless I cannot find any traces of the story in English writers of this early date. Later authors, as John of Salisbury and Henry of Huntingdon, obviously borrow it directly or indirectly from Gregory's Italian biographers.

have prayed for Trajan, but to have wept for him (such was the form of the story known to his biographer), and that Trajan's soul is not reported to have been translated from hell to Paradise—which could have been incredible—but only to have been released from the torments of hell—which was possible without his removal thence. The legend seems to have had a strange fascination for the medieval mind. In the East the authority of John of Damascus doubtless secured its currency. It appears in a Greek Euchologium, as a notable example of the efficacy of importunate prayer[1], though it is not admitted to a place in the Menæa on S. Gregory's day (March 12). In the West its reception was still more cordial. To a famous English writer John of Salisbury it served as the climax of a panegyric on this pagan emperor, whom he does not hesitate to prefer to all other sovereigns that have reigned on earth[2]. To the most illustrious of the schoolmen, Thomas of Aquinum, it suggested an anxious and perplexing problem in theology. He did not question the truth of the story, he could not disparage the authority of the chief agent concerned therein. But the direct recovery of a lost soul—above all a lost soul of an unbelieving heathen—could not be brought within the range of theological possibility. There was only one escape from the difficulty. He conceived that the dead emperor was restored to life in answer to Gregory's prayer; that his soul was thus permitted to animate another body and to work out its period of probation anew. Thus having made a fresh start and passed through a second earthly life as a devout Christian, he was received into the joys of heaven[3]. Lastly of all, this legend received its crowning triumph, when it found a home in Dante's poem[4], and 'the great victory' of Gregory over death and hell was handed down to all time enshrined in his undying verse[5].

[1] *Euchol. Graec.* c. 19 ὡς ἔλυσας τῆς μάστιγος Τραϊανὸν δι' ἐκτενοῦς ἐντεύξεως τοῦ δούλου σου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Διαλόγου, ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἡμῶν δεομένων σου, quoted by Ussher (see below).

[2] Joann. Saresb. *Polycraticus* viii. 8 'Quare Trajanus videatur omnibus praeferendus.' After relating the story of Gregory he ends, 'Unde et merito praefertur aliis, cujus virtus prae caeteris ita sanctis placuit, ut eorum meritis solus sit liberatus.'

[3] The references to Thomas Aquinas are *In iv Libr. Sentent.* Distinctio xlv. Quaest. ii. Art. ii (*Op.* VII. 223, ed. 1612), *Quaest. Disput.* vi. Art. vi (*Op.* VIII. 688); comp. *Summa Theol. Part. Tert. Suppl.* Quæst. lxxi. Art. v (IV. 1242, ed. Migne).

[4] *Purg.* x. 73 'L' alta gloria Del roman prince, lo cui gran valore Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria,' etc. See also *Parad.* xx. 44 sq., 106 sq., in which passage Dante adopts the solution of Thomas Aquinas, that Trajan was restored to a second life in the flesh.

[5] The intense and general interest which gathered about this story, even at a later date, may be inferred from the elaborate disquisition of Baronius *Annal.*

On the other hand recent criticism delights to view Trajan's conduct towards the Christians in a directly opposite light. So regarded, he is the first systematic persecutor of Christianity[1]. Nero and Domitian, it is maintained, assailed individuals in fewer or larger numbers, from caprice or in passion; but the first imperial edict issued against

Eccles. sub ann. 604, in which he refutes at great length the truth of the story. It is related also in Ussher's *Answer to a Jesuit* (Works III. p. 249 sq.), and in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* i. 7. 5 (*Works* III. p. 304, ed. Ellis and Spedding). It appears in *Piers Ploughman's Vision* 6857—6907 (ed. Wright), and in Hans Sachs (Overbeck *Ueber die Gesetze etc.* p. 154). In Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* i (*Mon. Hist.* I. p. 699), the offender is Trajan's own son, and he is punished accordingly, 'Hic est ille qui causa justitiae oculum sibi et oculum filio eruit; quem Gregorius ab inferis revocavit' etc.; an embellishment of the story which he may have got from the *Aurea Legenda.*

[1] This view is enunciated by Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* I. p. 62 sq. (Engl. Transl.), who speaks of Trajan's as 'the first edict' issued with respect to the Christians; but he does not develope it. Its currency in very recent times is largely due to a paper by Overbeck *Ueber die Gesetze der Römischen Kaiser von Trajan*, etc., in his *Studien zur Geschichte der Alten Kirche* I. p. 93 sq. (1875), who discusses the question at length. About the same time Aubé in his *Persécutions de l'Église* etc. p. 186 sq. (1875) advocated the same view. Some years before (1866) he had written a paper *De la légalité du Christianisme dans l'Empire Romain pendant le premier siècle*, in the *Acad. des Inscr. Comptes Rendus* Nouv. Ser. II. p. 184 sq. (reprinted in his later work, p. 409 sq.), which tended in the same direction, and he was followed by Dierauer (1868) *Geschichte Trajans* p. 118 sq. in Büdinger's *Untersuchungen zur Römischen Kaisergeschichte* Band I. Friedländer also (1871) regards Trajan as the first to legalise the persecution of the Christians (*Sittengeschichte Roms* III. p. 518). Overbeck's view has also been accepted by Görres in his *Beiträge zur älteren Kirchengeschichte* in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XXI. p. 35 sq. (1877), and again in his *Christenthum u. der Römische Staat zur Zeit des Kaisers Vespasianus* in this same periodical XXII. p. 492 sq. (1878). This also seems to be the view of Uhlhorn *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* p. 257 sq. (Engl. Transl.). On the other hand it is opposed by Wieseler *Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren* p. 1 sq. (1878), by Boissier *Revue Archéologique* Févr. 1876, by C. de la Berge *Essai sur le Règne de Trajan* p. 208 sq. (1877), and (to a certain extent) also by Keim *Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 171 sq. (1878), in so far as he strongly maintains the early distinction of 'Jews' and 'Christians.' Wieseler's refutation is the fullest; but Keim has treated the particular point to which he addresses himself very satisfactorily. [In his posthumous work *Rom u. das Christenthum* p. 512 sq. (1881), which appeared while these sheets were going through the press, he takes a view substantially the same as my own.] Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. 470) says, 'Trajan fut le premier persécuteur systématique du christianisme,' and again he writes (p. 480) 'A partir de Trajan, le christianisme est un crime d'État;' but these statements are materially qualified by his language elsewhere (p. 483), 'La réponse de Trajan à Pline n'était pas une loi; mais elle supposait des lois et en fixait l'interpretation.'

the Christians, as Christians, was due to Trajan. According to this view the rescript of the emperor to the propraetor of Bithynia inaugurated a new era; and the policy so initiated ruled the procedure of the Roman magistrates from that day forward during the whole of the second century till the age of Septimius Severus. Hitherto Jews and Christians had been confounded together; and, as the Jewish religion was recognized and tolerated by Roman law, Christianity escaped under the shield of this toleration. By Trajan for the first time Christianity was distinguished from Judaism, and singled out as a 'religio illicita.' Then at length the outcry against the Christians took the shape which became familiar in later persecutions, *Non licet esse vos*, 'The law does not allow you to exist.'

This sharp line, which recent criticism has drawn between Trajan and his predecessors as regards their treatment of Christianity, does not seem to be justified in any degree by the evidence before us. It may indeed be allowed that the early fathers were under some temptation to represent the attitude of this emperor towards their brothers in the faith in too favourable a light. Sentiment would lead them by an apparently direct road to the conclusion that the good emperors of Rome must of necessity have looked favourably on a cause so essentially good as Christianity. Moreover sentiment was fortified herein by policy. The earlier apologists, writing under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, were pleading their cause before the direct heirs of the traditions and principles of Trajan, so that it was a matter of vital moment with them to represent the great predecessor of these emperors as leniently disposed towards the cause which they advocated; and the arguments of these earlier apologists would be adopted without question and repeated without misgiving by the later. A Tertullian would necessarily follow in the track where a Melito had gone before[1].

It will be prudent therefore not to lay too much stress on the representations of Christian writers, however early. But even when their evidence has been duly discounted, the recent theory fails to make good its position; for it does not satisfy the most obvious tests which can be applied to it. The two questions which it occurs to us to ask, are

[1] The passages of Melito and Tertullian are quoted above, p. 2, note 3. The motives of these writers, as suggested in the text, are sufficiently apparent from their language. See also Lactantius *de Mort. Pers.* 3, 4 'secutisque temporibus quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt, nullos inimicorum impetus passa [ecclesia]..... Sed enim postea longa pax rupta est: extitit enim post annos plurimos execrabile animal Decius, qui vexaret ecclesiam. Quis enim justitiam, nisi malus, persequatur?'

these. *First*; Do the heathen accounts of the times previous to Trajan exhibit this confusion between Jew and Christian which would secure for the two religions the same treatment at the hands of Roman law, and which therefore is essential to the theory in question? *Secondly*; Do the records of Trajan's own acts imply any consciousness on his part that he was inaugurating a new policy when he treated the mere fact of their being Christians as a sufficient ground for punishment? Unless these two questions can be answered clearly in the affirmative, the ground is cut away from beneath the theory of modern critics.

1. The first of these questions does not admit a simple answer. In the earliest stage of Christianity this confusion of Jew and Christian is an indisputable fact. The first Christian teachers were Jews by birth; they addressed themselves to Jews; they taught in Jewish synagogues; they founded their teaching on Jewish records: and therefore the heathen could hardly do otherwise than regard them as a Jewish sect. Hence the complaint of the impostors at Philippi, 'These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city' (Acts xvi. 20). Hence the attitude of Gallio at Corinth in treating the dispute between S. Paul and his opponents as a mere question of Jewish law (Acts xviii. 15). Hence also the necessity of the step taken by the Jews at Ephesus in putting forward Alexander as their spokesman to dissociate their cause from the new teaching (Acts xix. 33). Moreover this confusion underlies the famous notice of Suetonius respecting Messianic disturbances at Rome in the reign of Claudius[1]. But from the first moment when the Christians began to be troublesome to others and to get themselves into trouble in consequence, it became a matter of the highest concern to the Jews to emphasize the distinction between themselves and the new religion; and they had ample means of doing so. Accordingly we find from the records of the Neronian persecution that at that time the Christians were commonly known as a distinct sect with a distinct name. 'Quos...vulgus Christianos appellabat,' are the words of Tacitus, describing the new religionists (*Ann.* xv. 44). Modern critics have endeavoured to invalidate the force of this testimony by supposing that Tacitus is here injecting into the incidents of the reign of Nero the language and experience that belong to the age of Trajan. But this assumption is wholly gratuitous. Tacitus himself betrays no signs of confusing the two. His knowledge of the origin of Christianity is decidedly more accurate than his knowledge of the origin of Judaism. In the very expression which has been quoted, the tense is directly

[1] Sueton. *Claud.* 25; see *Philippians* p. 16.

opposed to the hypothesis in question; not 'the common people *calls*,' but 'the common people *called* them Christians.' He lived sufficiently near to the time of the events related to obtain accurate information. If he was only eight or ten years old when the Neronian persecution broke out[1], he must at all events have grown up among those who were eye-witnesses of the terrible scenes. Again when Domitian raised his hand against the Church, he was a Roman magistrate of some standing[2], having held several important offices of state. It is therefore a highly improbable hypothesis that his account of the persecution of the Christians under Nero is a violent anachronism—a hypothesis which would only then deserve serious consideration, if it were supported by some really substantial evidence.

But no such evidence is forthcoming. On the contrary all the authentic notices of this first persecution point in the same direction. The testimony of Tacitus is confirmed by the testimony of Suetonius. Suetonius was a contemporary younger probably by a few years; but he was grown or growing up at the time when Domitian stretched out his hand to vex the Church. It is an important fact that both these writers regard Christianity as a *new* religion. Tacitus relates that its founder Christ suffered capital punishment at the hands of the procurator Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius (*Ann.* xv. 44). Suetonius describes it as 'a novel and malignant superstition' (*Nero* 16). These representations are supplemented by the statements of a later writer, Sulpicius Severus. After describing the tortures and executions of the Christians, he proceeds; 'In this way commenced the savage onslaught on the Christians. Afterwards also laws were promulgated and the religion was forbidden. Then Paul and Peter were condemned to death: the former was beheaded, and Peter crucified[3].' No great stress can be laid on the statements of an author who wrote at the close of the fourth century. But Sulpicius commonly follows good authorities for these times; and his account of the sequence of events here is at least consistent and probable in itself. The edict would not be the first, but the second stage in the persecution. If, as is quite possible, a certain number of Jews, from malice or ignorance on the part of the officers who conducted the persecution, suffered in its earlier stages[4], this confusion

[1] Teuffel *Gesch. d. Röm. Liter.* § 315, p. 671 sq.

[2] *Ib.* p. 672.

[3] *Chron.* ii. 29 'Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum; post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati; quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est.'

[4] See *Philippians* pp. 24, 331 sq.

would soon be cleared up. The Jews had a powerful advocate at head quarters. If Nero ruled the world, Poppæa ruled Nero. Her power with the emperor was never so great as it was about the time when these incidents occurred. Whether she would have cared to persecute the Christians, may be a question[1]; but she would certainly have cared to save the Jews. She herself was a proselytess. She had intimate relations with Jews resident in Rome. Through one of these, an actor Aliturus by name, the historian Josephus obtained access to her, apparently in the very year of the fire; and through her intercession with the emperor he secured the release of certain Jewish priests on whose behalf he had undertaken his journey to Rome, while the empress herself loaded him with presents[2]. The Jews therefore were in the ascendant at the imperial court at this moment. Thus they had every opportunity, as it is certain they must have had every motive and every desire, to separate their cause from that of the Christians. An edict or edicts against the new sect would be the probable consequence.

But it is a matter of comparatively little importance to the question at issue, whether any distinct edict was issued. The mere negative fact, that the Christian religion had not been recognized as lawful, would be an ample justification for proceedings against the Christians, as soon as it came to be recognized that Christianity was something distinct from Judaism. No positive prohibition was needed. Here was a religion rampant, which had never been licensed by the state, and this fact alone was sufficient to set the law in motion. It is quite possible therefore that no edict was issued against the Christians before the rescript of Trajan; and yet for the forty or fifty preceding years, they were equally exposed to persecution, as adherents of an unlawful religion[3].

When we pass from Nero to Domitian, we find the notices of the later persecution more vague and difficult to interpret, but they contain nothing inconsistent with the inferences drawn from the records of the earlier. It may indeed be allowed that the exaction of the capitation-fee from the Jews under Domitian[4] was exercised in such a

[1] See *Philippians*, pp. 39, 41, 330.

[2] Joseph. *Vit.* § 3; see *Philippians* p. 5, note 4.

[3] This aspect of the matter seems sufficiently obvious, and yet it has been strangely overlooked by writers on both sides.

[4] The didrachm, or half-shekel, which was originally paid by every Jew for the maintenance of the temple-worship at Jerusalem (Matt. xvii. 24), was diverted by the Romans after the destruction of the holy city, and ordered by Vespasian to be paid to the Capitoline Jupiter: Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 6. 6 *φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδήποτ' οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε δύο*

manner as to be vexatious to many a Jewish Christian also[1]. As the net was spread widely, to catch as many as possible, and as the evidence of circumcision was resorted to as a test, it can hardly have failed to be otherwise[2]. But this plea for the exaction of money stands quite apart from the religious question. If the plea was allowed by the magistrate and the payment exacted from the Jewish Christian, this was done on the ground of his nationality, not of his religion—circumcision being accepted as a test of nationality. His religion still remained an object of attack, if any one were disposed to put the law in motion. In this way the Jewish Christian might be a double sufferer. But in these proceedings there is nothing at all which suggests that, as religions, Judaism and Christianity stood on the same level, so that the latter should enjoy the immunity accorded by law to the former.

The account of Dion Cassius however respecting the proceedings taken by this emperor against Flavius Clemens and Domitilla seems at first sight to favour the view that the two religions were identified at this time. After mentioning the execution of Clemens, this historian, or rather his epitomator, goes on to say: 'Against both of them [Clemens and his wife Domitilla] a charge of atheism was brought, under which many others also who were perverts to the practices of the Jews were condemned; of these some were put to death, and others had their pro-

δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεὼν συνετέλουν, Dion Cass. lxvi. 7 καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. It was exacted with every aggravation of rigour and unseemliness by Domitian (Sueton. *Dom.* 12, see the next note). These aggravations ceased under Nerva, whence the well-known medals of this emperor with the inscription FISCI • IVDAICI • CALVMNIA • SVBLATA (Cohen *Méd. Impér. Rom.* I. p. 476, Eckhel *Num. Vet.* VI. p. 404 sq.); but it is clear that he did not do away with this capitation tax on the Jews, for it still existed in the time of Origen; *ad African.* 14 (*Op.* I. p. 28, Delarue) καὶ νῦν γοῦν Ῥωμαίων βασιλευόντων καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς τελούντων.

[1] Sueton. *Domit.* 12 'Praeter ceteros Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent.' The first class would include proselytes of the gate and other loose hangers on of Judaism; under the second class would fall those Judaic Christians who pleaded exemption on the ground that they were not Jews, and were supposed accordingly to be denying their nationality. Many recent critics however, as Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung in das Neue Test.* p. 541), Aubé (*Persécutions de l'Église* etc. p. 423), and Görres (*Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XXI. p. 500), find the Judaic Christians in the former clause, 'qui vel *improfessi* Judaicam etc.' Grätz (*Geschichte der Juden* IV. p. 79) would read 'vel uti professi' for 'vel improfessi.'

[2] Sueton. *Domit.* 12.

perty confiscated at the very least[1].' If Christian historians are correct, as they appear certainly to be, in assuming that Flavius Clemens and his wife were Christians, there is here at all events a *prima facie* plea for the confusion of Judaism with Christianity. But we must remember that these are not the words of the historian himself. It is just in incidents of this kind that an epitome is most likely to mislead; and even the epitomator does not distinctly say that Flavius Clemens and Domitilla were themselves among the perverts to Jewish practices. The notice is entirely satisfied by the supposition that offences not identical, but similar in kind—offences namely which the Roman law regarded as 'atheism'—are classed together in a rough way. When for instance Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 85) says, 'A debate was held on the expulsion of *Egyptian and Judaic religious ceremonies* (de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis); and a decree of the Senate was passed ordering that four thousand persons of the class of freedmen, *tainted with that superstition* (ea superstitione infecta), who were of a proper age, should be transported to the island of Sardinia,' no one infers from this passage that either the authors of the decree themselves, or the historian who records it, identified the worship of Isis and Serapis with the religion of the Jews, though from a Roman point of view the association of the two would appear in the highest degree natural. Attaching therefore the utmost weight which it is possible to attach to this passage and interpreting it in the sense most unfavourable to the view which is here maintained, we cannot regard it as in any way counterbalancing or invalidating the inferences already drawn from the distinct notices of the Neronian persecution.

2. Nor again does the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny[2] betray any signs that a new policy was inaugurated at this period. Neither in the appeal of the provincial governor nor in the reply of the emperor is there any—even the faintest—suggestion that Christianity now for the first time was promoted to the unenviable distinction of an unlawful religion. On the contrary the impression left by the correspondence is that, so far as the law itself was concerned, the Christians continued to be regarded now, as they had been regarded heretofore, but that the humane and upright characters of the emperor and his servant secured some mitigation in the enforcement of the law.

[1] Dion Cass. lxvii. 44 ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ τῶν γοῦν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν. The bearing of the passage is discussed in *Philippians* p. 22 sq.

[2] Plin. *Ep.* x. 97, 98.

Pliny consults the emperor according to his custom in difficult matters. He had never himself been present, he writes, at judicial proceedings against the Christians; therefore he was ignorant what matters were usually made subjects of punishment or of investigation, and to what extent. He did not know whether the bare name, even if free from crime, was visited with punishment, or only the crimes which attached to the name. Meanwhile his method of procedure had been this. When information was laid against persons as Christians, he enquired whether they were so or not. If they confessed, he asked them a second and third time, threatening them with punishment. If they were obstinate, he ordered them to be put to death: for he did not doubt that, whatever might be the nature of their confession, their persistence and inflexible obstinacy deserved punishment. Those who denied that they then were or had been Christians, he released when at his dictation they had called upon the gods and made supplication to the emperor's image with incense and wine, and had cursed Christ. It is said, he adds, that the Christians cannot be forced to do any of these things. He reports these renegades as stating that the Christians had given up their common evening meal in consequence of an edict issued by him, in which in pursuance of the emperor's command he had forbidden the existence of clubs.

The emperor's reply is still more emphatic by its silence. He answers that Pliny had acted rightly in his manner of conducting these judicial proceedings against the Christians. No rule of universal application, he adds, can be laid down. The Christians are not to be sought out, but, if accused and convicted, they must be punished. Yet if a man denies himself to be a Christian and follows up his denial by sacrificing to the gods, his repentance is to acquit him. An anonymous accusation is not to be entertained. It is a precedent of the worst kind and unworthy of Trajan's age.

All this is intelligible enough, if intended to convey instructions for carrying out an existing law. But could any language more vague and futile be conceived, if the emperor's purpose had been to inaugurate a wholly new policy and to declare the Christian religion, which had hitherto been recognized by the law, to be henceforward illegal? Yet Trajan was a man who not only knew his own mind, but could declare it in plain soldierly language. Pliny, though he confesses his want of personal experience in this matter, evidently supposes himself to be acting on the same legal principles as his predecessors; and Trajan says not a word to undeceive him. He enunciates no new law. He

contents himself with saying that in the application of the law no absolute rule can be laid down, but the magistrate must exercise his own discretion. The refusal to accept anonymous accusations is the only point in this rescript which suggests the appearance of novelty.

There seems to be only one escape from this conclusion. Trajan may have inaugurated his new policy at a previous stage. The proceedings against the Christians, which Pliny mentions as having taken place before this time, may refer, not as is commonly supposed, to the persecution of Domitian, but to earlier transactions in the reign of Trajan himself. This however is not contended by those who maintain the theory which I am combating. Nor would it afford any support for their hypothesis, which has no other basis but this rescript of Trajan.

But, it will be said, if from the time of Nero Christianity was a forbidden religion, how is it that from that date to the age of Trajan—a period of nearly half a century—the Church enjoyed unbroken peace, only disturbed for a moment by the capricious onslaught of the last Flavius? How do we account for the fact that, under Vespasian and Titus more especially, the laws lay dormant and were never put into force? The answer is twofold. In the first place we do not know that they were never put in force. Our information with respect to these early ages of the Church is singularly defective and capricious. We shall see presently by what a slender thread of accident the record of the sharp and fierce persecution in Bithynia under Trajan has been preserved to us. But we may go further than this. Hilary of Poitiers ranks Vespasian between Nero and Decius as a persecutor of the faith[1]. What may be the ground of this exceptional notice in the

[1] Hilar. Pictav. *c. Arian.* c. 3, *Op.* II. p. 594 (ed. Bened., Veron. 1730). 'Quibusnam suffragiis ad praedicandum evangelium apostoli usi sunt? anne aliquam sibi assumebant e palatio dignitatem, hymnum Deo in carcere inter catenas et post flagella cantantes? edictisque regis Paulus, cum in theatro spectaculum ipse esset, Christo ecclesiam congregabat? Nerone se credo aut Vespasiano aut Decio patrocinantibus tuebatur, quorum in nos odiis confessio divinae praedicationis effloruit,' etc. See also Sulpic. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 30 'At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum in primis templum censebant, quo plenius Judaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur: quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, isdem tamen ab auctoribus profectas: Christianos ex Judaeis extitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram.' If Sulpicius Severus has borrowed from Tacitus here, as Bernays (*Ueber die Chronik d. Sulpic. Sever.* p. 57) supposes, and as seems probable, his statement deserves some attention; but it does not go far. The case is different with the testimony of Hilary. Görres (*Das Christenthum unter Vespasianus* p. 503, in *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XXI. 1878), while attempting to invalidate this testimony, betrays a naive

Gallican father, we do not know. Possibly it may be an error. More probably it is based on some facts known to Hilary, but since obliterated by time from the permanent records of history. It is no answer to this view to allege that Melito[1] by his silence exempts Vespasian from the list of persecutors, for Melito equally exempts Trajan and Antoninus Pius, though a fierce persecution raged in Bithynia under the former, and though Polycarp and his fellow martyrs suffered in Smyrna under the latter. Neither again is it of any avail to insist that Tertullian in direct words exculpates this emperor from any share in the sufferings of the Christians[2], for Tertullian not only expressly exculpates M. Aurelius, but even ranks him among the protectors of the Gospel, though the arenas of Vienne and Lyons were watered with the blood of martyrs executed in this reign[3]. The fact is that no systematic record was kept of the persecutions. The knowledge possessed by each individual writer was accidental and fragmentary. And it can hardly be pronounced less probable that a persecution under Vespasian, which had escaped Eusebius, should have been known to Hilary, than that a persecution under M. Aurelius, which was wholly unknown to Tertullian, though it occurred within his own life-time, should have been recorded for the information of posterity, in extracts from a contemporary record, by Eusebius who wrote a century and a half after the occurrence.

In the second place, the difficulty of accounting for this period of undisturbed peace—if such it was—on the hypothesis that Christianity was all the while an unlawful religion, is not greater than meets us again and again during the succeeding ages. During the second century and the first half of the third it is allowed on all hands that Christianity was prohibited by law. Yet the intervals between persecution and persecution during this period are, as a rule, decidedly longer than the intervals between Nero and Domitian, and between Domitian and Trajan. The explanation is the same in both cases. The law

unconsciousness that he is begging the question throughout. 'Secondly,' he writes, 'this father of the Church proceeds from the unhistorical assumption that Christianity was already a *religio illicita* in the Apostolic age. Thirdly, with this fundamental error is connected the fact that Nero, the partial persecutor of Christianity from the transient caprice of a despot, is placed on the same level with Decius the first systematic foe of the Christians. Fourthly, the assertion, that the first Flavius had persecuted the Church in the manner of a Decius, contradicts the historical connexion, that is to say, the political situation of Christendom generally before Trajan's time.'

[1] In Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26, quoted above, p. 2, note 3.

[2] *Apol.* 5, quoted above, p. 2, note 3.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1.

was there, if any one were disposed to call it into action. But for long periods it lay dormant. Only now and then the panic of a populace, or the bigotry of a magistrate, or the malice of some influential personage, awoke it into activity. Sometimes it was enforced against one or two individuals, sometimes against collective numbers. But, as a rule, there was no disposition to deal hardly with the Christians, who were for the most part peaceful and industrious citizens. In this respect Christianity was on the same footing with other prohibited religions. The unrecognized rites of Syria or Babylonia or Egypt might be practised in the Roman Empire, even in the metropolis itself, without molestation for long periods. It was only when some accidental circumstance excited an alarm or awoke a prejudice, that they were made to feel the perilous insecurity of their position.

It appears therefore that, as regards Trajan's attitude towards Christianity, the view of the earliest Christian fathers was less wide of the truth than the view of recent modern critics. Still it was very far from correct in itself. The good emperors, as a rule, were not more friendly to Christianity than the bad. Their uprightness might exclude caprice; their humanity might mitigate extreme rigour. But, as straightforward, patriotic, law-loving Roman statesmen, they were invited by the responsibilities of their position to persecute. The Roman religion was essentially political. The deification of the dead emperor, the worship of the genius of the living emperor, were the direct logical result of this political religious system. An arbitrary, unscrupulous prince might disregard this system; a patriotic Roman could not. Hence the tragic fact that the persecutions of Trajan and M. Aurelius were amongst the severest on record in the early Church. On the other hand, the Christians had almost as much to hope, as to fear, from the unscrupulousness of the bad emperors. If the caprice of a Nero persecuted them, the caprice of a Commodus not only spared but favoured them.

One other important consideration is suggested by the records of this Bithynian persecution. It is generally supposed that the historian of the early Church, in order to arrive at the truth with regard to the extent of the persecutions, has only to make deductions for the exaggerations of Christian writers. In other words, it is assumed that *the Christians forgot nothing, but magnified everything.* This assumption however is shown to be altogether false by the history of the manner in which the record of this Bithynian persecution has been preserved. With the possible exception of the Neronian outbreak, it was the most severe of all the persecutions, of which we have any knowledge, during

the first and second centuries. *Yet no record whatever was preserved of it in any Christian sources.* Tertullian derived his knowledge of it from the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan; Eusebius from Tertullian; later Christian writers from Tertullian and Eusebius, one or both. The correspondence of a heathen writer is thus the sole ultimate chronicle of this important chapter in the sufferings of the early Church. What happened in this case, is not unlikely to have happened many times. Again and again the Christians may have undergone cruel persecutions in distant provinces, without preserving any special record of what was too common an occurrence with them. If therefore large deductions must be made (as confessedly they must) for the exaggeration of Christian records on the one hand, yet very considerable additions are probably due in compensation for the silence of Christian tradition on the other, if we would arrive at a correct estimate of the aggregate amount of suffering undergone.

Amidst many spurious and questionable stories of persecutions alleged to have taken place during the reign of Trajan[1], only three are reported on authority which can be trusted. Of these three two are concerned with the fate of individual Christians—of Symeon at Jerusalem and of Ignatius at Antioch. The third only—the Bithynian persecution, of which I have been speaking—was in any sense general.

For this last alone, so far as our authentic information goes, Trajan was personally responsible. In what spirit, and on what grounds, he came forward as the persecutor of the Church on this occasion, will have been sufficiently obvious from what has been said already. It was as a statesman and a patriot that he conceived himself obliged to suppress Christianity. As the guardian of the constitution and the champion of the laws, he was constrained to put down unlawful gatherings. On no point does this humane and righteous emperor manifest more sensitiveness than in the suppression of clubs or guilds. Whether the avowed object of such a guild were religious or commercial, convivial or literary, it mattered not. There was always the danger that it might be perverted to political ends; and therefore it must be suppressed at all hazards. In the correspondence between

[1] These fictitious persecutions under Trajan are discussed and refuted by Görres *Kaiser Trajan u. die Christliche Tradition* in the *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XXI. p. 35 sq. (1877). The alleged persecution in Palestine under Tiberianus, together with others given on the authority of John Malalas, I have discussed elsewhere in this work (II. p. 438). The Syriac Acts of the Edessene Martyrs Sharbil, Barsamya, and others, are shown to be unauthentic by Görres. See also the appendix to this chapter (p. 62 sq.).

Pliny and Trajan, which precedes the letters relating to the Christians, two occasions arose on which the propraetor solicits the emperor's instructions with regard to such gatherings; and the light thrown by these on his dealings with the Christians is striking.

(i)

A destructive fire had broken out in Nicomedia. It had found the people wholly unprepared. There was no hose nor engine, nor apparatus of any kind. Pliny is anxious to guard against the recurrence of such a calamity. Accordingly he puts this question to the emperor[1]:

'It is for you, Sire, to consider whether you think a guild of workmen should be organized, consisting of not more than a hundred and fifty strong. I will take care that none but workmen are admitted, and that they do not use the privilege for any other purpose. Nor will it be difficult to exercise surveillance, the numbers being so small.'

We should regard this as an excess of caution, but it is far from satisfying the emperor. Here is his reply.

TRAJAN TO PLINY GREETING.

'It has occurred to you, following the precedents of many other cases, that a guild of workmen could be organized among the Nicomedians. But we must remember that this province and especially those cities are harassed by party associations of that kind. Whatever name we may give to them, and whatever may be the purpose, those who have been brought together will form themselves into clubs all the same[2]. It will therefore be better that apparatus should be procured which may be useful to put out fires, and that the owners of estates should be admonished to keep them in check themselves; and, if the occasion should require, that recourse should be had to a general muster of the people for the purpose.'

(ii)

Amisa was a free city under a special treaty. The people presented a petition to Pliny respecting certain convivial gatherings where there

[1] See Plin. *Ep.* X. 42 (33), 43 (34).

[2] 'Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetaeriae que (*or* quae) brevi fient.' So the passage stood in the MS. Döring inserts 'sodalitates' before 'que'; others insert other words; others alter 'que brevi' into 'quamvis breves'; but plainly it should be read 'hetaeriae aeque brevi fient,' the *ae* being repeated.

was a subscription supper. 'I have appended it,' writes Pliny[1], 'to this letter, that you, Sire, might consider in what respects and to what extent they should be allowed or prohibited.'

To this the emperor answers as follows.

TRAJAN TO PLINY GREETING.

'As regards the Amisenes, whose petition you attached to your letter, if they are allowed by their laws, which they enjoy by virtue of the treaty, to hold a subscription supper (benefit club), it is competent for us to abstain from preventing their holding it; and this the more easily, if they employ such a contribution not for making disturbances or for unlawful gatherings, but to support the needs of the poorer members. In all the other cities, which are subject to our laws, anything of the kind must be prohibited.'

The letters relating to the Christians follow almost immediately after this correspondence about Amisa; and Pliny not unnaturally, when this new emergency arose, viewed it in the light of the emperor's previous instructions. Of certain apostates from the faith, whom he examined, he writes (*Ep.* x. 97 [96]):

'They asserted that this was the sum and substance of their fault or their error; namely that they were in the habit of meeting before dawn on a stated day and singing alternately (secum invicem) a hymn to Christ as to a god, and that they bound themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wicked deed, but that they would abstain from theft and robbery and adultery, that they would not break their word, and that they would not withhold a deposit when reclaimed. This done, it was their practice, so they said, to separate, and then to meet together again for a meal, which however was of the ordinary kind and quite harmless. But even from this they had desisted after my edict, in which in pursuance of your commands I had forbidden the existence of clubs (hetaerias).'

Lawful religions held a license from the state for worship or for sacrifice, and thus these gatherings were exempted from the operation of the laws against clubs. Christianity enjoyed no such privilege. The first form, in which any Christian body was recognized by the law, was as a benefit-club with special view to the interment of the dead[2]. Even this however implied no recognition of the religion, as a religion. But in the time of Trajan it had not, so far as we know, even the indirect

[1] See Plin. *Ep.* x. 93 (92), 94 (93).

[2] See De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea* i. p. 10 sq., to whom we are indebted for bringing this fact into prominence.

protection which was accorded afterwards to its burial clubs. If therefore the character of these Christian gatherings had been entirely neutral in themselves, they could not even then have been tolerated. But this was far from being the case. When the individual Christian was examined, he was found to be obstinate on points of vital importance. He would not swear by the genius of the emperor; he would not offer incense on the altar. The religious offence was bound up with the political offence. He stood self-convicted of 'impiety,' of 'atheism,' of 'high treason[1].' Only by some wholly illogical decision of a magistrate more humane than consistent, could he be saved from the penalties of the law.

Trajan himself seems to have had no interest in the religious aspects of Christianity. He was only anxious to suppress secret associations which might become dangerous to the state. He would not care to hunt down individuals. In the Bithynian persecution therefore he took an active part; but in the two authentic instances of individual martyrs who suffered during his reign, there is no reason to think that he manifested any personal concern.

The incidents relating to Symeon of Jerusalem are told on the authority, and for the most part in the very words, of the early Jewish Christian historian Hegesippus[2]. Symeon was the reputed cousin of our Lord, being son of Clopas the brother of Joseph. On the death of James the Just he had been chosen unanimously to fill the vacant see. He was now 120 years old, and Trajan was emperor. He was accused by certain Jewish sectarians on a twofold charge: first, that he was a descendant of David and therefore a claimant for the kingdom of Israel; secondly, that he was a Christian and therefore the adherent of an unlawful religion. Atticus was then proconsul, and before Atticus he was tried. For many days he was tortured, to the astonishment of all beholders, not least of the proconsul himself, who marvelled at this endurance in a man of such venerable age. Last of all he was crucified. Whether this occurred before or after the Bithynian persecution, we are not informed[3]. There is obviously an exaggeration in the age assigned to Symeon; and the fact that he was a son of the Clopas mentioned in the Evangelical records suggests that his death should be placed early rather than late in the reign of Trajan.

[1] The different offences, of which a Christian might be guilty, are investigated by Leblant *Sur les bases juridiques des poursuites dirigées contre les martyrs* in the *Acad. des Inscr., Comptes-rendus* 1866, p. 358 sq.

[2] In Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32.

[3] See II. p. 447, on the relative chronology of these persecutions.

There is no reason for questioning the grounds of accusation against Symeon as reported by Hegesippus. Strange as the first charge seems at first sight, it is not at all improbable. From the day when the Jewish mob clamoured in the ears of Pilate 'We have no king but Cæsar' (John xix. 15), it was always the policy of the Jews in these agitations to work upon the political sensibilities of their Roman masters. There was at least a plausible pretext for such a charge in the vivid expectation of an approaching kingdom which was ever present to the minds, and not seldom heard from the lips, of the Christians. The Jews of Thessalonica, who denounced Paul and Silas as acting contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, 'saying that there is another king, one Jesus' (Acts xvii. 7), set a fashion which doubtless had many imitators in later ages. Moreover in this particular case the insinuation of family interests, of dynastic pretensions, in a descendant of the royal house would give an additional colour to the accusation. But, though it is highly probable that the Jews would advance this charge, it is by no means likely that the proconsul would seriously entertain it. The 'saving common sense,' which distinguished the Roman magistrates as a class, would rescue him from such a misconception. The Jews had not misled Pilate, and they were not likely to mislead Atticus. Even the emperor Domitian is said to have seen through the flimsiness of this charge, when it was brought against other members of this same family, the grandsons of Judas the Lord's brother[1]. But the second accusation was not so easily set aside. If, when questioned, Symeon avowed himself to be a Christian, if he declined the test of swearing by the genius of Cæsar and throwing a few grains of incense on the altar, nothing remained for the magistrate but to carry out the law.

Of the circumstances which led to the condemnation of Ignatius on the other hand we know absolutely nothing. The two legendary Acts make the emperor himself the prime mover—the one at Antioch, the other at Rome[2]. But it has been shown that both these documents alike are absolutely valueless. We are therefore thrown back on the incidental references which occur in the martyr's own letters. The bearing of these will be considered lower down.

The name of the saint is Roman, or rather ancient Italian, not Greek or Syrian, as might have been expected. In the third Samnite war (B.C. 298) the ability and daring of the Samnite general, Gellius

[1] Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 20.

[2] *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2 (II. p. 477), *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 2 (II. p. 496). For the unauthentic character of these two martyrologies, see II. p. 376 sq.

Egnatius, foiled the Romans for a time, till the struggle was ended by his death on the battle-field of Sentinum (Liv. x. 18—29). Again two centuries later, in the last great conflict of the Romans with the neighbouring Italian nations, the Marsian war (A. D. 90), another general bearing the same name, Marius Egnatius, likewise a Samnite, inflicted heavy losses on the Romans, till he too met with a similar fate (Liv. *Epit.* lxxv, Appian *Civ.* i. 40, 41, 45). From this time forward the distinction of Roman and Italian ceases; and Egnatius appears as a not uncommon Roman name. It occurs for instance not less than five times in a single inscription belonging to the age of Vespasian (Gruter *Inscr.* ccxl, ccxli). At a later date it was borne by one of the Roman emperors (Orelli *Inscr.* 1004 P. Licinio Egnatio Gallieno; comp. 1008). The form Ignatius has many analogies in the language. Thus we have Deana, Dometius, Fabrecius, Menerva, Opemius, Paperius, etc., in the older inscriptions (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* i. p. 605), where the later forms are Diana, Domitius, Fabricius, Minerva, Opimius, Papirius, etc. Nor is this exchange of vowels confined to proper names; *e.g.* fuet, mereto, tempestatebus, etc. (see Roby's *Latin Grammar* i. § 234). As a rule, the substitution of the I for E had taken place in the language long before, but in some proper names, *e.g.* Vergilius, Verginius (Ritschl *Opusc.* ii. p. 779), the older forms still prevailed. The name with which we are concerned seems to have been written indifferently *Egnatius* or *Ignatius*, though doubtless there was a greater tendency to the latter form in Greek than in Latin[1]. Thus the Samnite general in the Marsian war appears persistently as Ἰγνάτιος in Appian (*Civ.* i. 40, Schweighaeuser's note), though written Egnatius in Livy. So too the lieutenant of Crassus is called Ἰγνάτιος by Plutarch (*Vit. Crass.* 27), though a Latin writer would doubtless write the name Egnatius. The name of the Carthaginian saint again is written in both ways in the manuscripts of Cyprian *Ep.* xxxix. 3, and elsewhere (see Zahn, *I. v. A.* p. 28). There is however no persistence either in the Greek or the Latin orthography of the name. Thus for instance Ἐγνάτιος appears in inscriptions (*e.g.* Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* Index p. 85; *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vi. p. 85), and coins (Mionnet iii. p. 16), and in Dion Cassius (liii. 24, lxii. 26). On the other hand, Ignatius, Ignatia, occur in Latin (e.g. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* ii. 1457, if correctly so read), though rarely, until a comparatively late date. There is therefore no ground for supposing with Wieseler (*Christenverfolg. d. Cäsaren* pp. 122, 133) that Ignatius and Egnatius are two separate names.

The name was not unknown in these parts. The Stoic, P. Egnatius

[1] So *evocatus* becomes *λουόκατος* in Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 20).

Celer, who under Nero won for himself an exceptional place in the annals of crime (Juv. *Sat.* iii. 114 sq., Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 32, *Hist.* iv. 10, 40), was a native of Beyrout (Dion Cass. lxii. 26). At a later date again, during the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, we have an inscription at Phæno or Phæna in Palestine, which mentions one Egnatius Fuscus, a tribune stationed there (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr.* 4544 Φαινήσιοι ἀφιέρωσαν ἐφεστῶτος χ[ιλιάρχου] λεγ[εῶνος] $\bar{\gamma}$ Γα[λλ]ικῆς; comp. 4542). Moreover it was sometimes borne by Jews, as appears from another inscription (*ib.* 4129), where it is found in connexion apparently with the name Esau and the symbol of the golden candlestick. In Christian circles also, during the early centuries, it appears more than once. The African martyr Egnatius or Ignatius, commemorated by Cyprian, has been mentioned already. In a sepulchral monument also at Rome, which being written in Greek must belong to an early date, we find the name, though in the abbreviated form, Ἰγνάτις (Boeckh *Inscr. Græc.* 9694).

Connected herewith is the name *Nurono* (ܢܘܪܘܢܐ), by which the martyr is not unfrequently designated in Syriac (Gregor. Barhebr. *Chron.* i. p. 42, ed. Abbeloos et Lamy; Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 16 sq.). Tentzel (*Exerc. Sel.* i. p. 46 sq.), misled by Pocock's rendering of the words of Barhebræus (*Hist. Dyn.* vii. p. 119), 'Ignatius Nuraniensis,' supposed that the saint was a native of Nora or Nura in Sardinia; and this explanation has found favour with others (*e.g.* Grabe *Spicil.* ii. p. 1 sq., Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* vii. p. 32 sq., ed. Harles). The true derivation was divined by Pearson (*Ign. Epist. Gen.* p. 1, annot.), who called attention to a passage of Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi. 1), where νοῦρα is given as the Syriac equivalent to πῦρ, and by others (*e.g.* Wesseling *Itin. Anton.* p. 84 sq.). A passage in Severus the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, first published by Cureton (*C. I.* pp. 216, 247) from a Syriac version, removes all doubt as to the meaning of the word. In his 65th Epithronian Oration, delivered in the Church of Ignatius, the ancient Temple of Fortune at Antioch, Severus, as represented by his Syriac translator, states that Ignatius was appropriately so named by a certain prescience; that the Latin *ignis* is equivalent to the Syriac *nuro* or 'flame'; and that he was called *Nurono* or 'Inflamed,' because the torch of divine love blazed in him[1].

[1] There is some corruption in the Syriac text here, as Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 555) has noticed. As it stands, Severus is made to say that the saint 'was appropriately named Ignatius from facts, because he foreknew things future; for any one who is only moderately acquainted with the language of the Romans knows that *Nurono*, that is, *Inflamed*, as we also say, was derived from hence; for the

It seems probable therefore that the appellative 'Nurono' is due to this passage in the Epithronian Orations. The great reputation of Severus would give currency to this interpretation of the name 'Ignatius,' and the Syriac equivalent 'Nurono' would pass into general use in the Syrian Churches. The wide popularity of these Epithronian Orations is shown by the fact that two Syriac versions of them are extant. It is not likely that Severus, writing in Greek, used the word *Nurono* himself, and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 73 sq.) is probably right in conjecturing that it was introduced by the Syriac translator to explain the meaning[1]. It is needless to add that the derivation of the name 'Ignatius' from 'ignis' is altogether false. Not improbably, like Gnatius, it is connected with gnascor (nascor), gnatus (natus).

Around the other name Theophorus, likewise borne by Ignatius, much superfluous controversy has gathered. A significance has been assigned to it which the facts do not warrant. It has been regarded as a title of honour bestowed upon the saint by his admirers, and allusions have been discovered in several passages of his epistles to this imaginary glorification of the martyr (see the notes on *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 4, *Smyrn.* 5). All such references melt away in the light of criticism. On the other hand, an attempt has been made[2] to discredit it altogether as a later interpolation in the addresses of the epistles. This view disregards the evidence of manuscripts and versions, which is absolutely unanimous in favour of the word at every occurrence. Its only plea is the fact that the earliest fathers take no notice of this designation of the saint. No doubt, if it had possessed the significance which some late fathers and many modern critics have assigned to it, this silence, though it would have little weight against the unani-

Romans call the fire which is lighted up and in flames, *ignis*. Who then is he that has in himself the flame, that is to say, the lamp of divine love, and is inflamed by the desire to suffer for Christ? The same who also in writing to the Romans says,' etc. (Cureton *C. I.* p. 247). The prescience evidently should not be ascribed to Ignatius himself, as in the present text, but to God or to the person who gave him the name.

[1] The translation of Severus, which is here quoted, was made by Jacob of Edessa, A.D. 701 (Wright's *Catal. of Syr. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* p. 534 sq.). The older version (by Paul of Callinicus?), which must have been nearly contemporary with Severus, and of which extant MSS bear the dates A.D. 563, 569, 576, is preserved in great part in MSS in the British Museum (Wright's *Catal.* p. 546 sq.) and the Vatican (Assem. *Bibl. Apost. Vat. Cod. MSS. Catal.* III. p. 241 sq.), but the portion containing this homily is wanting. Otherwise a comparison of the two translations might have enabled us to arrive approximately at the original words of Severus. A translator would have to deal freely with the Greek here, and the insertion of a word like *Nurono* was a necessity.

[2] See II. p. 22.

mous testimony of all the direct authorities, might have demanded an explanation. But in fact Theophorus was a second name of Ignatius, and nothing more. Examples of these second names, introduced in the very form which we find in the openings of the Ignatian Epistles (ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος), abound in the inscriptions. A few of these have been given in the notes (II. p. 22); but, if it were necessary, instances might be multiplied manifold. Illustrations also might be gathered from extant authors. Thus a nearly contemporary writer, Aristides, mentions a certain prætor, 'Sedatus by name, but originally Theophilus' (*Orat.* 26 Σηδᾶτος ὄνομα, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον Θεόφιλος, *Op.* I. p. 506, ed. Dindorf). So too Josephus speaks in one place of 'Diodotus also surnamed Tryphon' (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 1 Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθείς), in another of 'Joseph also called Caiaphas' (*Ant.* xviii. 3. 2 Ἰώσηπος ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας), besides several other examples which this author alone could furnish. And so again in later writers, both Greek and Latin. Thus Eusebius (as reproduced by Syncellus) speaks of the Roman emperor as Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος ὁ καὶ Οὐῆρος (*Chron.* II. p. 170, Schöne), and elsewhere describes him as M. Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος (*H. E.* iv. 14). In like manner Socrates (*H. E.* i. 30) tells of Ἀχαάβ ὁ καὶ Ἰωάννης, and Jerome (*Catal.* 80) of 'Firmianus qui et Lactantius'; while Cyprian (*Epist.* 66) styles himself 'Cyprianus qui et Thascius,' at the same time addressing a friend who is designated 'Florentius qui et Puppianus.'[1]

The reasons for assuming another name either in place of or in addition to the original name may be various. In some cases it was a mark of personal affection or respect for some friend or patron. Thus Josephus mentions one of his sons 'Simonides also surnamed Agrippa' (Jos. *Vit.* 76 Σιμωνίδης...ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθείς), doubtless so called after the Jewish prince of that name. Sometimes a man adopted a professional name. Thus a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian, when asked who he was, replied, 'If you want the name in common use, I am called Tarachus by my parents; but when I was in the army, I was called Victor' (*Act. Tar. et Prob.* 1, Ruinart p. 452, Ratisb. 1859). Not unfrequently the change was dictated by a religious motive. So Jerome tells us that Cyprian took the name of Caecilius from the presbyter to whom he owed his conversion (*Catal.* 67). And a still more notable example of an adopted name may perhaps be explained by the desire to commemorate a critical incident in his career, 'Saulus who is also called Paulus' (Acts xiii. 9 Σαῦλος...ὁ καὶ Παῦλος). Of the Palestinian martyrs again it is related (Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 11), that they assumed the names of the old prophets, Elijah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel, Daniel, instead of

[1] See also Marquardt *Privatleben der Römer* p. 25.

their original names, which in some cases were derived from idols (εἰδωλικῶν ὄντων εἰ τύχοι). In like manner, in the absence of any definite information, we may conjecture that Ignatius assumed the name Theophorus, 'the God-bearer,' at the time of his conversion or his baptism, desiring thereby to keep continually before his mind the duties and privileges of his newly acquired position.

But whatever may have been the cause of its assumption in the first instance, the name itself gave rise to more than one mythical legend, according as it was interpreted 'the God-borne' (θεόφορος) or 'the God-bearer' (θεοφόρος).

(1) As the 'God-borne,' it not unnaturally suggested the story that Ignatius was the very child whom our Lord took in his arms (Mark ix. 36, 37). In the Menæa for Dec. 20, this legend is repeated several times, and the surname of the martyr is so explained (pp. 137, 140, 141, 143, ed. Venet. 1877). The story however was unknown in the early centuries, as the silence of Eusebius shows. Indeed S. Chrysostom says distinctly that, unlike the Apostles, he had 'not even seen' the Lord, and regards his readiness to die for Christ as a more convincing proof of the truth of the resurrection on this very account (*Hom. in Ign. Mart.* 4). It appears first at the end of the ninth century in Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Op.* III. p. 42, Migne) where it is introduced as 'a tradition,' and is found in Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* ii. 35), in Symeon the Metaphrast (*Mart. Ign.* 1), in Solomon of Bassora (Cureton *Corp. Ign.* pp. 220, 251), and in other later writers. The story doubtless seemed to gain confirmation from a passage in the martyr's own letter to the Smyrnæans (§ 3), where he was wrongly interpreted as saying that 'he had known Jesus Christ in the flesh even before the resurrection.' The legend of S. Christopher has its origin in a similar rebus, as explained in Vida's couplet,

> Christophore, infixum quod eum usque in corde gerebas,
> Pictores Christum dant tibi ferre humeris

(see M. Müller, *Science of Language*, 2nd Ser. p. 552 sq.). In the older accounts he is a converted heathen, who takes the name Χριστοφόρος at his baptism. Like Ignatius, he was an Antiochene; and like him also he suffered a martyr's death (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* I. p. 496 s.v.). The story which is familiarly connected with his name does not appear till a very late date.

(2) In the West another story was told of Ignatius, founded, like the former, on a literal interpretation of the name θεοφόρος, which however in this instance was correctly taken in an active sense. Vincentius of

Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.* x. 57) relates how 'when his heart was cut into small pieces (minutatim) the name of the Lord Jesus Christ was found inscribed in golden letters on every single piece, as we read (ut legitur); for he had said that he had Christ in his heart.' We cannot fail to be reminded by this of the sad saying of the English Queen, that when she was dead the name of Calais would be read engraven on her heart. This latter legend of Ignatius however seems never to have gained any wide currency like the former.

Of the origin, birth, and education of Ignatius we are told absolutely nothing. The supposition that he was a slave is a very uncertain inference from his own language (see *Rom.* 4, with the note). It may be conjectured however with probability from expressions in his letters, that he was not born of Christian parentage; that he was brought up a pagan and converted in mature life to Christianity; and that his youth had been stained by those sins of which as a heathen he had made no account at the time, but which stung his soul with reproaches in the retrospect, now that it was rendered sensitive by the quickening power of the Gospel. Thus he, like S. Paul, speaks of himself (*Rom.* 9) as an ἔκτρωμα, a child untimely born to Christ. There had been something violent, dangerous, and unusual in his spiritual nativity. Coupled with this expression is another, which he likewise uses elsewhere (*Ephes.* 21, *Trall.* 13, *Smyrn.* 11). He speaks of himself as 'the last' (ἔσχατος) of the Antiochene Christians, as unworthy therefore to have a place among them. It cannot indeed be safely inferred that this expression signifies in itself 'latest in time'; but the loss of precedence which it implies is best explained by supposing that his conversion was comparatively late in date. Indeed not a few expressions in his epistles, otherwise hardly explicable, become full of life and meaning, when read by the light of this hypothesis. His was one of those 'broken' natures out of which, as Zahn has truly said (*I. v. A.* p. 404), God's heroes are made. If not a persecutor of Christ, if not a foe to Christ, as seems probable, he had at least been for a considerable portion of his life an alien from Christ. Like S. Paul, like Augustine, like Francis Xavier, like Luther, like John Bunyan, he could not forget that his had been a dislocated life; and the memory of the catastrophe, which had shattered his former self, filled him with awe and thanksgiving, and fanned the fervour of his devotion to a white heat.

But, if this be so, what must be said of the tradition which represents him as ordained, or at least taught, by Apostles? What claim has he to the title of an 'apostolic' father?

The earliest tradition represents Ignatius as the second of the Antio-

chene bishops, or (if S. Peter be reckoned) the third[1]. Of extant writers our first authority for this statement is Origen (*Hom. vi in Luc.* § 1, *Op.* III. p. 938 A), who however does not give the name of Ignatius' predecessor. This missing name, Euodius, is supplied by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 22; *Chron.* II. pp. 152, 158, ed. Schöne), who doubtless followed some older tradition. Whether his authority was Julius Africanus (c. A. D. 220) or another, is a question which will be fully discussed in its proper place (II. p. 450 sq.). On the other hand S. Chrysostom seems to speak as though Ignatius were the immediate successor of S. Peter, though his language is not quite explicit[2]; and Theodoret appears to have thought the same, for he describes him as having 'received the grace of the high-priesthood at the hand of the great Peter[3].' In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 46) the matter is differently represented; 'In Antioch,' says the prince of the Apostles, 'Euodius (was ordained bishop) by me Peter, and Ignatius by Paul.' No weight attaches to a statement given on such authority. It is obviously a constructive inference built upon three data: (1) That Euodius was the first and Ignatius the second of the Antiochene bishops; (2) That two Apostles were connected in history or tradition with the foundation of the Antiochene Church, of whom Peter was the elder and Paul the younger; (3) That Ignatius, though the second bishop of Antioch, was nevertheless an 'apostolic' man, this term being interpreted narrowly, so as to signify that he was ordained bishop by some Apostle. In all the accounts hitherto mentioned Ignatius is connected with the chief Apostle of the Circumcision or with the Apostle of the Gentiles; but in the more widely spread, though later, tradition he appears as a disciple of S. John. The source of this statement seems to have been the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, not however in its original form, but as it appears in Jerome's revision and elsewhere, where the name of Ignatius of Antioch is added to those of Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp of Smyrna as scholars of the beloved disciple.

[1] He is styled the 'second,' with or without additions, by Origen (l. c. *μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον*), Eusebius (*Chron.* II. p. 213, ed. Schöne; *H. E.* iii. 22, 36 *τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς*; *Quæst. ad Steph.* 1 *μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους*), and others; the 'third,' with a mention of S. Peter, by Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 16 'post Petrum apostolum') and Socrates (*H. E.* vi. 8 *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου*).

[2] *Op.* II. p. 597 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐμνήσθην Πέτρου, καὶ πέμπτον ἐξ αὐτοῦ στέφανον εἶδον πλεκόμενον· οὗτος δέ ἐστι τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τοῦτον διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν... οὕτω δὴ καὶ Πέτρου μέλλοντος ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημεῖν, ἕτερον ἀντίρροπον Πέτρου διδάσκαλον ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀντεισήγαγε χάρις κ.τ.λ.* Thus Euodius is altogether ignored.

[3] *Epist.* 151 (*Op.* IV. p. 1312, ed. Schulze) *Ἰγνάτιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ πολυθρύλλητος, ὁ διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δεξάμενος.*

The origin and spread of this form of the tradition is discussed below (II. p. 473 sq.). All these different attempts to name his teacher are excrescences on the earliest tradition, which is content to speak of him as an 'apostolic' man.

Still less can be learnt from the dates assigned by tradition to his episcopate. These are discussed in their proper place (II. p. 446 sq.). It is sufficient to say here, that his accession is represented as taking place about A.D. 69, while the commonest date assigned to his martyrdom is about A.D. 107. But neither the one nor the other has any claim to respect, as authentic history. Of his accession we know nothing at all. His martyrdom may with a high degree of probability be placed within a few years of A.D. 110, before or after.

The traditions therefore relating to his date and apostolic teaching may be safely dismissed from the consideration of the question before us. They are neither authoritative enough, nor consistent enough, to have any value for our purpose. Having thus cleared the way, we have only to ask whether there is any chronological inconsistency in the supposition that Ignatius was a disciple of some Apostle, though not converted till he had reached mature age. And the answer must be in the negative. If we place his martyrdom about A.D. 110, and suppose (as there is fair reason for supposing) that he was an old or elderly man at the time, he may have been born about A.D. 40. If his apostolic master were S. Peter or S. Paul, his companionship with either may have fallen as late as A.D. 65, so that he would have been twenty-five years of age at the time. If his teacher were S. John (and there is no improbability in this supposition, though the tradition, as a tradition, is valueless), the epoch of his conversion might be advanced to A.D. 90 or later, which would make him some fifty years of age. Nor is his apostolic discipleship contradicted by his own statement in *Ephes.* 11, as Zahn seems disposed to think. Even though συνῆσαν were the correct reading in this passage, he would not, when he commends the Ephesians as '*always* associating with the Apostles,' tacitly contrast himself as *never* associating with them. If any tacit contrast were implied, which is more than doubtful, it would rather be with his own brief or infrequent companionship with them. But the reading συνήνεσαν 'consented unto' seems slightly more probable than συνῆσαν 'associated with.'

Of his administration, as a bishop, only one tradition has been preserved; and this refers to a matter of ritual. The historian Socrates (*H. E.* vi. 8) relates that Ignatius 'saw a vision of angels, praising the Holy Trinity in antiphonal hymns, and left the fashion of his vision as a custom to the Church in Antioch (τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν

Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν), whence this custom spread likewise throughout all the churches'. This story is repeated also by later writers, more especially Syrian; e.g. by Solomon of Bassora (Cureton *C. I.* pp. 221, 251), by Gregory Barhebræus (*Patr. Ant.* 3, I. p. 42, ed. Abbeloos et Lamy), by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* xiii. 8), and by Amr of Tirhani (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. p. 397). A tradition which appears so late does not deserve consideration, as containing any element of historical fact; but it is a matter of some little interest to speculate on its origin. It seems then to be founded partly on the boast of Ignatius (*Trall.* 5) that he 'could comprehend heavenly things, yea the arrays of the angels and the musterings of the principalities,' and partly on his directions (not however intended in this literal sense) to one and another church (*Ephes.* 4, *Rom.* 2), that they should 'form themselves into a chorus' and chant to the Father through Jesus Christ. Antiphonal singing indeed did not need to be suggested by a heavenly vision. It existed already among the heathen in the arrangements of the Greek chorus. It was practised with much elaboration of detail in the psalmody of the Jews, as appears from the account which Philo gives of the Egyptian Therapeutes[1]. Its introduction into the Christian Church therefore was a matter of course almost from the beginning[2]; and, when we read in Pliny (*Epist.* x. 97) that the Christians of Bithynia sang hymns to Christ as to a god 'alternately' (secum invicem), we may reasonably infer that the practice of antiphonal singing prevailed far beyond the limits of the Church of Antioch even in the time of Ignatius himself[3].

The pitchy darkness, which envelopes the life and work of Ignatius, is illumined at length by a vivid but transient flash of light. If his martyrdom had not rescued him from obscurity, he would have remained, like his predecessor Euodius, a mere name, and nothing more. As it is, he stands out in the momentary light of this event, a distinct and living personality, a true father of the Church, a teacher and an example to all time.

It has been shown elsewhere (II. p. 376 sq.) that the Martyrologies of Ignatius cannot be accepted as authentic history. With these the

[1] Philo *de Vit. Cont.* 11 (II. p. 485) εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὕμνους πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐπορχούμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες τότε μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τότε δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ καὶ ἀντιστρόφους ποιούμενοι κ.τ.λ.

[2] See Harnack *Christl. Gemeindegottesdienst* p. 221 sq.

[3] Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. 24 (19), ascribes this mode of singing to Flavianus and Diodorus in the reign of Constantius. But see the note of Valois on Socr. l. c.

interview with Trajan, which forms the main feature in the popular tradition, falls to the ground. We have therefore no trustworthy information respecting the circumstances of his trial and condemnation beyond the notices in his own letters.

From these notices it appears that the peace of the Antiochene Church was disturbed at this time; but there is no reason to believe that a fierce persecution raged here as in the Churches of Pontus and Bithynia. No mention is made of any individual sufferer besides himself, though such there may have been. What was the occasion of the disturbance in the Church of Antioch—whether popular excitement or magisterial caprice—we know not. What definite charge was brought against him, it is vain to speculate. One thing only seems certain. He did not go to Rome, like S. Paul, on an appeal to the Imperial Court. He speaks of himself more than once as condemned to death already (*Ephes.* 12, *Trall.* 3, *Rom.* 4). He has no wish or intention to appeal. On the contrary his one fear is that persons of influence may obtain the emperor's ear and thus procure a pardon or at least a mitigation of his sentence (*Rom.* 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8). This alarm is quite decisive. An appeal must have been his own act; but his every word contradicts the suggestion that he could have been a party to any steps which would rob him of his crown.

He goes to Rome therefore for the execution of his sentence. He has been condemned to the wild beasts by the provincial magistrate; and in the Flavian amphitheatre he must meet his bloodthirsty executioners. The sports of the arena in Trajan's reign were on a gigantic scale—gigantic even for the prodigality of imperial Rome. The wholesale butchery of wild beasts demanded a corresponding sacrifice of human life. The provinces therefore were put under requisition to supply convicts, who might be

> Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday.

We can well imagine moreover that in the case of Ignatius there were special reasons why it was thought desirable by his enemies that he should be sent to Rome and not executed in his own city Antioch. He himself is a more than willing victim. His bones shall be ground to powder by the teeth of the wild beasts, that they may be as fine wheat-flour, fit for the sacrificial offering. If the wild beasts are timid and reluctant, he himself will rush upon them, will irritate them, will compel them to devour and entomb him (*Rom.* 5). The altar is ready, and he longs for the time when the libation of his blood shall be poured upon it (*Rom.* 2). With an almost fierce enthusiasm he forecasts the

supreme moment, when the mangling of his limbs and the crunching of his bones shall at length confer upon him the coveted honour of discipleship (*Rom.* 4, 5).

It is clear from his mode of punishment that he was not a Roman citizen. As a Roman citizen, he would have been spared the worst horrors of the amphitheatre, and would, like S. Paul according to the ancient tradition, or like those martyrs of Vienne and Lyons of whom we read, have been beheaded by the sword[1]. If elsewhere he mentions, as possibilities which he was prepared to meet, 'the fire, the sword, the wild beasts' (*Smyrn.* 4; comp. *Rom.* 5), if he adds, 'nigh to the sword nigh to God, encircled by wild beasts, encircled by God,' the fire is only mentioned as an alternative which might have been his fate, as it was Polycarp's afterwards, and the sword which he contemplates is not the guillotine of the executioner, but the knife of the 'confector,' who would be ready at hand to give him the *coup de grace* in case the wild beasts did their work imperfectly.

Thus condemned to the wild beasts, he sets out on his journey Romeward in the custody of a 'maniple' or company of ten soldiers (*Rom.* 5). Of the earlier part of his route we have no notice direct or indirect. It is not improbable that he would take ship at Seleucia, the port town of Antioch, and sail thence to some harbour on the Cilician or Pamphylian coast (see II. p. 211). From this point onward he must have travelled across the continent of Asia Minor, if indeed his whole journey from Antioch to Smyrna was not performed by land. His route would be determined mainly by the duties of his guards; for the custody of this one prisoner can only have formed a small part of the functions assigned to them on this long journey. Not improbably they were charged with gathering up other prisoners on their route through Asia Minor; for the silence of Ignatius about any such fellow-captives is not a proof, or even a presumption, that there were none. It will be seen presently that, at all events after they reached Europe, he was joined by others who, like himself, were travelling Romeward to seek the crown of martyrdom.

The earliest point at which we are able to determine his route with any degree of probability is in the heart of Asia Minor. Near to the junction of the Lycus and the Mæander, the road which

[1] For S. Paul see Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate'; for the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons, the original document preserved in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 § 43 ὅσοι μὲν ἐδόκουν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι, τούτων ἀπέτεμνε τὰς κεφαλάς κ.τ.λ.

traverses Asia Minor from East to West bifurcates[1]. The northern branch crosses the Dervend pass into the valleys of the Cogamus and Hermus, and passing through Philadelphia and Sardis conducts the traveller to Smyrna. The southern road keeps along the valley of the Mæander, passing through Tralles and Magnesia; from which latter city it crosses the depression in the mountain-range of Messogis northward and reaches Ephesus (see II. pp. 2, 241). At this bifurcation Ignatius must have taken the northern road; for we hear of him at Philadelphia. Of his sojourn there occasional notices are preserved in his subsequent letter to the Church of Philadelphia (II. p. 241). His reception there had not been in all respects satisfactory. From Philadelphia he would go to Sardis, where doubtless he halted, though this city is not named in his extant letters. From Sardis he would travel to Smyrna. At Smyrna he was hospitably received by Polycarp and the Church.

It would appear that, while Ignatius himself took the northern road at the bifurcation, tidings travelled along the southern road to the churches situated thereon, Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus, informing them that the saint would make a halt at Smyrna, so that any delegates whom they might send would have an opportunity of conferring with him there. Accordingly on or soon after his arrival at Smyrna, he was joined by representatives from all these churches. Ephesus, the nearest of the three, sent the bishop Onesimus (*Ephes.* 1, 5, 6), a deacon Burrhus, and three other delegates, Crocus, Euplus, and Fronto, of whose rank or office the saint says nothing (*Ephes.* 2). Through this large representation he seemed to see the whole church with the eyes of love. These Ephesian delegates were a great comfort and refreshment to him (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 10). Of Onesimus he speaks in terms of the highest admiration and love. Burrhus was so useful to him, that he prayed the Ephesians to allow him to remain in his company (*Ephes.* 2). This prayer was granted; and Burrhus afterwards accompanied him as far as Troas, where he acted as his amanuensis (*Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12). Of Crocus also he speaks in affectionate terms (*Rom.* 10). Of the remaining two, Euplus and Fronto, the names only are recorded. At the same time Magnesia, lying only a few hours farther off than Ephesus, sent an equally adequate representation, her bishop Damas, her presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and her deacon Zotion (*Magn.* 2). Of all these Ignatius speaks in language of high commen-

[1] Herod. vii. 31 ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις κ.τ.λ. Xerxes, like Ignatius, took the road through Sardis.

dation. Tralles, being more distant, was not so largely represented; but her bishop Polybius came, and he was in himself a host (*Trall.* 1).

Of the members of the Smyrnæan Church, with whom he came in contact during his sojourn there, the martyr mentions several by name. First and foremost is the bishop Polycarp—a prominent figure alike in the history of the early Church and in the career of Ignatius. What strength and comfort he drew from this companionship may be gathered from his own notices (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 15, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* 1, 7, 8). Next in order of prominence comes Alce, 'beloved name to me' (*Smyrn.* 13, *Polyc.* 8)—Alce herself a devout servant of Christ, but sister of Nicetes and aunt of Herodes, who are destined half a century later to take an active part in the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp himself (*Mart. Polyc.* 8, 17). He mentions by name likewise Eutecnus, Attalus his 'beloved,' and Daphnus 'the incomparable,' besides the wife (or widow) of Epitropus with her whole household and those of her children, and (if this be not the same person) 'the household of Gavia' also (see *Smyrn.* 13, *Polyc.* 8, with the notes).

While sojourning at Smyrna, he wrote four letters which are extant. Three of these are addressed to the three churches whose delegates he had met at Smyrna—the *Ephesians*, the *Magnesians*, and the *Trallians*. The fourth is written to the community among whom he hopes to find his final resting place—to the Church of the *Romans*. Beyond occasional references to personal matters the first three are occupied almost wholly in enforcing lessons of doctrinal truth and ecclesiastical order. The last stands apart from these, and indeed from all the other letters of Ignatius. It deals neither with doctrine nor with order, but is occupied almost entirely with the thought of his approaching martyrdom. He was no longer writing to the Churches of Asia Minor, with whose dissensions or whose heresies he had been brought into more or less direct personal contact. The one topic which he had in common with the Romans was the closing scene of his life's drama, which was soon to be enacted in their great amphitheatre. The letter to the Romans is the only one which bears a date. It was written on the 24th of August. It appears from the closing sentences that he was preceded on his journey to Rome by certain friends, to whom he sends a message; so that the Romans would be fully apprised of his circumstances.

Meanwhile he was treated with rigour by his guards, whom he compares to 'ten leopards' (*Rom.* 5). His conflict with these human monsters was an anticipation of his approaching struggle in the amphitheatre. From the moment when he left the Syrian shore—by land and

by sea—night and day—he had been 'fighting with wild beasts'. The gratuities, by which he or his friends sought to appease them, served only to whet the edge of their cruelty, doubtless as suggesting pleas for fresh exactions.

From Smyrna he was led to Alexandria Troas, whence, like the great Apostle in whose footsteps he was treading (Acts xvi. 8, 9), he would first look upon the shores of Europe. Hither he was accompanied by Burrhus, as the representative not only of the Ephesians, his fellow-citizens, but also of the Smyrnæans, his recent hosts. Here too he was gladdened by two fresh arrivals from his own country and neighbourhood. Philo a deacon of Cilicia, and Rhaius Agathopus a deacon (so it would seem) of his own Syrian Church, had followed in his track. They had been hospitably welcomed both at Philadelphia and at Smyrna; though some persons in the former place had treated them contemptuously, as might have been expected from their attitude towards the saint himself. They were now at Troas ministering to him 'in the word of God' (*Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 10, 13). From them doubtless he had received the welcome intelligence that his dear Church of Antioch was once more in enjoyment of peace.

From Troas the saint wrote three letters. These three letters differ from all the preceding in this respect, that they were written to those whom he had visited personally on his route. The first and second were addressed to the Churches of *Philadelphia* and *Smyrna* respectively, the third to *Polycarp* the bishop of the last-mentioned Church. The general topics in these are the same as in the previous letters (the Epistle to the Romans alone excepted). But the altered circumstances of the Church of Antioch give occasion to a special charge. He desires that the churches with whom he communicates should send delegates or (where delegates are not possible) at all events letters to Syria to congratulate and exhort the Antiochene brotherhood (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11). More especially Polycarp is enjoined to select an exceptionally trustworthy representative, to act in this capacity of 'God's courier' (*Polyc.* 7). The letter to Polycarp was written on the eve of his departure from Troas to Neapolis. The sailing orders had been sudden, and he had not had time to write, as he had intended, to all the churches to this same effect. He begs Polycarp to supply the omission (*Polyc.* 8).

At Neapolis he, like S. Paul, first set foot on the shores of Europe. From Neapolis he went to Philippi. The Philippians welcomed and escorted on their way Ignatius and others who like himself were 'entwined with saintly fetters, the diadems of the truly elect' (Polyc.

Phil. 1). Of these others two are especially mentioned by name, Zosimus and Rufus (*ib.* 9). Whether the persons thus named had any direct connexion with Ignatius, or whether they were Bithynian Christians who had joined his escort at Philippi, having been sent to Rome by Pliny the proprætor, and were conducted from that point onward under custody of the same 'ten leopards', or what may have been their history, we can only speculate.

Ignatius charged the Philippians, as he had charged other churches, to send a letter to the brethren of Antioch (Polyc. *Phil.* 13). They had accordingly written to Polycarp, requesting that their letter might be conveyed to Antioch by the same messenger who should be entrusted with the letter from Smyrna. It is from Polycarp's extant reply to the Philippians that we learn the few scanty facts respecting the martyr's sojourn at Philippi which are here given. The Philippians had also accompanied this request with another. They desired Polycarp to send them copies of the letters that Ignatius had addressed to himself or to his church (see the note on § 13 τὰς ἐπιστολὰς...τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν) together with any other letters of the martyr which he might have by him. With this request he complied. It is not improbably to this circumstance that we owe the preservation of the seven letters of Ignatius.

Here the curtain drops on the career of the martyr. When Polycarp writes in reply to the Philippians, he knows nothing about the subsequent moments of Ignatius and his companions, though he suspects that the Philippians, as lying some stages nearer to Rome, may have later news (*Phil.* 9). If Polycarp obtained the information which he sought, it has not been preserved to us. On everything which happened after this point history is silent, though legend, as usual, is busy and loquacious. He would naturally follow the great Egnatian road from Philippi to Dyrrhachium. Whether, when he arrived at the shores of the Hadriatic, he crossed over direct to Beneventum and travelled to Rome by the Appian way, or took the longer sea voyage through the straits of Messina, whether in the latter case he landed in the bay of Naples, like S. Paul, or at the mouth of the Tiber, as represented in one of his Martyrologies (*Mart. Ign. Ant.* 6), it is idle to enquire. Rome was at length reached. In the huge pile, erected for the colossal display of these inhuman sports by the good emperors of the Flavian dynasty, Ignatius the captain of martyrs fell a victim under the good emperor Trajan. Tragic facts these, on which it is wholesome to reflect.

So fought and so conquered this brave general officer in the noble army of martyrs. After S. Stephen, the leader of the band, no martyr-

dom has had so potent an influence on the Church as his. The two chief Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, (there is good reason to believe) died a martyr's death; but of the circumstances we know nothing beyond an uncertain tradition. Their martyrdom was only a small and comparatively insignificant incident in their career. It was by their lives, rather than by their deaths, that they edified the Church of God. But Ignatius was before all things the Martyr. Everything conspired to concentrate men's thoughts on his martyrdom—the sudden flash of light following upon the comparative obscurity of his previous life—the long journey across two continents from the far East to the far West—the visits to many churches and the visits from many others—the collection of letters in which his own burning words are enshrined—the final scene of all in the largest, most central, and most famous arena of the world. Hence his Epistle to the Romans—his pæan prophetic of the coming victory—became a sort of martyr's manual. In all the earliest authentic records of martyrdom—in the letter of the Church of Smyrna on the death of Polycarp, in the contemporary account of the persecutions at Vienne and Lyons, and in the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas at Carthage—alike its influence is seen. The earliest direct quotation from Ignatius (*Iren.* v. 38. 4) is the passage in which he describes himself as the wheat-flour ground fine for the sacrificial offering (*Rom.* 4). The diction and imagery of martyrology follow henceforth in the tracks of Ignatius. It is quite possible indeed that he himself in many points merely adopted language already familiar when he wrote. All we can say is, that among extant writings many thoughts and expressions, current in later martyrologies, occur here for the first time.

It is a cheap wisdom which at the study table or over the pulpit desk declaims against the extravagance of the feelings and language of Ignatius, as the vision of martyrdom rose up before him. After all it is only by an enthusiasm which men call extravagance that the greatest moral and spiritual triumphs have been won. This was the victory which overcame the world—the faith of Ignatius and of men like-minded with him. The sentiment in Ignatius is thoroughly earnest, thoroughly genuine. It does not, as in lower natures, minister to spiritual pride. No humility could be more real than his. He felt only as a brave man must feel who is leading a forlorn hope. He believed that for himself death was life and life was death. He was

> Assured the trial fiery fierce but fleet
> Would from his little heap of ashes lend
> Wings to the conflagration of the world,
> Which Christ awaits ere He makes all things new.

> So should the frail become the perfect, rapt
> From glory of pain to glory of joy[1].

He felt that if his friends, kindly cruel, should interpose between him and martyrdom, a golden opportunity would be lost and a grievous wound inflicted on the Church of Christ. Who shall say that he was wrong? Would it not have been an irreparable loss, if their intercessions had prevailed?

But the example of heroic courage was not the only legacy which Ignatius bequeathed to the Church. His glory as a martyr commended his lessons as a doctor. His teaching on matters of theological truth and ecclesiastical order was barbed and fledged by the fame of his constancy in that supreme trial of his faith.

The direct interest of his theological teaching has indeed passed away with the heresy against which it was directed. The docetism which Ignatius controverted is altogether a thing of the past. Later generations marvel that such a form of error could have caused even momentary anxiety to the Church of Christ. It seems so very unsubstantial; it is so directly antagonistic to the bias of later aberrations from the faith. To deny the truth of Christ's humanity, to question the reality of His birth and life and death in the flesh, is the shadow of smoke, is the dream of a dream, to ourselves. Yet all the notices conspire to show that during a considerable part of the second century it constituted a very real danger to Christianity. At the same time the indirect interest of the theological teaching of this father can never fail; for it exhibits plainly enough, though in rougher outline and without his preciseness of definition, the same insistence on the twofold nature of Christ—the humanity and the divinity—which distinguished the teaching of the great Athanasius two centuries and a half later.

On the other hand in matters of ecclesiastical order the direct interest of the martyr's lessons was never more intense than it is at the present day. When at the catastrophic epoch of the Reformation several communities of Christendom broke loose from the form of government which had prevailed throughout the Church from the close of the Apostolic age, the notices in the earliest writers bearing on this subject came to be narrowly scanned. Of all fathers of the Church, early or late, no one is more incisive or more persistent in advocating the claims of the threefold ministry to allegiance than Ignatius. Hence from that time forward his letters have been the battle-field of controversy. Yet with himself this subject, prominent as it is, was secondary

[1] Browning *The Ring and The Book* IV. p. 78.

to the other. The ecclesiastical order was enforced by him almost solely as a security for the doctrinal purity. The unity of the body was a guarantee of the unity of the faith. The threefold ministry was the husk, the shell, which protected the precious kernel of the truth.

The frequent echoes of the Epistle to the Romans in various Acts of Martyrdom, as well as the direct quotations from his letters in Irenæus and Origen, show that his memory was kept alive in the Antenicene periods; but the prominence given to his martyrdom and writings in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius doubtless secured to him from that time forward a wider fame.

It seemed likely however for a time that his fame would be eclipsed by a younger aspirant to popular honours at Antioch. Babylas was a far less considerable personality than Ignatius; but from nearness of time he occupied a larger space in the field of view. Moreover recent circumstances had invested his memory with a splendour which was lacking to the earlier martyr.

Babylas had won for himself a name by his heroic courage, as bishop of Antioch. It was related of him that on one occasion, when the emperor Philip, who was a Christian, had presented himself one Easter Eve at the church at the time of prayer, he had boldly refused admission to the sovereign, till he had gone through the proper discipline of a penitent for some offence committed[1]. He acted like a good shepherd, says Chrysostom (p. 545), who drives away the scabby sheep, lest it should infect the flock. This anticipation of a later and more famous scene between S. Ambrose and Theodosius at Milan

[1] Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 34) relates the incident, but does not name either the place or the bishop (τοῦ τηνικάδε προεστῶτος). Philip however would pass through Antioch on his way to Rome immediately after his accession (A. D. 244); and according to the sequence of events in the *History* Babylas would be bishop of that see at the time, for his accession is mentioned earlier (vi. 29), and his death later (vi. 39). On the other hand in the *Chronicon* (both the Armenian and Jerome's recension) the accession of Babylas is placed after the death of Philip (II. pp. 181, 182, Schöne). Leontius, a successor of Babylas in the see of Antioch, about A. D. 350, gave the names (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 503 sq., ed. Bonn.). He stated that Babylas repelled both Philip and his wife from the church, and he mentioned the crime of Philip. Philip, when prefect, had been placed in charge of the son of the emperor Gordian; but on the death of Gordian, he perfidiously and cruelly slew this prince, and himself seized the empire. Somewhat later Chrysostom tells a similar story, which he decks out with all the luxuriance of his rhetoric; but he does not mention the name of Philip or of Gordian, and he represents the victim as the son of a foreign king handed over as a hostage on the conclusion of peace (*de S. Bab. c. Jul.* 5 sq. *Op.* II. p. 544 sq.).

was not the only title of Babylas to respect. He was one of the sufferers in the persecution of Decius. It would seem that he died in prison from the effects of torture undergone during his examination[1]. At all events in some form or other he was crowned with the glory of martyrdom.

But he might have remained a mere name, hardly remembered, if remembered at all, in the crowded ranks of the noble army of martyrs, had not later events thrown a fresh lustre on his memory.

During the reign of Constantius, in the year 351, the Cæsar Gallus, the hapless brother of Julian, an ardent Christian in his way, being then resident at Antioch, had devised a more honourable resting-place for the reliques of Babylas, than the comparative obscurity of his original grave within the city. Daphne, the beautiful suburb of Antioch, the seat of the worship of Apollo, was renowned throughout the world. Antioch itself, Antioch the Great, though a far more considerable city than any of its namesakes, was commonly styled 'Antioch

[1] This seems to be the natural interpretation of the earliest notice of his death; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 39 τοῦ Βαβύλα μετὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεταλλάξαντος. For the accounts of later writers see Tillemont *H. E.* III. p. 728 sq. The inference which I have drawn from the account of Eusebius is favoured by the statement of Chrysostom (p. 554), that the chains were lying with the remains of the saint in his time. He himself supposes that Babylas ordered the chains to be buried with him, assuming that he was executed.

As regards the circumstances which led to his martyrdom, we may mark the following stages in the development of the story. (1) Eusebius (about A. D. 325) relates his repulse of Philip and his death under Decius, without suggesting any connexion between the two. (2) Leontius (about A. D. 350) says distinctly that Decius put him to death to avenge the insult offered to his predecessor Philip. (3) Chrysostom (about A. D. 382) identifies the emperor who was repulsed with the emperor who put him to death, obviously meaning Decius, though the name is not mentioned. See also Philostorgius (*H. E.* vii. 8). On the improbability of Chrysostom's account see Tillemont *Emp.* III. p. 645 sq. An attempt is made in the Bollandist *Act. Sanct.* Sept. IV. p. 438 sq. to defend Chrysostom's narrative; but, though some difficulties are raised respecting the earlier account of Eusebius and Leontius, which represents Philip as the emperor who was repulsed, and so far the criticism tends to discredit the story altogether, it does nothing towards reinstating Chrysostom's version of it. Chrysostom is an excellent authority for the events connected with the removal of the reliques from Daphne, which occurred only twenty years before he wrote; but for the martyrdom, which happened 130 years before, he is worthless.

Another account, mentioned apparently with favour by Philostorgius (l. c.) and appearing commonly at a later date, makes Numerianus (A. D. 284) the emperor under whom Babylas suffered. On the question whether there is here a confusion between two martyrs called Babylas, or between Numerianus the emperor and Numerius the persecuting general under Decius, see Tillemont *H. E.* III. p. 729 sq.

near Daphne,' as if it were an appendage of the far-famed shrine and grove. No place was more highly favoured by nature than Daphne; none was more shamefully defiled by man. It was one of those so-called sanctuaries, where the grossest profligacy was consecrated in the name of religion. Its shameful immoralities are painted in the darkest colours by the contemporary historian Sozomen. Its fatal allurements are better known to the modern reader through a vivid description in the pages of the *Decline and Fall*, borrowed largely from the account of this ancient writer. The bounties of nature, the umbrageous foliage above, the flowery carpet beneath, the grottos and streams, conspired with the works of man, the porticos and colonnades and baths, to invest vice with a peculiar attraction[1]. It was thought disgraceful, says the Christian historian, for any decent man to set foot in this suburb[2]. To these precincts Gallus translated the body of Babylas. By so doing, says Chrysostom, he brought a physician to the sick (p. 556). The presence of the martyr would purify the place and invest it with higher associations, while his intrusion into this chief sanctuary of the heathen religion would be a fatal blow dealt at idolatry. So the bones of Babylas were laid hard by the shrine of Apollo. A few years later (A.D. 362) the emperor Julian[3], then preparing for his fatal Persian expedition, paid a visit to Antioch. He was assiduous in his attentions to Apollo of Daphne. He consulted the oracle there, but no answer was vouchsafed. When pressed for a response, the god replied that the contiguity of dead men's bones was an offence to him and sealed his lips. No name was mentioned. The demon was ashamed, so said S. Chrysostom, to utter the name of the holy martyr, and thus confess his defeat (pp. 560 sq., 566). But Julian could hardly misunderstand the bearing of this dark hint. It was well conceived as an appeal to one whose constant reproach against the Christians was their reverence for dead

[1] For a description of Daphne at this time see especially Sozom. *H. E.* v. 19, Chrysost. *de S. Bab. c. Jul.* 12 sq. (p. 555 sq.), Liban. *Or.* I. p. 303 sq., p. 351 sq., III. p. 332 sq. (ed. Reiske).

[2] Sozom. l.c. *ἐπιβαίνειν τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίζετο*; comp. Chrysost. p. 555 sq.

[3] The following are the authorities for the incidents connected with the removal of the reliques and the conflagration of the temple and image: Julian *Misop.* 361 (p. 466, Hertlein); Liban. *Or.* III. p. 332 sq.; Chrysost. *de Hierom. Bab., Op.* II. p. 531 sq., *de S. Bab. c. Jul.* 12 sq., *Op.* II. p. 555 sq.; Ruffin. *H. E.* x. 35 sq.; Sozom. *H. E.* v. 19 sq.; Socr. *H. E.* iii. 18 sq.; Theodt. *H. E.* iii. 6 sq., *Græc. Aff. Cur.* x (*Op.* IV. p. 964, Schulze); Philostorg. *H. E.* vii. 8 sq.; Evagr. *H. E.* i. 16; Theophanes *Chronogr.* p. 76 sq., ed. Bonn.

bones[1]. So the younger brother undid the work of the elder. Julian commanded the Christians to remove from Apollo's sanctuary the loathsome coffin which Gallus had deposited there[2]. They did so: but they managed to render their compliance more offensive to the emperor than their refusal could have been. Men, women, and children, in crowds joined the festive procession which accompanied the holy reliques to their restingplace within the city. Along the whole route—the Daphnæan sanctuary was four or five miles distant from the city[3]—they sung the psalm of defiance, 'Confounded be all they that worship graven images.' The emperor was furious at these demonstrations. Christians were apprehended and put to the torture[4]; but nothing was gained by this severity. He was advised that coercion only aggravated the evil which he sought to remove. But a still heavier blow awaited the god of the Daphnæan grove. Shortly after the removal of the martyr's bones, a fire broke out in the shrine[5]. The

[1] Julian in Cyr. *c. Julian.* p. 335 (Spanheim) and elsewhere.

[2] Ammianus (xxii. 12) says nothing about Babylas, but represents it as a general purgation by the removal of all the bodies buried in the neighbourhood, 'statim circumhumata corpora statuit exinde transferri eo ritu quo Athenienses insulam purgaverant Delon.' Christian writers however, one and all, state that the emperor directed the removal of the remains of Babylas, and betray no knowledge of a general order; Chrysostom (p. 562) says distinctly that this one body alone was removed (*διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν μάρτυρα μετακινηθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν*; comp. also p. 534); and so too Theodoret (*H. E.* iii. 6): and their account is borne out by the language of Julian himself (*Misop.* 361 *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης... τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν λειψάνων ἡγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ*) and of Libanius (*Or.* III. p. 333 *νεκροῦ τινος ἐνοχλοῦντος*), so that there can be no doubt as to the motive or the effect of the emperor's orders, whether they are couched in general terms or not.

[3] Ruffinus says 'six,' but this appears to be an exaggeration.

[4] One of the chief sufferers, Theodorus, was afterwards known to Ruffinus (x. 36), who questioned him about the incident; see also Socrates (*H. E.* iii. 19, who mentions this interview with Ruffinus. It is alluded to also by Sozom. v. 20, Theodt. *H. E.* iii. 7, but they speak of 'certain persons' and do not mention Ruffinus by name. Gibbon seems to confuse this young man Theodorus the confessor with Theodoretus the presbyter and martyr, who was put to death about this time at Antioch by the Count Julianus the uncle of the emperor (Sozom. v. 8, Ruinart's *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 605 sq.), for he speaks in his text of 'a presbyter of the name of Theodoret' and in his notes of 'the passion of St Theodore in the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart.' On the confusion of the names 'Theodorus,' 'Theodoretus,' see Tillemont *H. E.* VII. p. 735.

[5] Gibbon says, 'During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames,' and later writers have blindly followed him. He does not give any authority, but obviously he is copying Tillemont *H. E.* III. p. 407 'en mesme temps que l'on portoit dans la ville la

statue of the god, represented as Musagetes, was reduced to cinders. The roof of the shrine also was burnt; but the columns and walls were left standing as a testimony, so insists Chrysostom (pp. 534 sq., 564 sq., 572 sq., 577). One report represented the fire as accidental; the philosopher Asclepiades had been burning tapers at the foot of the statue, and the sparks had ignited the dry wood[1]. Julian not unnaturally persuaded himself that the Christians had set it on fire[2]. The Christians gave a different explanation. They averred that the flames were declared by the priests in attendance to have broken out in the head of the statue, not in the feet; that the emperor put the priests to the torture; and that nevertheless they persisted in their first statement. Plainly therefore it was struck by fire from heaven[3]. Thus the holy martyr Babylas had a double victory. His presence had silenced the voice of the evil demon; his expulsion had been avenged by the overthrow of the same[4].

chasse du saint martyr, c'est à dire la nuit suivante.' The only passage which Tillemont quotes is Ammianus (xxii. 13) 'eodem tempore die xi Kal. Novembr.,' which does not bear him out. On the contrary the historians generally (e.g. Sozom. v. 20, Theodt. iii. 7) place the persecutions which followed on the procession, and which must have occupied some time, before the burning of the temple.

[1] Ammianus (xxii. 13) mentions this, and characterizes it as 'rumor levissimus.' Gibbon falls into the error of applying this expression to Julian's charge against the Christians, and compliments Ammianus on his 'extraordinary candour.' The compliment was well deserved, but not on this ground.

[2] Ammian. l. c. In *Misopogon* p. 361 he himself speaks vaguely and not very intelligibly, *οἱ δὲ εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτε μὴ τὸ πῦρ ἔδειξαν ἐκεῖνο.*

[3] All those Christian writers who mention the conflagration account for it in this way. They regard it as an answer to the prayers of the martyr, who thus confounded the demon; Chrysost. p. 565, etc.; Theodoret ll. cc.; Philostorg. l. c. Sozomen (*H. E.* v. 20) says *ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς κατὰ αἴτησιν τοῦ μάρτυρος θεήλατον ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ δαίμονι πῦρ, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐλογοποίουν Χριστιανῶν εἶναι τὸ δρᾶμα κ.τ.λ.* Theodoret (*H. E.* iii. 7) goes so far as to state that some rustics in the neighbourhood saw the thunderbolt fall.

It seems probable that the Christian account was correct. Chrysostom, Sozomen, and Theodoret, all declare that the attendants of the temple were examined and even maltreated to induce them to inform against some one, but in vain. The evidence showed that the statue had been ignited from above. There seems no reason for questioning the fact of this examination. Chrysostom (p. 560) appeals to his audience, of whom a large number were old enough to recollect the facts, and asks them to contradict him if he makes any misstatement. If this account of the ignition be not accepted, the alternative would seem to be that the fire was owing to some carelessness of the priests in attendance, which they did not care to confess. Libanius (*Or.* III. p. 334) believes it was the work of an incendiary, but does not name the Christians.

[4] The successive resting-places of Babylas were as follows; (1) He lay in a *martyrium* within the city, Chrysost. p.

But, though obscured for a time by the greater fame of the younger martyr, the memory of Ignatius burnt brightly still. In the later

554 sq., 565, etc.; (2) He was translated by the Cæsar Gallus to the precincts of the Daphnæan Apollo, and placed in a *martyrium* there; (3) He was removed by order of Julian and replaced by the Christians in his former *martyrium* within the city (Chrysost. p. 564 τῶν ἱερῶν εἴσω περιβόλων ἐν οἷς καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν πρὶν εἰς τὴν Δάφνην ἐλθεῖν, p. 565 εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο; comp. *ib.* τὸ μαρτύριον ἑκάτερον, τό τε ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει); (4) A magnificent *church* was built soon after, outside the walls of the city on the other side of the Orontes, and dedicated to the martyr, and in it his bones were finally placed; Chrysost. *de Hierom. Bab.* p. 535 ἡ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις οὐκ εἴασεν ἐκεῖ διηνεκῶς μεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πέραν μετέστησεν κ.τ.λ. The bishop (his name is not mentioned by Chrysostom, but Meletius is meant) took an active part in the erection of this church; he even laboured with his own hands, pulling ropes and carrying stones in the heat of summer; and dying soon after († 381) he was buried by the side of the martyr, for whose honour he had been so zealous (comp. also Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 10). This church is mentioned by Evagrius nearly two centuries later (*H. E.* i. 16 νεὼς αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παμμεγέθης ἀνίστατο ὁ καὶ μέχρι ἡμῶν σωζόμενος).

I have thought it worth while to collect these facts, because erroneous statements are made on this subject in quarters where greater accuracy might have been expected. Thus Müller *de Antiq. Antioch.* p. 105 says of Babylas, 'In ea aede coli coeptus esse videtur, quae extra portas trans Orontem sita erat. In hac cum ossa ejus primum composita essent, postea a Gallo principe in Daphnaeum delubrum translata sunt, ubi cum Apollo mortui hominis vicinia os sibi occludi questus est...Julianus ea ossa in illud templum extra urbem reportari jussit etc.' But it is clear from Chrysostom's account that Babylas lay *within* the city before and after his temporary sojourn in Daphne, and that the church across the river was not built till some time after his return. Müller may have been misled by Sozomen (v. 29) who writes, εἵλκυσαν τὴν θήκην ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡσεὶ στάδια τεσσαράκοντα, οὗ νῦν ὁ μάρτυς κεῖται δεδωκὼς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν τῷ τόπῳ, thus overlooking the period when the saint's bones reposed a second time within his original *martyrium*. Again Stephens, *Saint Chrysostom etc.* p. 107, says 'At the time when Chrysostom wrote, some twenty years after the occurrence, the mournful wreck [of Apollo's temple] was yet standing, but the chapel [of Babylas in Daphne] again contained the relics of the saint and martyr,' etc. On the contrary Chrysostom distinctly states that the reliques were not taken back to Daphne (p. 577 ἡ δὲ λάρναξ οὐκέτι πάλιν ἀνάγεται), and he sees a divine providence in this. But Gibbon is the chief offender. He writes 'A magnificent church was erected [at Daphne] over his remains.' There seems to be a confusion here with the final resting-place of Babylas built subsequently by Meletius, 'un fort grand et fort beau temple' (Tillemont *H. E.* III. p. 407). Gibbon further says, 'As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of Paganism, the Church of S. Babylas [in Daphne] was demolished.' This is directly opposed to the statements of Chrysostom, who repeatedly mentions that this *martyrium* of Babylas in Daphne was left standing even after the fire (pp. 534, 535, 565, 577, and elsewhere). On p. 565 Chrysostom says of Julian κατέφλεξε... τὸ μαρτύριον ἑκάτερον, τό τε ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ τό τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ μὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὁ φόβος ἦν μείζων κ.τ.λ., 'He had burnt both the martyria...if his fear had not been greater

decades of the fourth century his grave was shown in the Christian cemetery, outside the Daphnitic gate[1] which led from the city westward to the famous suburb. Was it really the resting-place of this early martyr? Or did some monumental stone inscribed with the name Ignatius—no uncommon name—give rise to the belief by a too hasty identification? This suspicion is not unreasonable. The tradition that the reliques were translated from Rome to Antioch cannot be traced back earlier than this date; and it is at least more probable than not, that his ashes would be mingled with Roman dust near the scene of his martyrdom, indistinguishable from the other countless victims of the Flavian amphitheatre. About the same time, and perhaps somewhat earlier, we find October 17 assigned to him as the day of his earthly death, the day of his heavenly birth[2].

It was on this anniversary that Chrysostom, then a presbyter of Antioch, delivered his extant panegyric (*Op.* II. p. 592 sq.) on this father of the Church, this 'good shepherd' who in strict fulfilment of the Lord's precept had laid down his life for his sheep (p. 593). He accepts fully the story of the translation, and draws an imaginary picture of the return of the reliques. They were borne aloft on men's shoulders from city to city, like a victor returning in triumph, amidst the applause of the bystanders. 'Ye sent him forth,' so he addresses the Antiochenes—'Ye sent him forth a bishop, and ye received him a martyr; ye sent him forth with prayers, and ye received him with crowns.' 'Just as an inexhaustible treasure,' he adds, 'though drawn upon from day to day, yet never failing, makes all those who share in it the wealthier, so also this blessed Ignatius filleth those who come to him with blessings, with confidence, with a noble spirit, and with much braveness, and so sendeth them home' (p. 600 sq.). And in conclusion he invites his hearers, in whatever trouble they may be, to 'come hither and see the saint,' that they may find relief (p. 601). The homilies of this famous preacher were commonly delivered in the 'Great

than his rage.' Can it be that Gibbon read the first clause of the sentence and overlooked the second? Tillemont (*H. E.* III. p. 406 sq.) correctly describes the successive migrations of the bones of Babylas.

Gibbon's command and marshalling of facts is admirable; and he is generally credited with exceptional accuracy. But having examined the two pages relating to the 'Babylas riots,' I am bound to say that I have found them full of loose and inaccurate statements.

[1] Hieron. *Catal.* 16 'Reliquiae ejus Antiochiae jacent extra portam Daphniticam in coemeterio'; see below II. pp. 376 sq., 429 sq.

[2] See below II. p. 416 sq., with regard to the day of S. Ignatius.

Church' of Antioch[1], which had been built by Constantine on the site of the 'Old Church,' the primitive place of assembly in this early home of Gentile Christianity, and of which Eusebius has left a brief description[2]. But the thrice-repeated invitation to 'come hither[3]' seems to show that in this case the orator was speaking in the presence of the real or supposed reliques of the saint, and therefore in the *martyrium* built over the grave in the cemetery near the Daphnitic gate.

But in the next generation the saint was transferred to a more honourable resting-place than this humble martyr's chapel outside the walls. Successive princes had vied with each other in the erection of splendid buildings at Antioch—Syrian kings, Roman emperors, even foreign sovereigns like Herod the Great. In this long roll of benefactors the younger Theodosius held a conspicuous place. Under this emperor successive governors of Syria and great officers of state contributed to the adornment of this 'eastern metropolis'—Memnonius, Zoilus, Callistus, Anatolius, Nymphidius. The empress Eudocia herself claimed kindred with the Antiochenes and bore her part in this labour of love[4]. In this work of renovation the primitive bishop and martyr of the Church was not forgotten. 'The good God put it into the heart of Theodosius,' writes the historian, 'to honour the God-bearer with greater honours[5].' The genius of the city, the Fortune of Antioch[6], was represented by a gilt-bronze statue, a master-piece of Eutychides of Sicyon, the pupil of Lysippus. A queenly figure, crowned with a diadem of towers, rested on a rock, doubtless intended for the mountain Silpius which formed the lofty background of Antioch, while from beneath her feet emerged the bust and arms of a youth, the symbol of the river-god Orontes. In her hand she bore a bundle of wheat-sheaves, the emblem of plenty. In the fourth century of the Christian era we find this statue, which was coeval with the building of the city, enshrined in a house of her own, which bore her name, the Tychæum or Temple of Fortune[7]. To this ancient shrine the remains of Ignatius were borne aloft on a car with

[1] C. O. Müller *de Antiq. Antioch*, p. 103 sq.

[2] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 50; comp. *L. C.* ix. § 15.

[3] *Op.* II. p. 601 ἐνταῦθα παραγινέσθω, ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεσθαι, ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα.

[4] Müller, p. 115.

[5] Evagr. *H. E.* i. 16. The passage is quoted at length below, II. p. 386, note.

[6] For this deity and her statue see Müller p. 35 sq.

[7] Ammian. xxiii. 1 'gradile Genii templum,' Julian *Misop.* p. 546 (Spanheim) τὸ τῆς τύχης τέμενος, Libanius *Pro Templ.* II. p. 201 (Reiske); see Müller p. 40.

great pomp through the city by the emperor's order, and there deposited. From that time forward the Temple of Fortune was known as the 'Church of Ignatius.' The martyred bishop thus took the place of the tutelary genius in whom the past glories and the future hopes of Antioch centred. What became of the famous statue of Eutychides —whether it had already disappeared or was now removed elsewhere— we are not informed. But assuredly the same building could not hold the pagan image and the Christian reliques. From that day forward, we are told, the anniversary was kept as a public festival with great rejoicing. This anniversary was in all probability the 20th of December, which in the later Greek Calendar is assigned to S. Ignatius, and displacing the original 17th of October, came to be regarded as the anniversary of the martyrdom, though in fact the anniversary of the translation to the Tychæum[1]. The time—the crowning day of the Sigillaria—may have been chosen designedly by the emperor, because he desired to invest with a Christian character this highly popular heathen festival[2].

It was in this ancient Temple of Fortune, thus transformed into a Christian Church, that on the first of January, the day of S. Basil and S. Gregory, Severus, the great Monophysite Bishop of Antioch, styled *par excellence* '*the* patriarch,' year after year during his episcopate used to deliver his homilies on the two saints, taking occasion from time to time to turn aside from his main text and commemorate, as a man of like spirit, the apostolic martyr whose reliques reposed in the building[3]. It was here too that towards the close of the sixth century the Antiochene patriarch Gregory added fresh dignity and magnificence to the rites, already splendid, which graced the anniversary festival of Ignatius himself[4].

From the close of the fourth century the glory of Ignatius suffered no eclipse in the East. His reputation was sustained in other ways than by popular festivals. The epistles forged or interpolated in his name are a speaking testimony to the weight of his authority on theological questions. The legendary Acts of Martyrdom, professing to give an account of his last journey and conflict, evince the interest which was excited in his fate in the popular mind. The translation of his letters into Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic, rendered them accessible to all the principal nations of Eastern Christendom. With the Monophysites more especially he was held in high honour. His theo-

[1] See below, II. p. 432.

[2] See *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 6, with the note (II. p. 486).

[3] See below, II. p. 419 sq.

[4] Evagr. *H. E.* i. 16, quoted below, II. p. 386, note.

logy seemed to lend itself readily to their peculiar tenets. Hence the frequent quotations from his letters in Monophysite writers. To his fame also may probably be ascribed the fact that for some centuries past the Jacobite patriarchs of Antioch have regularly assumed the name of Ignatius on their accession to the see[1]. The popularity of the name Clement with the bishops of Rome presents a partial analogy to this fact. In like manner, just as an ancient Greek liturgy (perhaps written for the West) is ascribed to Clement as its author, so also a Jacobite liturgy, though obviously late in date, bears the name of Ignatius[2].

In the West on the other hand he seems never to have been a popular saint. It will be shown elsewhere (II. p. 427) that his foothold in Western calendars was precarious. Yet his fame must have been widely spread through the Latin Versions of the Greek Epistles, through the Acts of Martyrdom, and through the forged correspondence with the Virgin. At all events for some reason or other the name was not uncommon in Spain, even at an early date[3]: and in the sixteenth century it acquired an unwonted prominence in the founder of the most powerful order in Christendom.

[1] See Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* II. pp. 381, 382, and also his *Dissertatio de Monophysitis* (which is unpaged). From the close of the 16th century the practice has been constant. I have not however found any notice which connects it with Ignatius the apostolic father.

[2] See Renaudot *Liturg. Orient.* II. p. 214 sq.

[3] Yonge's *History of Christian Names* I. p. 401 sq.

Notices relating to persecutions under Trajan.

I.

C. Plini et Trajani *Epistulae* 96, 97.

C. PLINIUS TRAJANO IMPERATORI.

Sollemne est mihi, domine, omnia de quibus dubito ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere vel ignorantiam extruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam: ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant, detur poenitentiae venia an ei qui omnino Christianus fuit desisse non prosit, nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Interim [in] iis qui ad me tamquam Christiani deferebantur hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant esse se Christianos aut

4. extruere] This seems to have been the reading of the MS, since it appears in Avantius, though Aldus has 'instruere.' If it be correct, the metaphor is taken from the erection of a building in a vacant area; e.g. Cic. *Resp.* ii. 11 'aream sibi sumpsit in qua civitatem extrueret arbitratu suo.'

Cognitionibus] '*the judicial enquiries.*' Whether the proceedings to which Pliny here refers took place in Trajan's reign or before, does not appear; see above, p. 15. Pliny was prætor in A.D. 93 or 94, but there is no reason to suppose that any prosecutions of Christians took place in Rome during his year of office, or that, if such had taken place, they would necessarily have come before him.

12. duci] i.e. ad supplicium, ad mortem, '*to be led to execution,*' as e.g. Seneca *de Ira* i. 18 'Cum iratus duci jussisset eum... conscendit tribunal furens Piso ac jubet duci utrumque...ipsum centurionem, qui damnatum reduxerat, duci jussit... 'Te, inquit, duci jubeo, quia damnatus es.' So the Greek ἀπάγεσθαι, e.g. Acts xii. 19 ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαχθῆναι, where there is a v. l. (a gloss) ἀποκτανθῆναι.

13. obstinationem] This is the charge brought against the Christians by M. Aurelius xi. 3 μὴ κατὰ ψίλην παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ χριστιανοί (see Gataker's note).

15. ipso tractatu] i.e. the mere handling of the affair led to a multiplication of charges (diffundente se crimine) and thence to the discovery of various types of incriminated persons.

fuisse, cum praeeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur qui sunt re vera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi. Alii ab indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti. [Hi] quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt et Christo male dixerunt. Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta,

1. praeeunte] '*dictating the words*,' as in a similar case related *Ep.* x. 60 (52) 'praeivimus et commilitonibus jusjurandum more sollemni.'

9. stato die] i.e. on Sunday; comp. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 67 (p. 98) *τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων...ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται*, and in the context he gives the reasons for the selection of this day. See also Barnab. 15, Ign. *Magn.* 9. For Pliny's account of these services of the Christians generally see Harnack's *Christlicher Gemeindegottesdienst* p. 215 sq., with the references there given.

10. carmenque] The word does not necessarily imply a metrical composition, a song or hymn, but is used of any set form of words (e.g. *Paneg.* 92 'sanctissimum illud carmen praeire dignatus es'). Yet here probably it is used in this more restricted sense, as the words *secum invicem* seem to show. See Harnack *l. c.* p. 219 sq., Probst *Lehre u. Gebet* p. 276 sq., and my note on Col. iii. 16.

quasi deo] As Pliny is a heathen writer, the words should not improbably be translated 'as to *a* god' (comp. Acts xii. 22); but it does not follow that Tertullian and Eusebius so understood them. For the fact comp. Anon. [Hippolytus] in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28 *ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες*. Of such an early hymn we have perhaps an example in 1 Tim. iii. 16 (though *Θεὸς* is not the correct reading).

secum invicem] '*antiphonally*': see Harnack *l. c.* p. 223 sq., Probst *l. c.* p. 278. Compare the legend of Ignatius considered above, p. 31 sq.

11. sacramento] The word *sacramentum* in early Christian writings has two senses. (1) It is the equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον*, of which it is a rendering in the Old Latin as well as in the Vulgate; and thus it signifies 'a sacred ordinance or doctrine or fact,' more especially where a deeper verity is hidden under some familiar external form. Thus it is applied to the Old Testament, to the Incarnation, to the Cross, etc., and to parables and types generally: see the indices to Tertullian and Cyprian, and comp. Probst *Sakramente u. Sakramentalien* p. 1 sq. (2) It is used in its classical sense of 'a solemn obligation or pledge or oath.' In both senses it was applicable to the two ordinances which we call sacraments (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 34 'ad sacramentum baptismatis et eucharistiae admittens'), though in the latter sense it was more appropriate to baptism, which involved a direct vow, than to the eucharist, where the pledge was implied rather than expressed. In classical language it was used especially of the oath of allegiance taken by soldiers. The ap-

ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque [coeundi] ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium;

plication to the Christian entering upon his spiritual warfare was obvious (2 Tim. ii. 4 ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ, Ign. *Polyc.* 6 ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε κ.τ.λ.); see Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3 'Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi jam tunc, cum in sacramenti verba respondemus,' *Scorp.* 4 'Huic sacramento militans ab hostibus provocor,' Cypr. *de Laps.* 7 'Christi sacramentum temeritate praecipiti solveretur,' *ib.* 13 'Sacramenti mei memor devotionis ac fidei arma suscepi,' Anon. *de Rebaptism.* 16 'perinde ac si quis sacramento miles dicto desertis suis castris in hostium diversissimis castris longe aliud sacramentum velit dicere, hac ratione constat eum vetere sacramento exauctoratum esse.'

It would seem as if Pliny had here confused the two sacraments together. The words 'se sacramento obstringere' seem to refer specially to the baptismal pledge, whereas the recurrence on a stated day before dawn is only appropriate to the eucharist (Tertull. *de Cor.* 3 'eucharistiae sacramentum ... antelucanis coetibus ... sumimus'). This confusion he might easily have made from his misunderstanding his witnesses, if these witnesses related the one sacrament after the other, as they are related e.g. in Justin Martyr *Apol.* i. 65, and in Tertullian *de Cor.* 3; more especially as it was the practice to administer the eucharist immediately to the newly baptized.

It is possible however, that Pliny's witnesses, whose account he repeats, were not referring to either sacrament, but to the moral obligation which was binding on the Christian by virtue of his position.

2. rursusque] The account here supposes two meetings in the course of the day: (1) Before daylight, when a religious service was held; (2) Later in the day, probably in the evening, when the agape was celebrated. In one or other therefore of these meetings a place must be found for the eucharist. The later meeting however was suppressed after the issue of Trajan's edict forbidding clubs. The only possible alternative therefore is this: *either* the eucharist had been already separated from the agape and was celebrated before dawn, so that the agape could be suppressed or intermitted without serious injury; *or* it remained hitherto connected with the agape, and now was separated from it and placed at the early service in consequence of Trajan's edict. If the view that I have advocated of the drift of 'se sacramento obstringere' be correct, the former is the true account. This is also the opinion of Probst (*Lehre u. Gebet* p. 350 sq.); but he assumes without any evidence that the change took place in S. Paul's time in consequence of the Apostle's denunciations of the irregularities at Corinth. Rothe also, in his programme *de Primordiis cultus sacri Christianorum* (1851), attributes the separation of the eucharist from the agape to the Apostles themselves. On the other hand Harnack (*l.c.* p. 230 sq.) advocates the view that the separation was due to the edict of Trajan. In some parts of Asia Minor, and probably at Antioch, the two were still connected when Ignatius wrote; see *Smyrn.* 8 οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν with the note.

3. coeundi] The word is not in the ed. princ., but appears in Aldus.

innoxium] This is an indirect reference to the charges of 'Thyestean' banquets and 'Œdipodean' profligacies brought against the Christians in connexion with their celebration of the agape and the eucharist: Justin. *Apol.* i. 26 λυχνίαι μὲν

quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere. Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam immodicam. Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decucurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque civitates tantum sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti pastumque venire victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit poenitentiae locus.

TRAJANUS PLINIO.

ACTUM quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant secutus es. Neque enim in universum

ἀνατροπὴν καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν βοράς (comp. §§ 10, 23, 29, *Apol.* ii. 12, *Dial.* 10, 17), *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 14 (in Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) *κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεια δεῖπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις κ. τ. λ.* (comp. Iren. *Fragm.* 13, p. 832 Stieren), Athenag. *Leg.* 3 *τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις* (comp. § 31), Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 4, 15, Tertull. *Apol.* 7, *ad Nat.* i. 7. These calumnies were repeated by Fronto of Cirta, the tutor of M. Aurelius (of whom see Teuffel *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* § 333); Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 9, 31. Origen, replying to Celsus (*c. Cels.* vi. 27), accuses the Jews of circulating these very slanders *κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ διδασκαλίας*. They will explain the epithets used by Tacitus when speaking of the Christians, *Ann.* xv. 44, 'per flagitia invisos...per urbem etiam quo cuncta undique *atrocia* [*Θυέστεια δεῖπνα*] et *pudenda* [*Οἰδιποδεῖοι μίξεις*] confluunt celebranturque.'

2. hetaerias] On the emperor's hostility to clubs or guilds see above, p. 18 sq.

3. quae ministrae dicebantur] This is doubtless Pliny's own translation of the Greek *διάκονοι* 'deaconesses' (comp. Rom. xvi. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 11) which he heard. The word *ministra* is not, so far as I remember, used as an equivalent for *diaconissa* in the Latin ecclesiastical language.

11. pastum] i. e. fodder is sold for the cattle which are waiting to be sacrificed. The ed. princ. has *passum*, which is corrected by Beroaldus. Aldus boldly corrects *passimque venire victimas quarum*.

aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando dis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex poenitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli [in] nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est.

The correspondence of Pliny and Trajan is commonly designated the tenth book of Pliny's letters, being so treated by the early editor Aldus. This however is a wrong designation. It is a separate work, and Keil in his edition has accordingly reinstated it in an independent position. He has also restored the original order of the epistles as found in the MS. This order has been shown by Mommsen (*Hermes* III. p. 53 sq., 1869) to be chronological. It had been changed, apparently by H. Stephens, who placed first those letters of Pliny to which Trajan's answer has not been preserved.

The earlier editions of Pliny's letters did not contain this correspondence. It was first published in the beginning of the sixteenth century from a MS in France, now no longer extant. The editio princeps by H. Avantius (1502) contained only the later letters from the 42nd onward. Avantius was followed by two other editors (Ph. Beroaldus 1502, and Catanaeus 1506), who introduced some corrections of their own, but made no use of the MS. At length in 1508 Aldus Manutius, having obtained possession of the MS, published the whole. For the earlier letters (1—41) he was entirely dependent on the MS, but the later he appears to have taken from Avantius and previous editors, introducing some emendations of his own, with little or no consultation of the MS. Thus the only authorities for the text of the letters relating to the Christians are the editions of Avantius and Aldus, the latter being of very secondary importance. The history of the text of this correspondence is given by J. C. Orelli *Historia Critica Epistolarum Plinii et Trajani usque ad Ann.* MDLII (Turici, 1833), and in the preface (p. xxxiii sq.) to Keil's edition of Pliny (Lips. 1870). To Keil I am indebted for the information which I have given. Variot (*de Plin. Jun.* etc. p. 58 sq.) seems not to have read Keil's preface, and gives a less correct account of the early editions.

This correspondence, thus appearing suddenly, was received at first with some slight hesitation; but the preface of Aldus Manutius silenced doubts. From that time forward the genuineness of these letters does not appear to have been disputed. Indeed, after Mommsen's investigations on the chronology of Pliny's life, it could only be questioned by a scepticism bordering on insanity. Whether we regard the style or the matter, they are equally inconceivable as the invention of a forger.

With the two letters however, which relate to the persecution of the Christians, the case has been different. With characteristic recklessness Semler in his *Novae Observationes Hist. et Relig. Christ.* etc. saec. ii. p. 37 (Hallae, 1784) took the initiative in the attack on the genuineness of these letters. But he has not succeeded in enlisting many followers. Quite recently however Aubé in his *Histoire des Persécutions de l'Église* etc. p. 215 sq. (1875) has marshalled in detail the misgivings to which he had already given expression elsewhere, *Revue Contemporaine*, 2e Serie, LXVIII. p. 401). He does not however definitely decide against their genuineness, but contents himself with setting forth the objections which might

be urged against them. They are such as any fairly ingenious person might raise against the most authentic document. Aubé has found a follower in E. Desjardins *Revue des Deux Mondes* 1er December 1874. The objections are answered by Variot *de Plinio Juniore et Imperatore Trajano apud Christianos etc.* (Paris, 1878), and again in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* 1er Juillet 1878, p. 80 sq.; by Boissier in the *Revue Archéologique* Fevrier 1876, p. 114 sq.; and by Renan *Les Évangiles* p. 476, and *Journal des Savants*, 1876, p. 721 sq.

These objections hardly deserve serious refutation. Thus much however may be said generally; (1) These two letters cannot be separated from the collection in which they appear. In style and character they are in entire harmony with the rest. Of the style Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. 476) says truly, 'On ne croira jamais qu'un faussaire chrétien eût pu si admirablement imiter la langue précieuse et raffinée de Pline.' And if from the style we turn to the character and purport, such a forgery is equally inconceivable. Any reader for instance, who will refer to what has been said above (p. 18 sq.) respecting Trajan's hostility to clubs or guilds, will see how exactly they fit into the place which they occupy in the series, and will recognise the extreme improbability that this appropriateness could have been the result of an adventitious forgery. (2) They are attested by the references in Tertullian. Hence Aldus in his preface was justified in regarding their presence as a testimony to the genuineness of the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan generally. The evidence of Tertullian is not indeed infallible in itself; but it has been unduly discredited. It is a mistake for instance to suppose that he quotes the extant spurious *Acta Pilati* as genuine (*Apol.* 21 'ea omnia super Christo Pilatus...Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit'). Tertullian, like his predecessor Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 35, p. 76, *δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων*: comp. *Apol.* i. 48, p. 84), *assumes* that the Roman archives contained an official report sent by Pontius Pilate to Tiberius. He is not referring to any definite literary work which he had read. The extant forgery was founded on these notices of the early fathers and not conversely. After all deductions made for possible error, the attestation of Tertullian to these letters has the highest value. (3) The pictures of Trajan and Pliny on the one hand and of the Christians on the other are alike unfavourable to the idea of a forgery. The confessedly spurious documents relating to this reign, such as the Acts of Ignatius or the Letter of Tiberianus, paint the emperor and his subordinates in the darkest colours, which contrast strongly with the studious moderation and the inherent sense of justice here attributed to them. Again what Christian writer, if bent on a forgery and therefore unfettered by any scruples of veracity, would have confessed that crowds of his fellow-believers had denied their faith, that all alike had abandoned their agapæ at the bidding of a heathen magistrate, that the persecution was already refilling the heathen temples which before were empty, and that there was good hope, if the same policy was pursued, of a general apostasy ensuing? What Christian writer could have so far restrained himself, as not only to be silent about bishops and priests, about sects and heresies, about the doctrines of the faith, but even to betray those misapprehensions or half-apprehensions, which appear in such expressions as 'se sacramento obstringere,' 'ad capiendum cibum,' 'duabus ancillis quae ministrae dicebantur'? The passage which has excited the greatest suspicion is that which relates to the numbers of the Christians; but, if Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44) nearly half a century earlier can speak of 'a vast multitude' as suffering at Rome in the Neronian persecution, the language of Pliny's letters, relating to the era of Trajan and to a part of the world where the spread of Christianity had been exceptionally rapid, ought not to create any surprise.

Nor again is there sufficient reason for adopting the suspicion of De la Berge (*Essai sur le Règne de Trajan* p. 109) that Trajan's reply, as we possess it, is 'only an extract from a longer letter or from several letters which issued from the imperial chancelry'. It is true that the emperor does not in so many words reply to Pliny's query, whether tender age should be more leniently treated; but he says generally that no universal law can be laid down, and in fact refers all such matters to Pliny's common sense. And again, though he does not directly reply to the question whether the mere profession of Christianity ('nomen ipsum') was a sufficient ground for punishment or not, yet indirectly he gives the answer. Pliny had acted as if Christianity were forbidden in itself—independently of any offences which individual Christians might have committed—and Trajan tells him that he had acted rightly.

Pliny's letter was written in the autumn or winter of A.D. 112, as Mommsen seems to have shown: see the note on *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 11 (II. p. 532). His title was 'Legatus pro praetore provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae consulari potestate' (see Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. p. 194), and he was entrusted with this province because its condition was such as to need special attention at that time (*Plin. et Traj. Ep.* 41 [32], 118 [117]). On his government generally see De la Berge l.c. p. 119 sq.

Like his master Trajan (see above, p. 4 sq.), Pliny has been claimed as a Christian convert on the strength of his comparative leniency and moderation of language. The late and unauthentic Acts of Titus, ascribed to Zenas (Tit. iii. 13), so represented him (see Fabricius *Bibl. Latin.* II. p. 418 sq., ed. Ernesti, *Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test.* II. p. 831 sq.); and in accordance with the story there told we read in the spurious *Chronicon* of L. Flavius Dexter s. ann. 220 'Is Titus converterat ad fidem Plinium Juniorem, ex Bithynia Pontoque redeuntem, in insula Creta ubi jussu Trajani Jovi templum extruxerat. Nec desunt qui putent septima Sextilis ad Novocomum esse passum.' These representations cannot be unconnected with a notice on the *Martyrol. Roman.* under the 7th of August, 'Novocomi passio sanctorum martyrum Carpophori, Exanthi, Cassii, Secundi, et Licinii, qui in confessione Christi capite truncati sunt.' This notice may have been the cause of the story about Pliny. The Secundus here mentioned might then be supposed to have been a freedman of the family of Pliny. But in older authorities the place of martyrdom is differently given. Thus in the *Bucherian Catalogue* we have among the depositions 'VII Id. Aug. Secundi, Carpophori, Victorini, et Severiani, Albano et Ostiense,' and in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* 'VI Idus Aug. Romae, natalis sanctorum Secundini (sic), Severiani, Carpofori, Victorini, et Albini, etc.'; while in an addition to Usuard it runs 'In Italia Cumis passio sanctorum martyrum Carpophori, Exanti, Cassii, Severini, et Secundini, qui passi sunt sub Maximiano tyranno sacrilego.' This last form suggests that the identification of 'Secundus' with Pliny may have arisen from a confusion of 'Cumis' and 'Comi,' which has a parallel in the text of Hermas, *Vis.* i. 1, ii. 1. The whole matter might perhaps repay further investigation.

For the literature connected with these letters relating to the Christians see Fabricius *Bibl. Lat.* l.c., Mayor *Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature* p. 148 sq.

2.

TERTULLIANUS *Apologeticum* 2.

ATQUIN invenimus inquisitionem quoque in nos prohibitam. Plinius enim Secundus cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsis, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, quid de cetero ageret, consuluit tunc Trajanum imperatorem, adlegans praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut deo et ad confoederandam disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et cetera scelera prohibentes. Tunc Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos ut nocentes. Parcit et sævit, dissimulat et animadvertit. Quid temetipsam, censura, circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur; in reos majestatis et publicos hostes omnis homo miles est; ad socios, ad conscios usque, inquisitio extenditur. Solum Christianum inquiri non licet, offerri licet, quasi aliud esset actura inquisitio, quam oblationem. Damnatis itaque oblatum, quem nemo voluit requisitum; qui, puto, jam non ideo meruit poenam, quia nocens est, sed quia, non requirendus, inventus est.

3. de cetero] '*for the future*': comp. *ad Scap.* 3, with Oehler's note.

6. ut deo] There can be no question about the reading, though the MSS have *et deo*, which is retained by Oehler: see below, II. p. 533. To the arguments there urged it should be added that Jerome in his edition of the *Chronicon* (II. p. 165), having the text of Tertullian before him, writes 'Christo ut deo.' Variot (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1er Juillet 1878, p. 142) strangely argues that Eusebius and Jerome must have consulted the original of Pliny, because they read 'Christo ut deo,' whereas Tertullian has 'Christo et deo.' If there is one point more certain than another, it is that Eusebius derived all his information respecting this persecution from a Greek translation of Tertullian.

7. confoederandam] i.e. 'to strengthen and consolidate by a common pledge and league.'

14. militaris statio] Sueton. *Tib.* 37 'In primis tuendae pacis a grassatoribus ac latrociniis seditionumque licentia curam habuit: stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit' (comp. *Octav.* 32). For the Roman police arrangements see Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. 521, II. 468.

Tertullian doubtless derived his information entirely from the same correspondence between Pliny and Trajan which we possess. Ulpian indeed, in his 7th book *de Officio Proconsulis*, collected all the imperial rescripts issued against the Christians (Lactant. *Div. Inst.* V. 11); but this work can hardly have been in existence when

the *Apologeticum* was written. In one respect only Tertullian goes beyond the information contained in the letters. His statement 'quibusdam gradu pulsis' is unsupported by Pliny; but he was probably quoting from memory and so ascribed inadvertently to the age of Trajan procedures with which he was familiar in his own day. This statement is a wholly insufficient ground for postulating a lost letter of Pliny, as De la Berge (*Sur le Règne de Trajan* p. 209, note 1) is disposed to do.

3.

Eusebius *Historiae Ecclesiae* iii. 32, 33.

Μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Δομετιανόν, κατὰ τοῦτον οὗ νῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐξετάζομεν, μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξ ἐπαναστάσεως δήμων τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν κατέχει λόγος ἀνακινηθῆναι διωγμόν, ἐν ᾧ Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὃν δεύτερον καταστῆναι τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον ἐδηλώσαμεν, μαρτυρίῳ τὸν βίον ἀναλῦσαι παρειλήφαμεν. καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, οὗ διαφόροις ἤδη πρότερον ἐχρησάμεθα φωναῖς, Ἡγήσιππος· ὃς δὴ περί τινων αἱρετικῶν ἱστορῶν ἐπιφέρει

1. *τοῦτον*] i.e. Τραϊανόν, as appears from the sequel.

3. *κατέχει λόγος*] Comp. *H. E.* ii. 7, iii. 11, 18, 19, iv. 5, vi. 34, etc. A comparison of these passages shows that the expression is not confined to oral tradition but may include contemporary written authorities, and that it implies authentic and trustworthy information.

5. *ἐδηλώσαμεν*] The succession of Symeon after the martyrdom of James the Just is related *H. E.* iii. 11, where it is introduced with the same expression *κατέχει λόγος*, which occurs here.

7. *ἤδη πρότερον*] *H. E.* ii. 23, iii. 11, 16, 19, 20. This writer is also quoted several times afterwards.

8. *περὶ τινων αἱρετικῶν*] Hegesippus speaks more than once (*H. E.* ii. 23, iv. 22) of 'the seven sects' (*αἱρέσεις*). The names of these are given; Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees, and Pharisees (*H. E.* iv. 22). They were mainly Jewish (*τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ*), as their names imply, and as the narrative of Hegesippus supposes. Hegesippus ascribes the death of James the Just to members of these seven sects (*H. E.* ii. 23), and his persecutors were evidently anti-Christian. He also assigns to them (*H. E.* iii. 19 *τῶν αἱρετικῶν τινας*) the persecution of the grandsons of Judas; and in the passage before us he describes them as the authors of the martyrdom of Symeon. Elsewhere (*H. E.* iv. 22) he mentions one Thebuthis, who was sprung from the seven sects, as having been disappointed of the bishopric when Symeon was elected, and having in consequence corrupted the Church with heretical teaching; but he does not (at least in the extracts preserved by Eusebius) connect his name directly with the death of Symeon. In the *Chron. Pasch.* p. 471 (ed. Bonn.) Symeon is represented as being accused *ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς μοίρας Κηρίνθου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Νικολαϊτῶν*. An explanation of this statement will be given below (p. 66).

δηλῶν, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτων κατὰ τόνδε τὸν χρόνον ὑπομείνας κατηγορίαν, πολυτρόπως ὁ δηλούμενος ὡσὰν Χριστιανὸς ἐπὶ πλείσταις αἰκισθεὶς ἡμέραις, αὐτόν τε τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον τὸ τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο. οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον καὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακοῦσαι, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως ἱστοροῦντος·

ἀπὸ τούτων δηλαδὴ τῶν αἱρετικῶν κατηγοροῦσί τινες Συμεῶνος τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαγεὶα καὶ Χριστιανοῦ, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρεῖ, ἐτῶν ὢν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

φησὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτός, ὡς ἄρα καὶ τοὺς κατηγόρους αὐτοῦ, ζητουμένων τότε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰουδαίων φυλῆς, ὡσὰν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄντας ἁλῶναι συνέβη. λογισμῷ δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν Συμεῶνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκόων εἴποι ἄν τις γεγονέναι τοῦ Κυρίου, τεκμηρίῳ τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς χρώμενος, καὶ τῷ μνημονεύειν τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ γεγονέναι αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπὸ γένους

2. *ὡσὰν*] '*as being*,' a favourite expression in Eusebius (see below *ὡσὰν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄντας*), not however implying any doubt of the fact which it introduces.

5. *ἀπηνέγκατο*] '*carried off*,' as if it were a prize. For this use of *ἀποφέρεσθαι* comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 17 *βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον*, where again it is used of martyrdom. See also Tatian *ad Graec.* 33.

6. *ὧδέ πως*] Used even of *verbatim* quotations, *H.E.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, ii. 10, 12, 20, 25, iii. 7, 19, 23, 31, 39, etc.

10. *μαρτυρεῖ*] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5.

ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ] The preposition, applied to Trajan, can only signify 'in the time of,' and it must have this same meaning here as applied to Atticus: see the next note. On the mistakes which have arisen from its ambiguity see II. p. 442.

11. *ὑπατικοῦ*] The word came to be used in the second century especially of *provincial governors* who had held the consulship, and at a later date of such governors even though they might not have been consuls: see Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. p. 409, and comp. the index to Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* p. 44. Here *ἐπὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ* means 'when Atticus was governor'; whereas below *ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ* is 'before Atticus the governor,' the difference being due to the absence or presence of the article.

Ἀττικοῦ] See II. p. 450.

17. *τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν*] '*the passage in the gospels*,' i.e. John xix. 25.

19. *ὁ δ' αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ.*] The reference is to *H. E.* iii. 20. The account there is generally printed as if Eusebius gave it throughout in Hegesippus' own words;

ἑνὸς τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰούδας, φησὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιβιῶναι βασιλείαν, μετὰ τὴν ἤδη πρότερον ἱστορηθεῖσαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρίαν. γράφει δὲ οὕτως·

ἔρχονται οὖν καὶ προηγοῦνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μένουσι μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρις οὗ ὁ ἐκ θείου τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ προειρημένος Συμεὼν υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ, συκοφαντηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, ὡσαύτως κατηγορήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἰκιζόμενος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ὡς πάντας ὑπερθαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν ὑπατικόν, πῶς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τυγχάνων ἐτῶν ὑπέμεινε· καὶ ἐκελεύσθη σταυρωθῆναι.

. . . . . .

Τοσοῦτός γε μὴν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμός, ὡς Πλίνιον Σεκοῦνδον ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαρτύρων κινηθέντα, βασιλεῖ κοινώσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναιρουμένων, ἅμα δ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μηνῦσαι, μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατειληφέναι, πλὴν τό γε ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ διεγειρομένους τὸν Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις ἀθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν, πάντα τε πράττειν

but the change to the infinitive, *εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύναι*, shows that from that point onward Eusebius does not profess to quote *verbatim*. Moreover he has here preserved in the writer's direct words, *ἔρχονται οὖν καὶ προηγοῦνται...Καίσαρος*, the same part of the account which is there given in the oblique narration, *τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας...τῷ βίῳ*: and the difference between the two is considerable.

5. *πάσης ἐκκλησίας*] '*every church*,' i.e. in Judæa; paraphrased by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 20) *τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*. It cannot mean 'the whole church,' as some take it; for this is an ungrammatical rendering: see the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 12.

8. *ὁ ἐκ θείου*] '*the son of an uncle*'; comp. *H. E.* iii. 11 *τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ*. On the relation of this statement to the notices in the Evangelical records see *Galatians* p. 256 sq., 267 sq., 277.

10. *ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ*] '*on the same account*,' as the grandsons of Judas, who have been mentioned just before (Hegesippus in *H. E.* iii. 20 *οὓς ἐδηλατόρευσαν ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας Δαυείδ*).

ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις. πρὸς ἃ τὸν Τραϊανὸν δόγμα τοιόνδε τεθεικέναι, τὸ χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι· οὗ γενομένου ποσῶς μὲν τοῦ διωγμοῦ σβεσθῆναι τὴν ἀπειλὴν σφοδρότατα ἐγκειμένην, οὐ χείρονάς γε μὴν τοῖς κακουργεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐθέλουσι λείπεσθαι προφάσεις, ἔσθ' ὅπη μὲν τῶν δήμων, ἔσθ' ὅπη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἀρχόντων τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευαζομένων ἐπιβουλάς, ὡς καὶ ἄνευ προφανῶν διωγμῶν μερικοὺς κατ' ἐπαρχίαν ἐξάπτεσθαι, πλείους τε τῶν πιστῶν διαφόροις ἐναγωνίζεσθαι μαρτυρίοις. εἴληπται δ' ἡμῖν ἡ ἱστορία ἐξ ἧς ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν τοῦ Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπολογίας, ἧς ἡ ἑρμηνεία τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·

καίτοι εὑρήκαμεν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιζήτησιν κεκωλυμένην. Πλίνιος γὰρ Σεκοῦνδος ἡγούμενος [τῆς] ἐπαρχίου, κατακρίνας χριστιανούς τινας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλών, ταραχθεὶς τῷ πλήθει διηρώτει τί αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἴη πρακτέον. Τραϊανῷ οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνεκοινώσατο λέγων, ἔξω τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρηκέναι. ἐμήνυε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀνίστασθαι ἔωθεν τοὺς χριστιανούς, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν, κωλύεσθαι φονεύειν, μοιχεύειν, πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψε Τραϊανός, τὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

12. ἡ ἑρμηνεία] Eusebius is here quoting from a Greek translation of Tertullian's *Apology*. This translation is mentioned in *H. E.* ii. 2 Τερτυλλιανὸς...ἐν τῇ γραφείσῃ μὲν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ, μεταβληθείσῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν ὑπὲρ χριστιανῶν ἀπολογίᾳ, and is quoted both here and in *H. E.* ii. 25, iii. 20, v. 5. Eusebius was imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language and very ignorant of the Latin fathers (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* II. p. 324, *s. v.* Eusebius of Caesarea). This version of Tertullian which he used was translated by some one who had a very inadequate knowledge of Latin. For instance in the passage quoted *H. E.* ii. 25, the translator betrays his ignorance of the common Latin idiom *cum maxime*, which he renders ἡνίκα μάλιστα, thus throwing the whole sentence into confusion. In the passage before us he is occasionally very loose, but not essentially wrong.

The chapters which are given here have been preceded immediately (c. 31) by a notice of the deaths of the Apostles John and Philip, who settled in Asia Minor. Having thus, as he tells us, given an account of the Apostles and of the sacred writings, genuine, disputed, or spurious, Eusebius proceeds to the subsequent history (*ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἑξῆς προϊωμεν ἱστορίαν*); and accordingly he commences this narrative of the persecutions under Trajan.

They are followed immediately by brief notices of the succession of Euarestus to Clement at Rome in the third year of Trajan (c. 34), and of Judas Justus to Symeon at Jerusalem, no date being given for this latter event (c. 35). Upon this notice follows the account of Ignatius and his writings (c. 36), which will be quoted in a later chapter of this introduction.

The chronological inferences drawn from the sequence of these notices in Eusebius are considered in their proper place (II. p. 446 sq.).

4.

JOANNES MALALAS *Chronographia* XI. p. 269 sq. (ed. Bonn.).

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Τραϊανοῦ διωγμὸς μέγας τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐγένετο καὶ πολλοὶ ἐτιμωρήθησαν. ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ἐπιστρατεύσας ἀνῆλθε πολεμῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς κατὰ Ῥωμανίας ἐκ γένους Πάρθων βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀσδρόου βασίλεως Ἀρμενίων.....καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ θειότατος Τραϊανὸς βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἐπεστράτευσε τῷ ιβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ἐξελθὼν κατ' αὐτῶν μηνὶ ὀκτωβρίῳ τῷ καὶ ὑπερβερεταίῳ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.....καὶ κατέφθασεν ἐν Σελευκίᾳ τῆς Συρίας μηνὶ ἀπελλαίῳ τῷ καὶ δεκεμβρίῳ.

. . . . . .

καὶ κατῆλθεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Τραϊανὸς ἀπὸ Δάφνης καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας διὰ τῆς χρυσέας τῆς λεγομένης, τουτέστι τῆς Δαφνητικῆς, φορῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ στέφανον ἀπὸ ἐλαιοκλάδων, μηνὶ αὐδηναίῳ τῷ καὶ ἰανουαρίῳ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ε', ὥρᾳ ἡμερινῇ δ'.

. . . . . .

9. *ἀπελλαίῳ*] Here and below (p. 63, l. 22) the MS has *ἀπριλλέωι*. This may be explained by an intermediate word *ἀπαιλλέωι* differing from the correct form only by itacisms.

Ἐν τῷ δὲ διατρίβειν τὸν αὐτὸν Τραϊανὸν βασιλέα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας βουλευόμενον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸν Τιβεριανός, ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστίνων ἔθνους, ταῦτα·

Αὐτοκράτορι νικητῇ Καίσαρι θειοτάτῳ Τραϊανῷ. ἀπέκαμον τιμωρούμενος καὶ φονεύων τοὺς Γαλιλαίους τοὺς τοῦ δόγματος τῶν λεγομένων χριστιανῶν κατὰ τὰ ὑμέτερα θεσπίσματα· καὶ οὐ παύονται ἑαυτοὺς μηνύοντες εἰς το ἀναιρεῖσθαι. ὅθεν ἐκοπίασα τούτοις παραινῶν καὶ ἀπειλῶν μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτοὺς μηνύειν μοι ὑπάρχοντας ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου δόγματος· καὶ ἀποδιωκόμενοι οὐ παύονται. θεσπίσαι μοι οὖν καταξιώσατε τὰ παριστάμενα τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κράτει τροπαιούχῳ.

καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ ὁ αὐτὸς Τραϊανὸς παύσασθαι τοῦ φονεύειν τοὺς χριστιανούς· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πανταχοῦ ἄρχουσιν τοῦτο ἐκέλευσεν, μὴ φονεύειν τοῦ λοιποῦ τοὺς λεγομένους χριστιανούς· καὶ ἐγένετο ἔνδοσις μικρὰ τοῖς χριστιανοῖς. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης πόλεμον κατὰ Περσῶν κινήσας ὁ αὐτὸς Τραϊανός.

. . . . . .

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θειοτάτου Τραϊανοῦ ἔπαθεν Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μεγάλη ἡ πρὸς Δάφνην τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς πάθος μηνὶ ἀπελλαίῳ τῷ καὶ δεκεμβρίῳ ιγ', ἡμέρᾳ α', μετὰ ἀλεκτρύονα, ἔτους χρηματίζοντος ρξδ' κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς, μετὰ δὲ β' ἔτη τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ θειοτάτου βασίλεως Τραϊανοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν.

. . . . . .

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Τραϊανὸς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει διῆγεν ὅτε ἡ θεομηνία ἐγένετο. ἐμαρτύρησεν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τότε ὁ ἅγιος Ἰγνάτιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας· ἠγανάκτησε γὰρ κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐλοιδόρει αὐτόν. σύνεσχεν

3. Τιβεριανός] Reasons for condemning this document as spurious are given below, II. p. 438. See also Dodwell *Dissert. Cyprian.* xi. § 23, 24, Tillemont *Emp.* II. p. 578.

21. πρὸς] The MS has πρὸ.

27. ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τότε] See below, II. p. 442 sq.

δὲ τότε καὶ πέντε ὀνόματα χριστιανῶν γυναικῶν Ἀντιοχισσῶν καὶ ἐξήτασεν αὐτὰς λέγων, Τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς ὑμῶν, ὅτι οὕτως ἐκδίδοτε ἑαυτὰς εἰς θάνατον; αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγουσαι ὅτι Φονευομένας ἡμᾶς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀνίστασθαι ἡμᾶς πάλιν ὡς ἔχομεν σώματι εἰς αἰωνίαν ζωήν. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὰς πυρικαύστους γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν χοῦν τῶν ὀστέων αὐτῶν συνέμιξε χαλκῷ καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν χαλκὸν εἰς ὃ ἐποίησε δημόσιον χάλκια τοῦ θερμοῦ. καὶ ὅτε ἤρξατο παρέχειν τὸ δημόσιον, εἴ τις ἐὰν ἐλούετο εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ δημόσιον, ἐσκοτοῦτο καὶ ἔπιπτεν καὶ ἐξήρχετο βασταγμῷ. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς Τραϊανὸς τοῦτο ἤλλαξε τὰ αὐτὰ χάλκια καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄλλα ἀπὸ καθαροῦ χαλκοῦ, λέγων ὅτι Οὐ καλῶς ἐποίησα χοῦν σωμάτων συμμίξας αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινώσας τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ χριστιανοὶ †ὑπέξιζον† τοῖς Ἕλλησι καυχώμενοι. τὰ δὲ πρῶτα χάλκια ἀναχωνεύσας ἐποίησε στήλας χαλκᾶς πέντε ταῖς αὐταῖς γυναιξί, λέγων ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ αὐτὰς ἀνέστησα καθὼς εἶπον, καὶ οὐχὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν. αἵτινες στῆλαι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ δημόσιον λοῦτρον ἵστανται ἕως ἄρτι. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ κάμινον πυρός, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς βουλομένους χριστιανοὺς βάλλειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν προθέσει. καὶ πολλοὶ ἔβαλλον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐμαρτύρησαν. ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ τότε ἡ ἁγία Δροσινὴ καὶ ἄλλαι παρθένοι πολλαί.

4. *ἀνίστασθαι ἡμᾶς*] sc. *ἐλπὶς ἐστιν*, if the text be correct; but the repetition of *ἡμᾶς* excites suspicion of some corruption.

12. *Οὐ καλῶς*] So the MS, but the negative is omitted in the printed text.

14. *ὑπέξιζον*] An unintelligible word. Chilmead conjectures *ὑπώξιζον*, i.e. 'were somewhat sour' (comp. Athen. III. p. 114 C), but this could hardly stand.

15. *ἀναχωνεύσας*] So the MS, but the printed texts have *ἀναχώσας*.

This work is only known to exist in one MS (*Bodl. Barocc.* 182). My thanks are due to Mr F. Madan, of Brasenose College, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian, for a collation of these extracts with the MS itself (fol. 166 a sq.). I have thus been enabled to correct one or two important errors in the printed editions. Mere varieties of spelling and accentuation I have not thought fit to record.

On the date of this writer, on his blunders generally, and on his account of Trajan's doings in Antioch more especially, see below, II. pp. 407, 411, 435 sq., in which last passage his statement that Ignatius suffered martyrdom at Antioch is

fully discussed. Just so much of the context is given here as will enable the reader to trace the chronological connexion.

For the parallel account of John Madabbar, Bishop of Nikiou, see below, II. p. 444.

5.

CHRONICON PASCHALE p. 470 sq. (ed. Bonn.).

Ἰνδ. α΄. ζ΄. ὑπ. Συριανοῦ τὸ β΄ καὶ Μαρκέλλου.

. . . . . .

Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων διωγμὸς χριστιανῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησαν διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν.

Ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὑπάτων φασὶ τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην γενόμενον ἐτῶν ρ΄ καὶ μηνῶν ζ΄ κοιμηθῆναι.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Κλήμης ὁ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος τελευτᾷ. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, ζήσας ἔτη ρκ΄, ἐσταυρώθη.

Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ Μαρκὸς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας γενόμενος, κάλων λαβὼν καὶ συρεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων τὰ Βουκολίων ἕως τῶν λεγομένων Ἀγγέλων, ἐκεῖσε πυρὶ κατεκαύθη φαρμουθὶ πρώτῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν.

Κρήσκης κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγελιον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Γαλλίαις ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ ἐκεῖσε θάπτεται.

σκα΄ Ὀλυμπίας.

Ἰνδ. β΄. η΄. ὑπ. Κανδίδου καὶ Κουαδράτου.

Τραϊανοῦ κατὰ χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν κινήσαντος, Σίμων ὁ τοῦ Κλεωπᾶ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος γενόμενος ἐμαρτύρησεν, γενόμενος ἐτῶν ρκ΄, ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ ὑπατικοῦ διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς μοίρας Κηρίνθου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Νικολαϊτῶν, ὡς οὐ μόνον χριστιανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ γένους Δαυεὶδ ὑπάρχων, ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστας ἡμέρας αἰκισθείς, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ

αὐτὸν τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάθει παραπλήσιον τοῦ Κυρίου τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχέων ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν.

The two years here intended are:

A.D. 104, Sex. Attius Suburanus II.
M. Asinius Marcellus.
A.D. 105, Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus II.
C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus II.

For the Consuls of the first of these two years see the note on *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 1 (II. p. 493).

On this writer's reckoning by Indictions see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* s. v. 'Indiction' (I. p. 833).

The compiler of the *Chronicon Paschale* probably lived in the reign of Heraclius, not long after the year 630, with which the history terminates (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* I. p. 510 s. v. 'Chronicon Paschale'). He derives his information from different sources. Here he has given two different accounts of the martyrdom of Symeon the second bishop of Jerusalem under two successive years. Under the first he has identified him with *Simon Cananites*, and then with *Judas Jacobi* in S. Luke's list of the twelve Apostles, probably remembering that the lists of S. Matthew and S. Mark substituted some other name for *Judas Jacobi*, but blunderingly forgetting that this name was *Lebbæus* or *Thaddæus*, and substituting Simon the Cananæan. The latter of the two accounts is evidently taken from Eusebius, but the compiler has ventured to describe the heretical antagonists of Symeon as Cerinthians and Nicolaitans, and has gone wrong in doing so (see above, p. 58). The explanation of his error is not difficult. Eusebius has mentioned the Cerinthians and Nicolaitans in the preceding chapters (*H. E.* iii. 28, 29), and the compiler, seeing the words *ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν αἱρετικῶν*, supposes them to refer to the heretics who were mentioned by Eusebius. He forgets that these are the words not of Eusebius himself, but of Hegesippus whom he quotes. Generally it may be said that our chronicler has taken the sequence of events from Eusebius, inserting however notices from other sources.

On the chronology of Ignatius' martyrdom, as here given, see below, II. pp. 408, 446.

6.

ACTS OF SHARBIL p. 41 sq., Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*.

'IN the fifteenth year of the Autocrat Trajan Cæsar, and in the third year of the reign of King Abgar the VIIth, which is the year 416 of the Kingdom of Alexander, King of the Greeks, and during the high-priesthood of Sharbil and of Barsamya, Trajan Cæsar gave command to the governors of the countries of his dominions, that sacrifices and libations should be increased in all the cities of their administration, and that those who did not sacrifice should be arrested and be delivered

over to stripes and lacerations and to bitter inflictions of all kinds of tortures, and should afterwards receive the sentence of death by the sword. And when this edict arrived at the city of Edessa of the Parthians, it was the great festival on the 8th of Nisan, on the third day of the week.'

[Sharbil is the chief priest of the heathen gods; Barsamya is the Christian bishop. The Acts go on to relate how Sharbil was converted by Barsamya and arraigned in consequence before the judge Lysanias. He confesses himself a Christian. He is in consequence subjected to the most excruciating tortures. He is scourged with thongs; is hung up and torn on his sides and face with combs; is bent backward and bound hand and foot with straps and scourged on the belly while in this position; is hung up by his right arm until it is dislocated; is burnt with fire between his eyes and on the cheeks 'until the stench of the cautery rose in smoke'; is hung up, and torn with combs on his former wounds, salt and vinegar being rubbed in; is burnt again with lighted candles 'passed about his face and the sides of his wounds'; has nails of iron driven in between his eyes; is hung head downward and beaten with whips; is thrown into an iron chest and scourged with thongs 'until there remained not a sound place in him'; has pieces of wood placed between his fingers and pressed till the blood spurts out; with several other tortures of a like kind. Between each torture there is an altercation between him and the judge. At length sentence is given 'that he be sawn with a saw of wood, and when he is near to die, then his head be taken off with the sword of the slayers.' Accordingly he is executed with every aggravation of cruelty. His sister Babai catches up his blood. She is seized by the executioners and dies in their hands. The bodies are stolen by the brethren and buried 'on the fifth of Ilul and on the sixth day of the week.' The document then proceeds as follows;]

'I wrote these Acts on paper, I Marinus and Anatolus, the notaries; and we placed them in the archives of the city, where the charters of the kings are placed.'

'But this Barsamya the bishop converted Sharbil the high-priest. But he lived in the days of Fabianus [v. l. Binus] bishop of Rome, etc.'

Acts of Barsamya p. 63 sq.

'In the year 416 of the Kingdom of the Greeks, which is the fifteenth year of the reign of the Autocrat, our Lord Trajan Cæsar, in the Consulship of Commodus and Cyrillus, in the month Ilul, on the fifth day of

the same, the day after Lysinas the judge of the country had heard Sharbil the high-priest' [Barsamya is accused of perverting Sharbil and is ordered to be tortured].

'And at that moment letters came to him from Alusis [Lusius] the chief proconsul, father of emperors. And he gave command, and they took down Barsamya, and he was not torn with combs, and they took him outside the judgment hall'...

'And it was found that the emperors had written by the hands of the proconsuls to the judges of the countries';

'*Since our Majesty gave orders that there should be a persecution against the Christians, we have heard and learned from our Sharirs which we have in the countries of the dominion of our Majesty, that the people of the Christians are men who avoid murder and sorcery and adultery and theft and bribery and fraud, and those things for which even the laws of our Majesty require punishment from such as do them; we therefore by the justice of our Rectitude have given command that on account of these things the persecution of the sword should cease from them, and that there shall be rest and quietness in all our dominions, they continuing to minister according to their custom, and that no man should hinder them. But it is not that we show affection towards them, but towards their laws which agree with the laws of our Majesty; and, if any man hinder them after this our decree, that sword which is ordered by us to pass upon those who neglect our decree, the same have we ordered to pass upon those who slight this decree of our Clemency.*'

[Accordingly Barsamya is released; and Lysinas is dismissed from his office.]

'But I Zenophilus and Patrophilus are the notaries who wrote these things, Diodorus and Euterpes, Sharirs of the city, bearing witness with us by setting to their hand, as the ancient laws of the ancient kings prescribe.'

'But this Barsamya, the bishop of Edessa, who converted Sharbil the high-priest of the same city, lived in the days of Fabianus the bishop of the city of Rome. And the hand of priesthood was received by this same Barsamya from Abshelama who was bishop in Edessa; and Abshelama, the hand was received by him from Palut the former; and Palut, the hand was received by him from Serapion bishop of Antioch; and Serapion, the hand was received by him from Zephyrinus bishop of Rome; and Zephyrinus of Rome received the hand from Victor,' etc.

[So the succession of the bishops of Rome is traced back to our Lord through Simon Peter.]

The Acts of Sharbil and of Barsamya were first published in Cureton's posthumous work, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London 1864), where also they are translated. From his translation the above extracts are taken. Cureton used two MSS, *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14,644, and *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14,645, the former written in an Edessene hand of the Vth or VIth century, the latter dated A.G. 1247 (=A.D. 936); see Wright's *Catal. of Syr. MSS* pp. 1083, 1111. A Latin translation of them was given by Moesinger, *Acta SS. Martyrum Edessenorum* (Oenoponti 1874), where also he adds a Latin version of the Armenian Acts published by Aucher. The Armenian Acts appear to be merely a free abridgment from the Syriac.

It seems unnecessary to attempt a serious refutation of their authenticity. They carry their own condemnation on their face, as will have appeared from the extracts and abstracts given above. The gross exaggerations, the flagrant anachronisms, and the inexplicable historical situations, all combine to denounce them as a crude forgery. The wholesale cruelty of the first edict, and the wholesale protection of the second, are alike alien to the age and temper of Trajan. Nevertheless Moesinger argues at length in favour of their genuineness, and even Cureton comments on them as if they were trustworthy history. The latter even goes so far as to say (p. 186) that 'we have here probably the most authentic copy of the edict of Trajan, respecting the stopping of the persecution of the Christians.' 'In these Acts,' he proceeds, 'we have, as it would appear, the words of the edict itself, as they were taken down by the notaries at the time.' If this were so, the history of the early persecutions would have to be rewritten. What Christian father ever heard of this edict, not of toleration, but of protection? Constantine himself did not go so far in this respect, as Trajan is here represented to have gone. The spuriousness of this edict is shown by F. Görres *Kaiser Trajan u. die Christliche Tradition* p. 39 sq. in the *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XXI (1877). The whole story indeed, like the parallel narrative of Tiberianus in John Malalas, is founded on the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan, and is disfigured by the worst exaggerations of a debased hagiology.

2.

MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS.

THE questions respecting the original form and the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles are so closely entangled with the history of the text, that a knowledge of the manuscripts and versions becomes a necessary preliminary to the consideration of this more important point. I shall therefore reverse the usual order and commence with a full account of the documents on which the text is founded.

Of those Ignatian Epistles with which alone we are here concerned, three different forms or recensions exist. The *first* of these contains three epistles alone; to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. It is extant only in a Syriac version. The *second* presents these three epistles in a fuller form, and adds to them four others, to the Smyrnæans, Magnesians, Philadelphians, and Trallians. Besides the original Greek, this form is found in Latin, Armenian, Syriac, and Coptic translations, though in the last two languages only fragments remain. The *third* of these recensions contains the seven epistles already mentioned in a still longer form, together with six others, a letter from one Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius, and letters from Ignatius to Mary of Cassobola, to the Tarsians, to the Antiochenes, to Hero, and to the Philippians. This recension is extant in the Greek and in a Latin translation. These six additional letters, it is true, have been attached afterwards to the epistles of the second form also, and have been translated with them into the several languages already mentioned; but they are obviously of a much later origin, as will be shown hereafter, and seem to have emanated from the author of the third recension. As some definite nomenclature is convenient, I shall call these three forms of the Ignatian Epistles the *Short*, *Middle*, and *Long* forms or recensions respectively. It has been customary hitherto to speak of the two

latter as the Short and Long recensions; but the publication of the Syriac Version of the three epistles in a still shorter form by Cureton some years ago (1845) has antiquated this mode of distinction, which should accordingly be abandoned. It will be remembered therefore that, when I speak of the Greek or Latin of the Middle or Long form, the terms correspond to what editors have hitherto called the Short or Long Greek or Latin respectively.

Thus it appears that of the twelve Ignatian Epistles (excluding the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius), three (Polycarp, Ephesians, Romans) occur in three different forms; four (Smyrnæans, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Trallians) in two forms; and the remaining five (Mary, Tarsians, Antiochenes, Hero, Philippians) in one form only.

Besides these twelve epistles, others bearing the name of Ignatius are extant entire or in fragments, in Latin, Æthiopic, or Arabic; and I shall have occasion to refer to them hereafter. But, as they are quite distinct from the twelve and have no bearing on the textual or historical criticism with which we are immediately concerned, they may be dismissed for the present.

Of the three forms thus enumerated, the Long recension is now universally condemned as spurious. The dispute of late years has lain between the remaining two. For reasons which will be stated hereafter, the Middle form has the highest claim to consideration as exhibiting the original text of Ignatius. But at present the decision must not be anticipated.

In describing the several authorities for the text, a somewhat new notation is here adopted, which, I venture to hope, will commend itself by its simplicity[1]. The Greek character (Σ) is restricted to the Short form; the Roman capitals (G, L, C, A, S) represent the Middle, and the Roman small letters (g, l) the Long form. The letters themselves describe the language of the authority. Thus the Syriac Version of the Short form is denoted by Σ, and of the Middle by S; the Greek of the Middle by G, and of the Long by g. Where any of these authorities is represented by more than one MS presenting different readings, the MSS are discriminated by a figure below the line to the right of the letters: e.g. Σ_1, Σ_2, Σ_3; L_1, L_2; g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4; etc.

[1] Zahn's notation is a great improvement on any which preceded it, and for the sake of uniformity I might perhaps have contented myself with it; but my own introduction was written and my *apparatus criticus* constructed long before his edition appeared. It would therefore have been very inconvenient to go back from my own system of notation, even if it had not seemed preferable in itself.

I.

SHORT FORM.

This is represented only by a SYRIAC VERSION [Σ], which was published for the first time by Cureton in 1845 from MSS recently brought from the Nitrian desert and deposited in the British Museum. In his later volume, the *Corpus Ignatianum* (London 1849), he reprinted the Syriac Epistles with copious notes and dissertations; and from the description which he there gives (p. xxviii sq.), together with Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum* since published (1870—1872), the following account of the MSS is derived.

1. *British Museum Add.* 12175 [Σ_1]; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 657 sq. On the last leaves of this MS (fol. 79 b) is written, 'The Epistle of my lord Ignatius the bishop,' i.e. the Epistle to Polycarp. From certain indications 'we may safely conclude,' says Cureton, 'that this copy was transcribed in the first half of the sixth century, or before A.D. 550.' Wright suggests that it was written by the same hand as no. dccxxvii, 'in which case its date is A.D. 534.' It belonged to the convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Desert of Scete, and was obtained for the British Museum by Tattam in 1839.

2. *British Museum Add.* 14618 [Σ_2]; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 736 sq. Among other treatises this MS contains (fol. 6 b sq.) 'Three Epistles of Ignatius bishop and martyr' in this order. 1 'The Epistle of Ignatius' [to Polycarp]. 2 'Of the same the Second, to the Ephesians.' 3 'The Third Epistle of the same Saint Ignatius' [to the Romans]. At the end is written 'Here end (the) three Epistles of Ignatius bishop and martyr.' 'The date' of the MS, says Cureton, 'appears to me to be certainly not later than the seventh or eighth century,' and the same date is ascribed to it by Wright. It was brought from Egypt by Tattam in 1842.

3. *British Museum Add.* 17192 [Σ_3]; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 778 sq. This MS also contains among other treatises the three Epistles of Ignatius (fol. 72 a sq.) in the same order as before. 1 'The Epistle of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch' [the Epistle to Polycarp]. At the end is written, 'Here endeth the First.' 2 'The Second Epistle, to the Ephesians'; at the close, 'Here endeth the Second Epistle.' 3 'The Third Epistle'; at the close, 'Here endeth the Third.' They are followed by two anonymous letters, which however Cureton has identified as the writings of John the Monk; and at the end of these is

added 'Here endeth (what is) of Ignatius.' This MS 'has no date, but belonged to the collection acquired by Moses of Nisibis in A.D. 931' for the monastery of S. Mary Deipara, 'and was written apparently about three or four centuries earlier.' Wright however ascribes it to the 9th century. It was procured for the British Museum by M. Pacho in 1847, after Cureton had published his first edition.

These MSS, which I have designated Σ_1, Σ_2, Σ_3, appear in Cureton's notation as α, β, γ, respectively. The text of this version is edited below (II. p. 657 sq.) by Prof. W. Wright, who has collated the three MSS anew and given their various readings. A translation is also appended, p. 670 sq.

2.

MIDDLE FORM.

The LATIN VERSION of this recension was published first by Ussher (*Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae* etc., Oxon. 1644) from two MSS discovered in England; the original GREEK two years later by Isaac Voss (*Epistolae Genuinae S. Ignatii Martyris*, Amstelod. 1646) from a Medicean MS, with the exception of the Epistle to the Romans, which was published afterwards by Ruinart (*Acta Martyrum Sincera*, Paris 1689) from a Colbert MS. The ARMENIAN VERSION was first printed at Constantinople in 1783. The fragments of the SYRIAC VERSION are included in Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum* (p. 197 sq.), though Cureton himself failed to perceive that they were taken (as I shall show presently) from a complete version in this language, and supposed that the collections of extracts in which they occur were translated immediately from the Greek. The important fragment from the COPTO-THEBAIC VERSION of these epistles appears in the present edition for the first time.

(i) GREEK [G].

1. *Laur.* Pl. lvii. Cod. 7 (described in Bandini's *Catal. MSS. Graec. Bibl. Laurent* II. p. 345 sq.), the famous Medicean MS at Florence, from which Voss published the *editio princeps* of this recension. The Ignatian Epistles occupy from fol. 242. a—252 b. They commence ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟ. CΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙC. The epistles contained here are (1) Smyrnæans, (2) Polycarp, (3) Ephesians, (4) Magnesians, (5) Philadelphians, (6) Trallians, (7) Mary to Ignatius, (8) Ignatius to Mary, (9) Tarsians (a fragment). They are numbered Α, Β, Γ, etc., in the margin *prima*

manu. The Epistle to the Tarsians breaks off abruptly in the middle of a word, ἀνεπίστατοι γὰρ εἰσὶν τοῦ κι- (§ 7)[1]. These words form the last line of fol. 252 b, which leaf is also the end of a quaternion. Thus it is plain that the imperfection of the MS was caused by the loss of some sheets[2]. It was doubtless originally complete and contained all the thirteen epistles, the Epistle to the Romans probably being embedded in the Martyrology, as is the case in the Latin version and in *Colbert.* 460. This MS has been collated more or less imperfectly from time to time since the appearance of Voss's edition, and recently with greater care by Jacobson. Still more recently Dressel himself and his friends for him 'inspected it again in the principal places with scrupulous care' (p. lxii). I myself also have collated it throughout the six genuine epistles for this edition, and have found a few not very serious omissions in previous collations. This MS is ascribed to the eleventh century. It contains no iotas either subscript or (with one or two exceptions, e.g. *Trall.* inscr. τῶι πληρώματι) adscript.

Casanatensis G. v. 14, in the Library of the Minerva at Rome; first collated by Dressel for his edition (1857). The volume (it is a paper MS) contains several tracts written by different hands, at different dates, and on different sized paper, bound up loosely together. The Ignatian Epistles may have been written in the 15th century. In a later part of the volume the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas are found; but they have no connexion in handwriting or otherwise with the Ignatian Epistles, and owe their proximity to the accident of binding. Dressel at first supposed rightly that this MS was copied from the Medicean; but he afterwards changed his opinion, because 'ex comparatione amborum MSS accuratius inter se instituta apparet notabilior lectionum discrepantia,' adding 'Credibile tamen est utrumque codicem ex eodem vetustissimo archetypo, per ambages quidem, emanasse' (p. lxi). I think that few who compare Dressel's own collations will agree in this opinion. The differences are very trifling, being chiefly blunders or corrections of the most obvious kind, such as the alteration of itacisms, the interchange of ε and αι, and the like. The most important divergence that I have observed is the reading ὅπου μὲν for ὅπου δὲ in *Philad.* 2. The headings of the epistles also are copied from the Medicean MS, but this is not always intelligently done; e.g. the transcriber

[1] The language of Dressel (p. 262) leaves the impression that this MS reads ἀνεπίστατοι γὰρ εἰσὶ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ κι- with others. This is not the case.

[2] Ussher is misled and misleading, when on Ἀγαθόπους, *Tars.* 10, he writes (*Appendix* p. 103) 'desideratur hoc nomen in Graeco Mediceo.' The end of the epistle is altogether wanting in this MS.

has misread the contraction ἐπιστο̃. (for ἐπιστολῶν) at the head of the first letter and gives τοῦ ἁγίου ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου σμυρναίοις. In the margin of *Polyc.* 6 the transcriber himself copies the gloss ἀργὸς (for δεσέρτωρ) from the Medicean MS. Otherwise the marginal notes are in a much later (17th cent.?) hand, and on *Magn.* 8 οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών there is a reference to a printed copy of the Long recension, ἐν ἀντιγράφῳ τετυπωμένῳ ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς κ.τ.λ. But in fact the appearance of the two MSS shows plainly that the one is a copy of the other mediately or immediately, and I can hardly understand how any one who has inspected both can entertain a different opinion. Both end in the middle of the same word, but with this difference. In the Medicean, the words ἀνεπίστατοι γὰρ εἰσὶν τοῦ κι- close the final line of the final sheet of the MS, pointing obviously to the fact that the conclusion of the MS has been lost; whereas in the Casanatensian they occur in the middle of a line in the middle of a page, followed by several blank leaves, showing not less plainly that the MS from which it was copied ended abruptly. The extreme improbability that two distinct MSS, each by a several accident, should have ended in the middle of the same word, is so great, that we are forced to the conclusion that the Casanatensian is a lineal descendant, perhaps an immediate copy, of the Medicean. Dressel's attempt to overcome these speaking facts is wholly unintelligible to me. Being a mere transcript therefore, this MS has no independent value, and in consequence I have not recorded its readings.

Barber. 7 and *Barber.* 501 (in the Barberini Library at Rome) also contain the Ignatian Epistles transcribed wholly or in part from the Medicean MS by Lucas Holstenius. The first also gives the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas, and will demand attention hereafter, but neither has any independent value for the Ignatian letters.

2. *Paris. Graec.* 1451 (formerly *Colbert.* 460), in the National Library at Paris. On fol. 109 a begins ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ̃ ἉΓΙΟΥ (*sic*) ἹΕΡΟΜΆΡΤΥΡΟΣ ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ̃ ΘΕΟΦΌΡΟΥ. Ἄρτι διαδεξαμένου κ.τ.λ. These Acts of Martyrdom are printed in the present work (p. 473 sq.). They incorporate the Epistle to the Romans, and were first published by Ruinart (see above). The Epistle to the Romans begins on fol. 111 a. The commencement of the epistle is not marked by any title, illumination, or even capital letter, but the writing is continuous...ὑποτέτακται. ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ θεοφόρος κ.τ.λ. The epistle ends ... ιῦ χῦ αμῆ. καταρτίσας τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. This MS may be ascribed to the 10th century, the date assigned to it in the printed Catalogue. It is written clearly and in

double columns, has uncial characters occasionally intermixed with the cursives, even in the middle of a word, and is without iotas subscript, but has breathings and accents (which however are very frequently wrong). This MS was collated again by Jacobson, and I myself have recollated it.

3. *Paris. Graec.* 950, a paper MS of perhaps the 15th century, contains (fol. 165 sq.) an extract from the Epistle to the Ephesians, § 18 ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν... § 19 *θανάτου κατάλυσιν*. I have collated it anew.

As *Laur.* lvii. 7 and *Paris. Graec.* 1451 supplement each other, the latter supplying the Epistle to the Romans which is wanting in the former, so that they do not clash, I have used the same letter G to designate both. The fragment in *Paris. Graec.* 950 I have called G'.

(ii) LATIN.

The history of this version is especially interesting to Englishmen. Ussher observed that the quotations from S. Ignatius in three English writers, Robert (Grosseteste) of Lincoln (c. A.D. 1250), John Tyssington (c. A.D. 1381), and William Wodeford (c. A.D. 1396), while they differed considerably from the text of this father as hitherto known (the Greek and Latin of the Long recension), agreed exactly with the quotations in Eusebius and Theodoret (*Polyc. et Ign. Epist.* p. xv). He therefore concluded that the libraries of England must somewhere contain MSS of a version corresponding to this earlier text of Ignatius, and searched accordingly. His acuteness and diligence were rewarded by the discovery of the two MSS, which will be noticed below. When at length he saw this Latin version, he expressed a suspicion that Grosseteste was himself the translator. He noticed that Grosseteste's quotations were taken from this version. He found moreover in one of the two MSS several marginal notes, in which the words of the translation were compared with the original Greek[1], and which therefore seemed to come from the translator himself. One of these marginal notes however (on *Polyc.* 3) betrayed the nationality of their author; 'Incus est instrumentum fabri; dicitur Anglice *anfeld* [anvil].' But if the translator were an Englishman, no one could be named so likely as Robert Grosseteste (p. cxlii). Ussher's suggestion has been worked out by Churton, the learned editor of Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 109), who has shown that this view of the authorship is in the highest degree probable. The Ignatian Epistles are not quoted (except at secondhand from Ruffinus or Jerome by Gildas and Bede) by any English writer before the time of Grosse-

[1] See below p. 83.

teste, or included in any patristic lists. Grosseteste himself was one of the very few Greek scholars of his age. Among his followers were John of Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, who studied at Athens, and Nicolas, a prebendary of Lincoln, who was himself a Greek. The former of these brought back with him from Athens a number of Greek MSS[1]; the latter is known to have assisted the bishop in translating the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*[2]. Among other Greek works of which the bishop caused a Latin version to be made, were the writings of the supposed Dionysius the Areopagite[3]; and, as these writings are found frequently in MSS bound up with the Ignatian Epistles, it seems not improbable that the latter were imported from Greece in the same or a companion volume, and translated by these or other Greek scholars under Grosseteste's direction. It may further be observed, as strengthening this circumstantial evidence, that Grosseteste left his books to the convent of the Franciscan Order at Oxford[4], and that John Tyssington and William Wodeford, who quote these epistles in the latter years of the fourteenth century, belonged to this convent[5]. It should be added also, that this version does not appear to be quoted except by English writers, or to have been known out of England[6].

[1] Leland in Tanner *Bibl.* p. 431; see Pegge's *Life of Grosseteste* pp. 15, 67, 345.

[2] Matthew Paris *Chron. Maj.* s. a. 1242 (IV. p. 232, ed. Luard) '*Testamenta Duodecim Patriarcharum* de Graeco fideli interpretatione transtulit in Latinum ... coadjuvante magistro Nicolao Graeco, clerico abbatis S. Albani.' John of Basingstoke informed Grosseteste that he had seen the book while studying at Athens; whereupon the bishop sent to Greece and procured it: Matthew Paris *Chron. Maj.* s. a. 1252 (v. p. 285). See also Pegge's *Life* pp. 163, 289 sq., 345 sq. This version is conveniently accessible in Fabricius *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* I. p. 519 sq.

[3] See Pegge l. c. p. 290.

[4] Pegge p. 230 sq.

[5] For the quotations see Churton in Pearson's *Vind. Ign.* p. 111 (comp. p. 90). Tyssington cites *Smyrn.* 7 (comp. § 4), *Ephes.* 20, and *Rom.* 7. In the first of these passages he writes 'Considerate qualiter anthropomorphi, i.e. illi haeretici contrarii sententiae Dei, a communione et oratione sanctorum recedunt, propter non confiteri eucharistiam etc.,' where he combines an expression in § 4 (*τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων* 'beasts in human form') with a passage in § 7, and entirely misapprehends the meaning of 'anthropomorphi.' The verbal agreements in Tyssington's quotation leave no doubt that he is citing our version, and he refers to the Epistle to the Ephesians as the third in number, which agrees with the order as found here. At the same time the differences seem to show that he is quoting it from memory. Wodeford alludes to the same passages, *Smyrn.* 7 and *Rom.* 7, but evidently takes his quotations directly from Tyssington.

[6] Turrianus *Defens. Can. Apost.* 2 says 'Ignatius in vetere interpretatione Latina manuscripta epistolae ad Philadelphenses, quae in Vaticano est, non habet quod in Graeca epistola nuper in publicum emissa legitur de Paulo inter eos qui uxorem

The value of this version for critical purposes consists in its extreme literalness. To this end the construction of the Latin is consistently sacrificed, as for instance in *Philad.* 10 εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις 'in congaudere ipsis in idipsum factis,' *Smyrn.* 5 τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα 'nostrae eorum qui secundum virum passiones,' *ib.* 11 εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἕως Συρίας συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς (i.e. 'that he may visit Syria and congratulate them') 'in factum usque Syriam congaudere ipsis,' *Polyc.* 6 ἐάν περ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω εἰς τὸ εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὑμῶν μαθητήν, 'siquidem per pati Deo potiar in inveniri me in resurrectione vestri discipulum,' *Trall.* 12 τῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων προσευχῇ 'ea quae cum adinvicem oratione,' *Mar. Ign.* 3 φορὰν ἔχοντα (i.e. 'pouring down') 'lationem habentia.' Thus also new or unusual Latin words are introduced to correspond as exactly as possible to the original; e.g. *Polyc.* 5 'ingloriatio' (ἀκαυχησία), *Magn.* 1 'multibona ordinatio' (τὸ πολυεύτακτον), *ib.* 14 'superindigeo' (ἐπιδέομαι), *Rom.* 5 'injustificatio' (ἀδίκημα), *Mar. Ign.* 5 'subrememorans' (ὑπομιμνήσκουσα), *Ign. Mar.* 3 'scriptibilis' (γραφικός), *Ant.* 3 'potestativus' (ἐξουσιαστής), *ib.* 11 'amaricatio' (παροξυσμός), etc. And again, particles are scrupulously reproduced in violation of Latin idiom, such as ἄν, which is rendered *utique*, e.g. *Trall.* 11 ἐφαίνοντο ἄν 'apparerent utique,' *Magn.* 12 ὅταν 'quando utique.' Even as regards the order of the words it may be treated as an authority; for in this respect also with very rare exceptions the Greek is rigidly followed without any regard for Latin usage.

Moreover the MS which the translator used was evidently superior to the existing MSS of the Greek (*Laur.* lvii. 7 and *Paris Graec.* 1451). Thus it is free from several interpolations in these MSS (mostly found also in the Long recension, and frequently quotations from the N. T.); e.g. *Ephes.* 1 τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος Θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν, *ib.* 2 κατηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοὶ κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 3 τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 4 κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον, *Rom.* 5 ἀνατομαὶ διαιρέσεις, *ib.* 6 τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 10 τουτέστιν Αὐγούστου εἰκάδι τρίτῃ. Simi-

habuerunt.' Hence Smith infers (*Ign. Epist.* praef.) that Turrianus must allude to a manuscript of our Latin Version ('plane cum nostra eadem esse mihi videtur'). But some MSS of the Latin of the Long recension omit the name of S. Paul in *Philad.* 4, and one of these is found in the Vatican: see below p. 122, and comp. Ussher p. cxxii sq. Turrianus however quoted the Greek of the genuine Ignatius from the Medicean MS, before it was published by Voss.

Pearson (on *Smyrn.* 3) strangely conjectures (p. 13) that our translator was older than Jerome and led him into the error of translating οἶδα by *vidi*. The converse (see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 402, note) is possible; that the translator was led astray by the well-known passage in Jerome.

larly it is free from the omission of λόγος after Θεοῦ and the substitution of τρέχων for φωνὴ in *Rom.* 2. Again, in several instances it gives words and clauses which have dropped out of these MSS through inadvertence; e.g. *Ephes.* 1 'videre festinastis,' *Trall.* 7 'qui vero extra altare est, non mundus est,' *Philad.* 7 'Dei voce,' *Rom.* 6 'neque per materiam seducatis,' *Mart.* 5 'justitiae per tale.' Again in many places, where the reading is changed or corrupted, it preserves a correct text; e.g. *Polyc.* 1 'consuetudinem' (ὁμοήθειαν for βοήθειαν), *Philad.* 5 'imperfectus' (ἀναπάρτιστος for ἀνάρπαστος), *Rom.* 3 'suasionis' (πεισμονῆς for σιωπῆς μόνον), *ib.* 6 'termini' (πέρατα for τερπνά), *Mart.* 6 'ab impiis' (παρὰ τῶν ἀθέων for παρὰ τῷ ναῷ). Again, it is free from some glosses which disfigure the Greek text; e.g. *Magn.* 8 'secundum Judaismum' (for κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊσμόν), *ib.* 9 'secundum dominicam' (for κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωήν), *Rom.* 6 'homo ero' (for ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἔσομαι).

At the same time, though much superior, it belonged to the same family with these. This is clear from the arrangement of the epistles and the presence of the confessedly spurious letters, as well as from other decisive indications. Thus the one marginal gloss of *Laur.* lvii. 7, ἀργὸς (for δεσέρτωρ) in *Polyc.* 6, is translated in the *text* of the Latin, 'nullus vestrum otiosus inveniatur,' and has displaced the original word; and in like manner the confusion of the subscription of the letter to Polycarp with the superscription of that to the Smyrnæans, which appears in this Greek MS, is reproduced and worse confounded in the Latin (see II. p. 331).

This close relationship moreover is confirmed by the presence of the same corrupt readings in both. Thus we find that the Latin text conforms to the Greek in *Ephes.* 7 'in immortali vita vera,' *Magn.* 8 'verbum aeternum non a silentio progrediens,' *Trall.* 3 'diligentes quod non parco ipsum aliqualem,' *Mar. Ign.* 1 'et Sobelum' (καὶ Σόβηλον for Κασσόβηλον or Κασσοβήλων), and other passages, where the readings are in some cases demonstrably, in others probably, false.

At the same time the advantage is not always on the side of the Latin text, as compared with the Greek MSS. Thus in *Smyrn.* 6 ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω· τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω, the Latin rendering, 'qui capit capiat; qualiter nullis infletur,' arises obviously from a corruption χωρειτω[το]πως for χωρειτωτοπος. Thus again in *Ephes.* 3 for ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι it has 'in nomine Christi,' where 'Christi' is an obvious gloss; and in *Smyrn.* 10 Ῥέων Ἀγαθόπουν becomes 'Reum et Agathopum,' thus making two men out of one. So also in *Rom.* 7 the Latin 'ignis amans aliquam aquam, sed vivens' is certainly corrupt, while the Greek πῦρ φιλόϋλον, ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν may perhaps give the original reading. But the

passages where the text of the Greek MSS contrasts favourably with that of the Latin Version are very few in all.

The following are the two MSS of this version, to which reference has already been made.

1. *Caiensis* 395 [L_1] (see the *Catalogue of MSS in Caius College* p. 193)[1]. This MS was given to Gonville and Caius College (then called the College of the Annunciation of the B. V. Mary) by Walter Crome D.D., formerly a fellow of the College, 'A.D. 1444 in festo S. Hugonis.' This fact is recorded on the fly leaf in Crome's own handwriting.

The main part of the volume is taken up with letters and other writings of S. Ambrose. After these come the Epistles of Dionysius the Areopagite, and after these again the Epistles of S. Ignatius. These last are followed by another letter of S. Ambrose, 'Epistola brevissima sed optima,' which with a few blank leaves at the end concludes the volume. The whole is in the handwriting of Crome himself, who records the date at the close of the works of S. Ambrose and before the commencement of the letters of Dionysius in these words (fol. 164 a); 'Expliciunt epistole Beati Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi. scripte per Crome et finite anno domini millesimo cccc^{mo}xl primo in festo sancti Swithuni episcopi sociorumque ejus.' This notice has been overlooked by previous collators, and baseless conjectures have in consequence been hazarded respecting the date of the MS[2]. On fol. 74 also the writer has given his name 'Crome.'

The Ignatian Epistles commence on fol. 174 a, and occur in the following order; (1) Smyrnæans, (2) Polycarp, (3) Ephesians, (4) Magnesians, (5) Philadelphians, (6) Trallians, (7) Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius, (8) Ignatius to Mary of Cassobola, (9) Tarsians, (10) Antiochenes, (11) Hero, (12) Acts of Martyrdom (numbered as 'epistola duodecima'), incorporating (13) the Epistle to the Romans described as 'epistola terciadecima.' After this comes a colophon giving a list of the preceding letters (see below II. p. 653); and then follow (14) 'Epistola eiusdem ad johannem evangelistam,' (15) 'Ignacius johanni evangeliste,' (16)

[1] Cureton in several passages (*Corp. Ign.* pp. 291, 308, 338) mentions a 'Corpus Christi MS,' apparently mistaking Jacobson's notation C. C. ('Codex Caiensis'); for no such MS exists at Corpus Christi College in either Oxford or Cambridge. On p. 338 he speaks of 'the two copies of the...Latin Version belonging to Caius College Cambridge and Corpus Christi College Oxford.'

[2] Thus Smith, whose work was published in 1709, speaks of this MS as 'ante quadringentos annos aut circiter, ut ex characteribus et figuris literarum coniecturam facere libet, scripto' (*S. Ignat. Epistolae* praef.), thus ante-dating it by more than a century and a quarter.

'Ignacius sancte marie,' and (17) 'Ignacio sancta maria'; the whole terminating with 'Expliciunt epistole ignacii martiris numero decem et septem.' It will be observed that the Epistle to the Philippians is wanting in this version.

Ussher does not appear to have used the MS itself for his edition. In his correspondence with his friend Dr Ward, the Master of Sidney College, he negociates about procuring a transcript, which at length he mentions as having been received by his agent (Elrington's *Life and Works of Ussher* XV. pp. 482, 504, 540, 542). Ward distinctly says that 'the MS cannot be let out of the college' (XV. p. 504); and a Mr Foster of Emmanuel College is mentioned as a likely person to transcribe it, having 'taken some pains already in it' (*ib.*). Whether he or some one else was ultimately employed, does not appear from the correspondence.

A transcript of this MS also exists in the library of Caius Coll. (MS 445). It is thus described in the *Catalogue* (p. 212); 'This seems to be the transcript from MS 395 made for Archbishop Ussher's edition of Ignatius. It is very neatly and on the whole accurately written.' Of its accuracy I shall have something to say presently; but this was certainly not the transcript which Ussher used. He makes arrangement for defraying the costs of transcribing (*Life and Works* XV. pp. 482, 540), and evidently looks on the transcript, when made, as his own property; nor is there any reason why it should have been returned to the college, where it was least of all wanted.

In fact the transcript which Ussher used is still in the library of Dublin University, where it is marked D. 3. 11. On the second page (the first is blank excepting the date) is written in Ussher's handwriting; 'Hoc Ignatianarum Epistolarum apographum ex Bibliothecâ Collegii Gunwelli et Caii apud Cantabrigienses descriptum collatum est a me cum alio MS membranaceo, ex Bibliotheca D. Richardi Montacutii Norwicensis episcopi petito.' This manuscript is written in the same handwriting with the Caius transcript (445). It contains the same prefatory instructions with regard to certain symbols which the transcriber uses, the same marginal notes, and (for the most part) the same misreadings. On the first, otherwise blank, page the transcriber dates his work 'Junii 20° 1631.'[1] After the first leaf, several leaves (apparently

[1] On July 28, 1631, Ussher writes to Ward, 'The copy of Ignatius Mr Burnett writeth unto me he hath received, but it is not yet come into my hands' (*Life and Works* XV. p. 542). This transcript is mentioned by Ussher on Aug. 9, 1632 with approbation: 'The copy was well taken out and serveth me to singular good use' (*ib.* XV. p. 559).

four) have been lost; and the second existing leaf commences 'in orationibus vaca indesinentibus etc.' (*Polyc.* 1), so that the whole of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans and the opening of the Epistle to Polycarp are wanting.

The exact relation between these two transcripts might probably be made out, if it were worth while to do so. For the most part the same omissions and misreadings appear in both; but on the whole the advantage is slightly in favour of the Dublin transcript, which adheres more nearly to the spelling of the MS. It is not easy to say which was the earlier of the two; but if the Dublin transcript was written after the other, the transcriber must have had the MS itself before him, while copying out his previous work.

Both transcripts are full of inaccuracies. These arise sometimes from indifference to spelling on the part of the transcriber, sometimes from mere carelessness and inattention, but most frequently from ignorance of the contractions, which in this MS are numerous and perplexing. The very name of the donor is wrongly given 'Brome' for 'Crome'[1]. Such various readings as 'panem qui' for 'passionem quæ' (*Smyrn.* 5) and 'oratione' for 'resurrectione' (*Polyc.* 7) are entirely due to the transcriber's inaccuracy; and minor errors are very numerous. Using this very incorrect transcript, Ussher frequently mentions a discrepancy in the MSS of this Latin Version, when in fact the two have the same reading.

2. *Montacutianus* [L_2], a parchment MS from the library of Richard Mountague or Montacute, Bp. of Norwich. Bp. Mountague himself quotes from this MS, while yet in his possession; but he confuses the version there given with the Latin of the Long recension which was much more widely known[2]. Ussher points out the mistake (*Polyc. et Ignat. Ep.* p. cxli). Since it was in Ussher's possession, it has disappeared. 'Ubi iam reperiendus sit,' writes Smith in 1708, 'ne investigando quidem expiscari possum' (*S. Ign. Epist.* præf.). I too have angled for it in many waters, but enquiries made in all likely quarters have proved unsuccessful. It would probably be in the possession of Ussher at the time of Bp. Mountague's death (April 1641); and, if so, it may have disappeared in the confusion and depredations which attended the confiscation and seizure of his books by the Parliament,

[1] See Ussher *Polyc. et Ignat. Epist.* p. cxli, from whom the error has been transmitted to later writers (e.g. Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 552).

[2] *Orig. Eccl.* p. 457 (A.D. 1640) 'Hanc (lectionem) sequitur vetus interpres Adone Viennensi antiquior; vertit enim *Ego enim et post resurrectionem in carne ipsum vidi.*'

A.D. 1643 (*Life and Works* I. p. 229). At all events the many vicissitudes which his library underwent at this time and after his death, when it was again plundered (*Life and Works* I. p. 303), will easily account for the loss of the MS; and its recovery now seems almost beyond hope.

I have however been able to supply the loss to a great extent from Ussher's transcript of the Caius MS already mentioned (*Dublin*, D. 3. 11), which has been strangely overlooked by previous editors. It contains a collation of the Montacute MS between the lines or in the margin. As mere variations of spelling are frequently recorded, Ussher seems to have intended this collation to be full and exact. At all events it contains very much which cannot be gathered from his printed work.

Of the antiquity of this MS we can form no very definite opinion, now that it is lost. It was plainly quite independent of the Caius MS, since the correct reading is preserved sometimes in the one and sometimes in the other. We may infer also that it was the more ancient, as it was certainly the more accurate, of the two. The simplicity of the headings, compared with those of the Caius MS, where they sometimes expand into a table of contents, points to its greater antiquity. Moreover it most frequently preserves the exact order of the words, as they stand in the Greek original, whereas in the Caius MS more regard is paid to Latin usage, and the order has often been changed accordingly. Again, it alone preserves a number of marginal glosses which show a knowledge of the Greek, and which therefore (we may presume) are due to the translator himself, who had the original before him. Thus on *Smyrn.* 1 'sapientes fecit' this annotator writes, 'unum est verbum in Græco [σοφίσαντα], Latine *sapientificavit*' (Ussher *Annot.* ad loc. p. 46). Thus again on *Smyrn.* 5 τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα he gives a gloss, 'Græci dicunt *secundum virum* pro *singulum* vel *singillatim*' (*Annot.* ad loc. p. 49). Again on *Polyc.* 8 'in et ipsos facere' he explains the grammar, 'regit hæc propositio [l. præpositio] in more Græco hoc totum *ipsos facere*.' Again on *Ephes.* 1 'dilectum tuum nomen quod possedistis natura iusta' he writes, 'ephesis Græce, desiderium Latine; Ephesii desiderabiles dicuntur.' Again on *Philad.* 6, after explaining the last sentence 'Oro ut non in testimonium etc.', he adds 'Græce bene dicitur.' Again *Antioch.* 6 the animals intended by *theos* (*thoes*) are thus described, 'bestiæ sunt ex yena et lupo natæ, et dicuntur licopantiri; veloces enim sunt, licet habeant tibias breves'[1], where the clause

[1] This is one of the very few exceptions where notes are preserved in the Caius MS also. It appears there with slight variations.

'veloces etc.' refers to the derivation of θώς from θέω, θοός. This gloss is translated from the Greek lexicographers[1]. Again on *Mart.* 2 'cum et alteros persuadere' he is careful to state that the government of the infinitive by 'cum' follows the Greek regimen. These glosses appear to have come from the hand of the original translator or one of his friends; for it is highly improbable that any later annotator before the revival of learning would have possessed the knowledge of the Greek language and of the epistles in the original, which these glosses suppose. Lastly; I find in this MS some words which seem to me to be significant. After the table of contents at the end of the Acts of Martyrdom, and before the commencement of the Correspondence with the Virgin and S. John (i. e. at the end of the translated portion of this Ignatian collection), the scribe writes, 'Consummatori bonorum Deo gratias.' Does not this look like an ejaculation of thanksgiving on the part of the translator at the completion of his task?

There is therefore good reason for believing that this MS with its marginal glosses closely represented the version in the form in which it came from the hands of the translator. At the same time it cannot have been the archetypal MS of the version; for the text, though generally intact, is already disfigured by a few corruptions and omissions.

In order and arrangement it entirely agrees with the Caius MS. The glosses, with one or two exceptions (where they are still retained in the Caius MS), are peculiar to it. The more important of these have been already given. Others are paraphrases of the author's meaning, or explain the construction, or call attention to the importance of the subject matter.

(iii) ARMENIAN [A].

With characteristic penetration Ussher had foreseen the probability that an Armenian version of the Ignatian Epistles would be found (*Life and Letters* XVI. p. 64 sq.). This version was first printed at Constantinople in 1783; see Neumann *Versuch einer Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur* p. 73 sq. (Leipzig 1836), who translates from Pl. Sukias Somal *Quadro delle Opere di vari autori anticamente tradotte in Armeno* p. 10 (Venezia 1825); see Cureton *C. I.* p. xvi. More recently it has been rendered accessible to others besides Armenian scholars by Petermann,

[1] Suidas θῶες· θηρία ἐξ ὑαίνης καὶ λύκου γεννώμενα: Etym. Gudian. θῶες· οἱ λυκοπάνθηροι· ταχεῖς γάρ εἰσι, καίπερ βραχυσκελεῖς ὄντες; see Gaisford, Etym. Magn. p. 459. It is worthy of notice that Suidas is mentioned among the Greek works of which Grosseteste made use; Pegge pp. 284, 291, 346.

who has reprinted and translated the whole, paragraph by paragraph, in his edition of Ignatius (Lipsiæ 1849). This version contains the epistles in the following order: (1) Smyrnæans, (2) Polycarp, (3) Ephesians, (4) Magnesians, (5) Trallians, (6) Philadelphians[1], (7) Romans, (8) Antiochenes, (9) Mary to Ignatius, (10) Ignatius to Mary, (11) Tarsians, (12) Hero (here called Urio), (13) Philippians. It was printed from five MSS, which appear to be no longer extant or at least accessible; but only three various readings are given in the margin, and these on the Epistle to the Smyrnæans. The editor Minas, an Armenian bishop, states in the preface that he corrected some errors by a comparison of the MSS. Thus the *editio princeps* is wholly uncritical; and as Petermann, not being able to consult any MSS, was obliged to reprint it as he found it, the value of this version for textual purposes is very seriously impaired.

The Armenian version is attributed by Somal to the 5th century, and the same is also the opinion of Petermann (p. xxv sq.). The latter critic gives this as the common tradition of the Armenians, and considers that the internal evidence is favourable to its truth. The following are his reasons. (i) The language—more especially in the forms of the proper names—points to an early and pure stage in its development. He allows however that there are several exceptions, which he supposes to have been introduced by transcribers at a later date. (ii) With one exception (certain Martyrologies translated by command of Gregory Martyrophilus, the catholicus of Armenia) no translations are known to have been made from Syriac into Armenian at a later date. (iii) The Biblical quotations have no affinity to the Armenian version of the Scriptures, and appear therefore to be prior in date to that version. Though these arguments seem to me to be inconclusive, I cannot venture, with my very slender knowledge of the language, to question the result. I will only mention one objection which appears to me to be formidable. This early date seems hardly to allow sufficient time for the successive stages in the history of the Ignatian literature. If (as seems to be assumed) all the epistles were translated into Armenian at the same time, room must be found for the following facts: (1) The forgery of the confessedly spurious letters, which can hardly be placed earlier than the middle of the fourth century; (2) The attachment of these to the epistles of the Middle form, for they originally proceeded from the same hand as the Long recension; (3) The translation of the two sets of letters, thus combined, into Syriac, for it will be seen

[1] The order is correctly given by Petermann (p. vi). Somal, followed by Neumann, transposes and gives it, (5) Philadelphians, (6) Trallians, as in the Greek.

presently that the Armenian version was made from the Syriac; (4) The corruption of the Syriac text, for it is found also that very numerous and very considerable errors had crept in before the Armenian version was made; (5) The translation into Armenian.

One important fact—important not only as gauging the textual value of the Armenian version, but still more as having a direct bearing on the Ignatian question—has been established irrefragably by Petermann. It cannot be doubted, after his investigations, that the Armenian translation was made, not from the Greek original, but from a Syriac version. The arguments may be ranged under three heads. (1) Syriac constructions and phrases appear in an Armenian dress, where otherwise the translator would naturally have followed the Greek. Thus the idiom of the indeclinable relative in the Shemitic languages is copied, though in Armenian, as in Greek, the relative is declined. Finite sentences are substituted for participial clauses, though the substitution is not required by the genius of the Armenian language, as it is by that of the Syriac. The degrees of comparison are rendered in the Syriac way. Assertions are strengthened by prefixing the infinitive absolute (with the sense of the Latin gerund) to the finite verb after the manner of the Shemitic tongues, though there is nothing corresponding in the Greek; e.g. *Magn.* 7 'tentando tentate,' *Rom.* 4 'provocando provocate,' *Smyrn.* 4 'orando orate,' etc. The forms 'est mihi,' 'est illi,' etc., are frequently used for 'habeo,' 'habet,' etc., as in the Syriac. Certain characteristic Syriac expressions are reproduced; e.g. 'son of man' for ἄνθρωπος (frequently), 'sons of the city' for πολῖται (*Tars.* 2), 'by the hand of' for διὰ (frequently), 'our Lord' for ὁ Κύριος (frequently). (2) Syriac ambiguities are wrongly taken by the translator. Thus in *Ephes.* 8 τοῖς αἰῶσιν is rendered 'omnibus ethnicis,' the link being the Syriac ܥܠܡܐ which signifies either 'age' or 'world.' See also II. pp. 223, 256, for other examples. (3) Corruptions or misreadings of the Syriac text are very frequent sources of error. These will occur either in the diacritical points or in the letters. Of the former the constant substitution of a plural for a singular and conversely, owing to the insertion or omission of the plural sign *ribui*, will serve as an instance. So again in *Philipp.* 10 κάλων 'funem' is rendered 'corruptionem' from the ambiguous Syriac ܫܚܬܐ, which has either meaning as differently vocalised. Two other remarkable examples of wrong vocalisation appear in one chapter alone, *Magn.* 6 (see pp. 119, 121). Of the confusion of letters numberless instances occur. Among others, more or less convincing, which Petermann gives, are the follow-

ing; Βουρρος (*Eph.* 2) becomes *Buerdos* (ܒܘܝܪܕܘܣ for ܒܘܝܪܕܘܣ); Κροκος *ib.* is changed into *Markos* (ܡܪܩܘܣ for ܡܪܩܘܣ); Πολυβιος (*Hero* 8) into Polekhes (ܦܘܠܟܣ for ܦܘܠܟܣ); τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν (*Ephes.* 1) is translated 'salus vestra' (ܫܠܡܟ for ܫܡܟ); ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς (*Magn.* 10) 'a spiritu ejus' (ܡܢܝ for ܡܢܝ); ἵνα κατευοδωθῆτε (*Magn.* 13) 'ut splendeatis' (ܢܫܬܦܪ for ܢܫܬܦܪ; comp. *Hero* 9); ὁ τοκετός (*Rom.* 6) 'dolores mortis' (ܟܐܒܐ for ܟܐܒܐ); τροφῇ φθορᾶς (*Rom.* 7) 'lac' (ܚܠܒ for ܚܠܒ); αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι (*Philad.* 10) 'sanctae ecclesiae' (ܩܕܝܫܬ for ܩܕܝܫܬ); ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους (*Smyrn.* 1) 'a signo' (ܣܝܡ for ܣܝܡ; see the note on *Ephes.* 1); τὸν μέλλοντα (*Polyc.* 8) 'eum fratrem qui paratus est' (ܓܒܪ ܐܚܐ for ܓܒܪ ܐܚܐ); τῇ σεσωσμένῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ (*Tars.* inscr.) 'egregiae ecclesiae' (ܒܝܬܐ for ܒܝܬܐ); ἐφαύλισα (*Antioch.* 10) 'obtegebam' (ܟܣܝܬ for ܟܣܝܬ); οἰκητήριον (*Hero* 6) 'discipulus' (ܬܠܡܝܕ for ܬܠܡܝܕ). See also below, II. pp. 31, 58, 66, 171, 190, 191, 199, for other instances; but indeed examples might be very largely multiplied.

Thus the proof is overwhelming. But it will amount to absolute demonstration, if we can show (as will be shown hereafter), that parts of a Syriac version, which the Armenian translator might have used, are still extant, exhibiting the same blunders and running parallel to the Armenian in a remarkable way.

At the same time Petermann supposes (pp. xiv, xxvi) that the Armenian version was compared here and there with the original Greek by scribes and readers, who interpolated and corrupted it accordingly. The instances however which he gives do not bear out this judgment, since the phenomena may in every case be explained in other ways. Thus his chief example is *Antioch.* 9, where for the Greek αἱ γυναῖκες τιμάτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν, the Armenian has 'mulieres honorent viros suos, sicut Sarra Abrahamum.' He supposes that the translator read Σάρρα ἴδιον for σάρκα ἰδίαν, and that 'Abraham' was an explanation of ἴδιον. Even if this solution be correct, and if the change be not rather due (as seems more likely) to a reminiscence of 1 Pet. iii. 6, still there is no difficulty in supposing the corruption in the Greek text to have occurred before the Syriac version was made and to have been transmitted to the Armenian through the Syriac. Again he appeals to the three various readings (*Smyrn.* 1, 2, 6) given by the Armenian

editors, and lays stress on the fact that they are closer to the Greek than the corresponding readings in the text. But in the only one of these three passages where the Syriac is preserved, *Smyrn.* 2 ('ad vivificandum nos' in the text of the Armenian, 'ut salvemur' in the margin), the Syriac corresponds exactly with the Greek ἵνα σωθῶμεν, and this was probably the case with the other two. Thus the marginal readings seem to represent the original Armenian rendering, while those which now stand in the text were later manipulations.

It will be seen from the history of the Armenian text, which has been given, that in using it for critical purposes we must make very considerable allowance for the vicissitudes through which it has passed. The points for which allowance must be made are these. (1) The corruptions of the Greek text before it reached the hands of the Syriac translator. (2) The changes which would be introduced in the process of translation into Syriac—changes partly demanded by the genius of a wholly alien language and partly introduced by the faults of the translation. (3) The corruptions of the Syriac text before it reached the hands of the Armenian translator. These, as we have already seen, were very considerable. (4) The changes again introduced by conversion into a language so widely separated from the Syriac as the Armenian. These to a certain extent were inevitable, but in the present case they have been largely increased by the ignorance or carelessness of the translator, who moreover appears to have indulged in glosses and periphrases with much caprice. (5) The corruptions, emendations, and interpolations of the Armenian in the course of transmission through many centuries. (6) The careless and uncritical mode of editing the printed text. Of these six sources of corruption, the third and fourth appear to have been by far the most fertile, but all have contributed appreciably to the total amount of change.

Yet notwithstanding all these vicissitudes, the Armenian version is within certain limits one of the most important aids towards the formation of a correct text. The Greek, from which the prior Syriac translation was made, must have been much earlier and purer than any existing text of these epistles, Greek or Latin; and, where this can be discerned through the overlying matter, its authority is highly valuable. Happily this is almost always possible, where the variation of reading is really important. On the other hand in minor matters, such as the connexion of sentences or the form of words, no stress can be laid on this version. Its readings are only recorded in the present edition, where they have, or seem to have, some value in determining the original text.

Armenian Acts of Martyrdom [A_m], containing the Epistle to the Romans. For the editions of this work see II. p. 366. A full account of the contents of these Acts will be found below, II. p. 370 sq. At present we are only concerned with the epistle incorporated in them. They were translated immediately from the Greek, and at a date subsequent to the Armenian version [A] of the Ignatian Epistles. But though he translated afresh, the translator was evidently acquainted with the existing Armenian version, or at least with extracts from it; for the coincidences are far too numerous and too striking to be accidental: see e.g. the renderings of § 7 *μηδεὶς οὖν κ.τ.λ.* (p. 170, Petermann), § 8 *δι' ὀλίγων κ.τ.λ.* (p. 176), *ib. οὐ κατὰ σάρκα κ.τ.λ.* (p. 177), § 9 *μνημονεύετε κ.τ.λ.* (p. 178), *ib. ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* (pp. 178, 179), etc. Alternative renderings are frequently given (e.g. pp. 149, 156, 157, 165, 180); and elsewhere various readings are noted (e.g. pp. 132, 135, 141, 144, 162 (?), 166, 172 sq., 175). It is not clear whether these latter may not in some instances be due to the editor Aucher.

Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 21) questions the opinion of Aucher and Petermann that this version was made from the Greek, and supposes it to have been rendered from a Syriac translation. His reasons however do not seem valid. Thus the rendering of *θεοφόρος* by 'God-clad' is inconclusive, since this was already a familiar designation of Ignatius in Armenian, as the version of the Epistles shows. Again the influence of *ribuⁿ* in the plurals, *Rom.* 7 'cogitationes meæ,' and *Rom.* 9 'in precibus vestris,' where the Greek has singulars, cannot be pleaded, since in both cases the plurals accord with the Armenian idiom. Again the coincidence of the plural *gubernaculis* for the singular *οἴακι* (*Mart. Ant.* 1), which appears also in the Syriac Acts [S_m], proves nothing, since it is easily explained by the fact that the ancients commonly had two rudders (Acts xxvii. 40 *τῶν πηδαλίων*). Nor does there seem to be any more force in his other arguments. In this respect the phenomena of the Armenian Acts [A_m] present a marked contrast to those of the Armenian Epistles [A].

(iv) Syriac [S].

This version is represented only by a few collections of fragments.

(1) *Paris Bibl. Nat. Syr.* 62, formerly *Sangerm.* 38 [S_1]. A collection of canons and dicta of different councils and fathers. On fol. 173 a—175 b are extracts from the Epistles of S. Ignatius. These fragments were transcribed by Munk for Cureton, and are published and translated by the latter in the *Corp. Ign.* pp. 197 sq., 232 sq. They

have been collated afresh for the present work (II. p. 677) by M. Zotenberg. The MS itself is described by Munk *ib.* p. 342 sq., and by Zotenberg *Catal. des MSS Syriaques etc.* p. 22 sq.

This collection contains the following passages:

Ephes. 5, 6 σπουδάσωμεν οὖν...δεῖ προσβλέπειν.
13 σπουδάζετε οὖν...καὶ ἐπιγείων.
15 ἄμεινόν ἐστιν...ὁ λέγων ποιῇ.
Magn. 5, 6 οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου...τῶν διακόνων.
6, 7 ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε...ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν.
Trall. 2, 3 ὅταν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ...οὐ καλεῖται.
5, 6, 7 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ...φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους.
8 ὑμεῖς οὖν πραϋπάθειαν...αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
9, 10, 11 κωφώθητε οὖν...ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ.
Polyc. 3 οἱ δοκοῦντες...ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ.
6 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε...σχεῖν παρὰ Θεῷ.
7 πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε...ἀπαρτίσητε.
Philad. 3, 4 ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσιν...τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.
7 ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὢν...μηδὲν ποιεῖτε.
10 ἀπηγγέλη μοι...πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους.
Smyrn. 8, 9 οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν...τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει.

These extracts are headed, 'Dicta selected from the Epistles of Saint Ignatius the disciple of the Apostles, God-clad and Martyr, the second bishop of Antioch; which have the force of ecclesiastical canons.' They occur in the following order; *Ephes.* 5, 6; 13; 15; *Magn.* 5, 6; *Trall.* (written as if *Titilians*) 2, 3; 5, 6, 7; *Polyc.* 3; 6; *Philad.* 3, 4; 7; 10; *Smyrn.* (called 'the Church of Asia') 8, 9; *Magn.* 6, 7; *Trall.* (again *Titilians*) 8; 9, 10, 11; *Polyc.* 7. At the close are the words, 'Here end these [passages] of Saint Ignatius, the God-clad and Martyr.' As some of the Cyprianic documents included in the collection are stated (*Catal.* p. 24) to have been translated first from the Latin into Greek, and afterwards from the Greek into Syriac in A. Gr. 998 (i.e. A.D. 687), and as the last extract (fol. 273 sq.) in the handwriting of the original scribe (or at least the last remaining extract, for the original MS is mutilated at the end, and other matter is added in a later hand) contains questions proposed to Jacob of Edessa in this same year A.D. 687 by a certain presbyter Addai with Jacob's answers thereto, it may be inferred with some probability that this was about the date of the collection. Of the MS itself Cureton (p. 345), who however does not appear to have seen it, considers that 'although ancient, it is probably considerably later,' while Zotenberg says that it 'semble être du ix^{e} siècle.'

(2) *Brit. Mus.* Add. 14577 [S_2]; see Wright's *Catal. of Syr. MSS* p. 784 sq. A congeries of short fragments huddled together. They are written on the vellum lining and blank page of the first leaf of a Syriac volume brought from the Nitrian desert in 1842 and numbered as above. It is described by Cureton (*Corp. Ign.* p. 348 sq.), who assigns it to the eleventh or twelfth century. From Wright's account however these extracts appear to have been written by one Moses about A.D. 932; see *Catal.* p. 787 sq. These fragments, which are published and translated by Cureton (pp. 201 sq., 235 sq.), are headed, 'From the writings of Saint Ignatius, the God-clad, bishop of Antioch,' and occur in the following order;

Rom. 4 ἐγὼ γράφω...τοῦ σώματός μου.
5, 6 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε...ἄνθρωπος ἔσομαι.
Ephes. 15 οὐδὲν λανθάνει...ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτόν.
20 ἐν μίᾳ πίστει...καὶ υἱῷ Θεοῦ.
Magn. 10 ἄτοπόν ἐστιν...εἰς Θεὸν συνήχθη.
Smyrn. 4, 5 εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν...ἠρνήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
Hero 1 παρακαλῶ σε προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου.
νηστείαις...σαυτὸν καταβάλῃς.

They have been collated anew by Dr Wright for the present work (II. p. 684).

(3) *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17134 [S_3]; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 330 sq. This MS is dated A.D. 675, and there is good reason for believing that it was written by the famous Jacob of Edessa himself (see p. 338 sq.). It contains Hymns by Severus of Antioch, translated into Greek by Paul bishop of Edessa in the early decades of the sixth century (see p. 336). Among these is one in honour of Ignatius (fol. 48 a), and a marginal note contains extracts illustrating the references in the text. They are headed 'From the Epistle of the same Ignatius to the Romans', and are as follows;

Rom. 4 ἐγὼ γράφω...τοῦ σώματός μου.
λιτανεύσατε...ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος.
6 ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν...τοῦ Θεοῦ μου.

These marginal notes, which accompany the hymns, appear to have emanated from the scribe himself, presumably Jacob of Edessa. The Hymn on Ignatius will be printed for the first time lower down; the extracts from the Epistle to the Romans were published by Cureton *C. I.* p. 296, and have been collated anew for the present edition by Dr Wright (see II. p. 686).

Cureton, apprehensive (it would seem) of the consequences which would follow from the admission, will not allow that these fragments (S_1, S_2, S_3) formed part of a complete Syriac Version. Of the collection which I have designated S_1 he says; 'It is plain that the whole collection has been translated from the Greek; and from the place which these Ignatian extracts occupy, it seems almost certain that they formed a part of the original Greek collection, which was afterwards translated into Syriac. There is no ground to conclude that these extracts were taken from a Syriac version of the Ignatian Epistles previously existing' etc., p. 345. This statement will not bear examination. Of the other documents included in this collection, the last at all events (the questions of Addai and answers of Jacob of Edessa; see above, p. 90), and probably some others, were originally written in Syriac. And, although nothing appears on the face of these Ignatian extracts which is inconsistent with their direct translation from the Greek, yet considering them in connexion with other facts, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that they formed part of a Syriac version then existing. The following considerations are decisive on this point.

(i) In the three collections, S_1, S_2, S_3, the passages quoted are all different with two exceptions. The exceptions are *Rom.* 4, 6, of which parts are common to both S_2 and S_3. Now in these passages there are remarkable coincidences between S_2 and S_3, which are inexplicable as the result of accident. With some trifling exceptions they agree for the most part both in the words and in the order. The only important differences are *Rom.* 4 ܦܘܡܐ 'the mouth' in S_3 for ܫܢܐ 'the teeth' in S_2, and *Rom.* 6 ܒܢܘܗܪܐ 'S$_2$ 'in the light' for ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ S$_3$ 'son of man' (='man'). In the first case S_3 has quoted loosely; in the second S_2 has a corrupt text, the corruption being explained by the fact that ܐܢܫܐ occurs in the immediate context. These extracts however cannot have been borrowed the one from the other, as they are not co-extensive, each containing something which is wanting in the other; so that we must look to some Syriac progenitor from which both were derived.

(ii) The solution thus suggested is confirmed by a comparison of our Syriac extracts with the Armenian version. It has been shown already that this version was derived through the medium of a previous Syriac translation; and the coincidences show that the fragments before us (S_1, S_2, S_3) belonged to this missing Syriac version.

S_1.

In *Ephes.* 5, 6, the comparison leads to no important results. In

Ephes. 13 *αἱ δυνάμεις* becomes a singular in S_1 A; and for *ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ* S_1 has ܡܫܘܬܗ 'dominio ejus', which appears to have been corrupted from ܡܬܒܪܗ 'pernicies ejus', and has itself apparently been corrupted into ܡܕܟܪܗ 'memoria ejus', as rendered by A. In *Ephes.* 15 no decisive resemblance appears.

In *Magn.* 5, 6, the coincidences are very striking. For *τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* S_1A have 'principes hujus mundi,' and for *χαρακτῆρα* [*ἔχουσιν*] 'imago sunt'; at the beginning of § 6 *ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις* is translated in S_1 ܕܐܦ ܕܒܗܢ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܒܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܚܝܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܫ, 'sed quoniam in iis personis de quibus (quod...de iis) antea scripsi', but the words were displaced in the text used by the translator of A, so that he has put ܦܪܨܘܦܐ 'persons' back to the end of the former chapter, translating as best he could, 'vitam ejus non habemus in personis. Et quoniam de eo quod antea scripsi' etc. Again S_1 inserts in the text a gloss on *προσώποις*, 'episcoporum videlicet et presbyterorum et diaconorum', and this gloss is inserted also by A. For *παραινῶ* S_1 A have 'peto a vobis'; and *προκαθημένου* is translated by S_1 ܕܒ ܕܐ ܕܝܬܒ ܒܪܐܫ ܕܣܦܝܣܟܘܬܟܘܢ 'quum sedeat in capite vestro', which becomes in A 'et sedeat in capitibus vestris'. Again the existing text of S_1 for *καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον* (v. l. *τόπον*) *συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν διακόνων* has ܘܟܗܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܨܠܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܨܠܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'et presbyteri in forma (typo) angelorum consilii et diaconi in forma (typo) apostolorum', while A renders it 'et sacerdotes tanquam angeli (legati) regis et diaconi in formis (specie) apostolorum'. Here the coincidences are decisive: for (1) The Armenian translator is misled by an ambiguity in the Syriac ܡܠܟܐ, which differently vocalised signifies either 'counsel' or 'king,' and the second sense is wrongly given to it. (2) The rendering 'angeli regis (consilii),' common to both, would not be suggested independently by the Greek. (3) In the Greek there is nothing corresponding to the final ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܨܠܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'in forma apostolorum' after the mention of the deacons. The explanation seems to be that *εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων* was at first wrongly translated 'in forma angelorum consilii', and the words 'in forma apostolorum' were a correction perhaps written in the first instance on the margin but afterwards inserted in the text, not in their right place as a correction, but elsewhere as a substantive addition. The

Armenian translator has taken the whole passage as he found it in his Syriac copy. In *Magn.* 6, 7, again some curious coincidences appear. The preposition in προκαθημένων is translated in S_1 as before, and so it again becomes 'in capitibus vestris' in A. Moreover in rendering τύπος the word adopted in S_2 is ܪܝܐ, which differently vocalised signifies either 'the form' or 'the sight', and accordingly the corresponding words to εἰς τύπον are 'in conspectum' in A. Again the words ἡνωμένος ὢν are omitted by both S_1 and A. Again the Syriac ܒܬܒܥ ܐܬܒܥ 'tentando tentate' is reproduced in the Armenian, where the Greek has simply πειράσητε. Again ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν in S_1 is ܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ, literally 'uni uni e vobis ab ipso et ad ipsum', and in A 'unusquisque e vobis a se ipso'.

In *Trall.* 2, 3, likewise, S_1A keep very close together. Thus both render κατὰ ἄνθρωπον 'in corpore'. Again the reading of A, 'quando creditis ortum ejus et mortem', for πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ must be explained through the Syriac. S_1 has ܕܒ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܒܗ following the Greek; but the Syriac MS from which A was ultimately derived must have had a corrupt reading ܡܘܠܕܐ 'his birth' for ܡܘܬܐ 'his death', whence, owing probably to a marginal correction, both words got into the text which was used by A. Lower down S_1A have 'presbyteris' ('sacerdotibus') for τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ. Again S_1 translates μυστηρίων by ܒܢܝ ܪܙܐ 'filii mysterii', i.e. 'the initiated', thus forming a link with the Armenian which has 'participes-mysteriorum'. Again καὶ σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων is translated by S_1 ܘܟܠܗܘ ܐܒܪܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ 'et membra apostolorum', which explains the rendering of A 'et a sociis apostolorum (sc. erubescat)'. In *Trall.* 5, 6, the phenomena of S_1 account for some renderings in A. Thus 'deficiens (deminutus) sum' is the rendering of πολλὰ ἡμῖν λείπει in both; again both have 'commiscent personas suas (semetipsas) cum Jesu Christo' for the difficult words καιροὶ [καὶ ἰῷ?] παρεμπλέκουσιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν; and again both omit ἐν ἡδονῇ (or ἡδέως) and κακῇ; besides some minor points of resemblance. In the short quotation from *Trall.* 8 S_1 has 'in fide quod est in spe et in oblectatione sanguinis Christi', and A 'fide et spe et coena sanguinis Christi', where the expression in the original is ἐν πίστει ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ὅ ἐστιν αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; the change depending mainly on a confusion of the

Syriac words ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ 'in spe' and ܒܣܪܐ 'caro'. In *Tràll.* 9, 10, 11, again the two coincide generally, besides presenting some special resemblances. Thus κωφώθητε is rendered by both 'estote sicut muti'; θηριομαχῆσαι in S_1 is 'vorari a feris', in A 'voratus-a-feris fieri'; ἐφαίνοντο ἄν is ܢܗܘܘ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܐܝܟ 'fierent apparentes' in S_1, 'fierent et apparerent' in A; δι' οὗ ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ προσκαλεῖται ὑμᾶς ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ is mutilated in the same way by both, S_1 reading 'in passione crucis Domini vestri cujus estis membra', and A 'jam cum signo (per signum) crucis Domini nostri vos membra estis ejus', where both alike omit δι' οὗ and προσκαλεῖται and insert τοῦ σταυροῦ, while A moreover has had a corrupt text of S_1, reading ܨܠܝܒܐ 'signo' for ܚܫܐ 'passione' (a common confusion: see II. p. 25 sq.).

In the short passage *Polyc.* 3 both read 'aliquid' for ἀξιόπιστοι; both translate ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν by 'docere alienas doctrinas'; both have 'in veritate' ('in firmitate') for ἑδραῖος; both give ܓܒܪܐ 'vir fortis' for ἄκμων. In *Polyc.* 6 again the two closely agree; e. g. in translating προσέχετε by 'spectate' and inserting 'spectet' with ὁ Θεός. In *Polyc.* 7, though A contains some Syriasms and some special coincidences with S_1 (e. g. 'paratus est' for σχολάζει), yet it frequently departs from S_1, as well as from the Greek; not seldom in the way of abridgment, perhaps because the translator did not understand the Syriac text before him.

In *Philad.* 3, 4, besides several Syriasms and a general agreement, A has at least one marked coincidence with S_1 in the gloss on σχίζοντι, 'separatoris (separantis) ecclesiae' in A, 'separantis (scindentis) ecclesiam dei' in S_1. In *Philad.* 7 A adopts several Syriac idioms, e. g. 'qui vinctus sum in eo' for 'in quo vinctus sum'. And again it translates ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης, as if ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων with S_1 (ܡܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ). The perversion of one sentence moreover 'Et dixi hoc. Testatur mihi is, etc.' in A, may be explained from S_1 but not from the original. In *Philad.* 10, besides the usual Syriasms, A translates the sentence εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν εἰς τὸ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς 'qui possit fieri praecursor (nuncius) Dei, ut proficiscatur illuc et simul gaudeat' after S_1; it inserts τοῦ Κυρίου after τὸ ὄνομα with S_1; and it reads 'sanctae ecclesiae' for αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι with S_1 (see above p. 87).

Lastly; in *Smyrn.* 8, 9, the Armenian rendering of ἀγάπην 'a love-feast' by 'quietem' is explained (as Petermann had conjectured without seeing S_1) by the intermediate word in S_1 ܢܝܚܐ 'refreshments', of which word an allied form is used also as the rendering of ἀγάπην in Jude 12.

S_2.

The coincidences are equally striking here. In the short passage *Rom.* 4 A reproduces two characteristic Syriasms from S_2 'per manum (manus) earum' (*δι' ὧν*), and 'provocando provocate' (*μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε*). In *Rom.* 5, 6, the phenomena are conclusive, and exhibit clearly the corrupt state of the Syriac text, when the Armenian version was made. A translates *τί μοι συμφέρει* 'quod mandatum est mihi' after S_2, where the reading ܦܩܕ 'mandatum est' is a corruption of ܣܦܩ 'expedit'. For *ἄρχομαι* A has 'credo'; where the translator evidently had ܗܝܡܢ or ܗܝܡܢ for ܫܝܡܢ, the correct reading, which is still preserved in S_2. For *θηρίων συστάσεις* A and S_2 have 'bestiae quae paratae sunt'; for *σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων* they have 'divisio et dispersio ossium'; and they agree also in the form of rendering *τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, 'termini (thesaurus A) mundi, etiam (et) non regnum hujus', omitting *τοῦ αἰῶνος* because the corresponding Syriac word was already exhausted in rendering *κόσμου*. The word *τοκετὸς* again is rendered in A by 'dolores mortis', which exactly reproduces S_2 ܫܒܪ ܡܘܬܐ, where the word ܡܘܬܐ 'death' is a corruption of ܝܠܕܐ 'birth', for 'birth-pangs' are meant by *τοκετός*. Again the words *σύγγνωτέ μοι* are translated in S_2 'cognoscite me ex anima mea', and this Syriac idiom is reproduced in A, where it would probably convey no meaning at all, or a wrong meaning. Again the words *τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι κόσμῳ* are wrongly connected by both with the preceding sentence, and translated as if *τὸν μὴ θέλοντα εἶναι ἐν κόσμῳ* (see II. p. 219). Again *ὕλῃ* is rendered by both, as if it had been *τοῖς ὁρατοῖς*. Again for *ἄνθρωπος* A has 'homo perfectus', and S_2 'in luce perfectus', where ܒܢܝܫܐ 'in luce' is evidently a corruption of ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ 'homo' (lit. 'filius hominis').

In *Ephes.* 15 the only remarkable coincidence is the omission of the clause *ὅπερ καὶ . . . προσώπου ἡμῶν* by both. In *Ephes.* 20 A agrees with S_2 in omitting *καὶ* after *πίστει*. In *Magn.* 10 they agree in rendering *ἄτοπόν ἐστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν καὶ κ.τ.λ.* 'non est decens ubi Jesus Christus narratur, etc.', and in substituting 'omnis' (ܟܠ S_2) for *πᾶσα γλῶσσα*. In *Smyrn.* 4, 5, after 'in mortem' (*τῷ θανάτῳ*) both add 'et in ignominiam (contumeliam)'; both render *μεταξὺ θηρίων μεταξὺ Θεοῦ* in the same loose way 'et si sit inter bestias apud Deum est (erit)'; and both strangely enough substitute 'Jesus Christus Deus (noster)' for *τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου* [*γενομένου*].

In the two lines quoted from *Hero* 1 there is no substantial departure from the Greek in either.

S_3.

The passages from the Epistle to the Romans here are in great part the same as in S_2. Of the various readings, which S_3 presents, it is only necessary to observe that ܟܬܒܐ S_3 for ܟܬܒ S_2 is a departure from A, as from the original Greek, and that on the other hand S_3 preserves the correct ܟܬܒ (where S_2 reads ܟܬܒܐ), thus agreeing exactly with A. In the passages not contained in S_2 the agreement of S_3 A in adding 'ex mortuis' (ܡܢ ܡܝܬ̈ܐ ܩܡ) after *ἀναστήσομαι* (*Rom.* 4) should be observed.

The conclusion from the facts adduced is irresistible. We have plainly in these fragments (S_1 S_2 S_3) portions of the lost Syriac version from which the Armenian text was translated.

But the evidence, if it still needed strengthening, is strengthened by another important consideration. For

(iii) It is strange that Cureton should not have been struck by the close resemblance between the Syriac fragments (S_1 S_2 S_3), and the Syriac version of the three epistles in the Short recension (Σ), in those passages which are common to both. This is so patent, when the passages from the two are written out side by side, as is done for instance by Denzinger (*Aechtheit des bisher. Textes der Ignat. Briefe* App. x. p. i; see p. 96), that no escape from the inference is possible. I shall not occupy space here by going over this ground again, but content myself with referring to Denzinger's tables, or to the various readings in the present edition, warning the reader however that, inasmuch as my apparatus criticus does not aim at reproducing the peculiarities of the Syriac, except so far as they point to a difference in the Greek text used, the various readings there given represent very inadequately the extent of the resemblance. But in fact any one may satisfy himself of the truth of this statement by comparing the two in Cureton's own volume. As a rule, they differ only where the recensions differ. Where these coincide, the Syriac versions also coincide, presenting the same paraphrastic renderings, the same errors and caprices of translation, the same accidental order, and sometimes even the same corruptions of the Syriac text itself.

It cannot be doubted therefore that the one was derived from the other. *Either* Σ is an abridgment of S, in which case all the evidence for the genuineness of the Short recension disappears; *or* S is enlarged from Σ by translating the additional passages of the Middle form from the Greek, in which case we get a result favourable as far as it goes to the genuineness of the Short recension as against the Middle.

Cureton failed to see the resemblance, and therefore did not enter into this question, though it was one of paramount importance to him, inasmuch as his theory of the genuineness of the Short recension stands or falls as it is answered. On the other hand critics like Denzinger, Merx, and others, who have taken some pains to establish the connexion of the two Syriac versions and succeeded in doing so, assume that the shorter must have been abridged from the other, and that therefore the Middle recension (whether the genuine work of Ignatius, as maintained by Denzinger, or a forgery, as Merx believes) represents the original form of the Ignatian Epistles. This is the more obvious explanation. But still the possible alternative remains, that a Syrian, having in his possession the Short recension in a Syriac version and coming across a Greek copy of the Middle recension, might have supplied the additional matter by translation from the Greek and thus have produced a complete Syriac version of the Middle recension grafted on the other. The case therefore must not be hastily prejudged.

To this question I shall revert hereafter. At present we are only concerned with the connexion between the Syriac and Armenian versions of the Middle form (S and A); and the Syriac version of the Short form (Σ) was mentioned merely as a link in the chain of evidence. For Σ, which has been shown to be closely connected with $S_1 S_2 S_3$, is also very nearly allied to A. Here again the resemblance may be traced, though (for the reason already stated) only partially, in the apparatus criticus to the present edition; and may be more fully seen by comparing the two, passage by passage, as they appear in Petermann, or as placed in parallel columns by Merx (*Meletemata Ignatiana*, Halae Saxonum, 1861). The connexion is not less patent in this case, than in the former, after due allowance has been made for the errors, caprices, and vicissitudes of the Armenian version. And the fact is important. For, while $S_1 S_2 S_3$ consist only of short detached passages, Σ covers a considerable extent of ground, so that we get independent evidence of the existence, in large portions of these epistles beyond the limits of $S_1 S_2 S_3$, of a complete Syriac version which was closely connected with Σ (just as $S_1 S_2 S_3$ are connected with it), and from which the Armenian was translated. In other words, we have independent proof, that $S_1 S_2 S_3$ were not mere isolated passages translated from Greek into Syriac for the occasion, but part of a complete Syriac version of the Middle recension, whose existence we desire to establish[1].

[1] The reader is now in a position to estimate the value of Bunsen's protest against 'Professor Petermann's assumption that the Syriac text is an extract

The results of the foregoing investigations, as regards their bearing on textual criticism, are evident. They are stated at a later point in these volumes, II. p. 3 sq.

SYRIAC MARTYRDOM [S_m], a version of the *Antiochene Acts*, incorporating the Epistle to the Romans. It is contained in three known MSS, of which the first and third are imperfect.

(1) *Brit. Mus. Add.* 7200, a volume containing various Acts of Martyrdom. It contains these Acts of Ignatius (fol. 98) from the beginning to *πάλιν ἔσομαι φωνή*, *Rom.* 2. The end is unfortunately wanting. This MS, before it came into the possession of the British Museum, belonged to Claudius J. Rich, English Resident at Bagdad. It is described in the *Catal. Cod. MSS Orient. qui in Mus. Brit. asservantur* I. p. 92 sq., where it is assigned to the 13th century; but Cureton (*C. I.* p. 362) considers it 'to be rather more ancient'. From this MS Cureton first printed these Acts (*C. I.* p. 222 sq.), with a translation (*C. I.* p. 252), but incomplete at the end owing to the condition of the MS. It has been collated afresh by Prof. Wright for the present edition.

(2) *Borg.* 18. From this MS Moesinger (*Supplementum Corporis Ignatiani* p. 3 sq., Oeniponti 1872) first published the Syriac version of the Acts complete. He describes the MS thus (p. 4);

'Codex, in quo haec acta continentur, a Georgio Ebedjesu

from an old Syriac version, of which the Armenian text is a translation' (*Hippolytus* II. p. 432). 'For this assumption,' he boldly adds, 'there is no ground whatsoever. The Armenian translation represents throughout the text of the Greek Letters, including those which are acknowledged to be false; and its various readings show the thorough corruption of our Greek text. There is not the shadow of a reason to assume that the Armenian translation was made from a Syriac text, and not, *like all other Armenian translations of Greek fathers, from the Greek.* But had it been so made, the argument for or against the seven (or rather twelve) Letters would remain exactly where Professor Petermann found it. His argument, resting on a gratuitous assumption, is so absolutely null, that it is scarcely possible to formulize it seriously, etc.' It is difficult to see how an honest man, as Bunsen unquestionably was, could have used this language, if he had read Petermann's preface and notes with any degree of care. The statement which I have italicised is directly contradicted by facts. So elsewhere he writes in the same strain; *Hippolytus* I. p. 357 sq. (note).

Bunsen however has this excuse, that he wrote before the full effects of Petermann's investigations had made themselves felt. The case is different with a writer who a quarter of a century later shields himself under Bunsen's authority, and quotes his words apparently with approval; *Supernatural Religion* I. p. xlvi sq. (6th ed. 1875).

COLL. CHRISTI REGIS
BIB. MAJ.
TORONTON

Khayyath, archiepiscopo Amadiensi, descriptus est in libro cui inscriptio, *Syri Orientales seu Chaldaei Nestoriani et Romanorum pontificum Primatus.* In hoc libro doctissimus auctor, p. 118, 122, et 129, certiores nos reddit haec acta S. Ignatii extare in antiquo manuscripto Nestoriano, nunc ad coenobium Hormisdae pertinente, ex quo, se ipso operam qualemcunque praebente, jussu et sumptibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide inter alia opera haec quoque acta descripta sunt. Hoc exemplar Romam delatum et Bibliothecae Borgianae sub numero xviii insertum est, ex quo acta, quae nunc publici iuris facio, describendi copia mihi facta est'.

It is clear that the transcript was either carelessly made in the first instance or carelessly copied by Moesinger. Indeed the unscholarly way in which Moesinger has executed his task detracts considerably from our obligations to him as the first editor of these Acts in their completeness. In his translation of the Syriac (p. 7 sq.) he is convicted by his own text of omitting words and sentences from time to time, as well as of other inaccuracies.

(3) *Vat. Syr.* 160 (formerly 1), an ancient MS in parchment, in the Vatican Library at Rome. This volume which contains these Acts of Ignatius is described by J. S. Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 606, and (somewhat confusedly) also by S. E. Assemani *Act. Mart. Orient. et Occid.* II. p. 5, who published the greater part of this Syriac collection of Acts, but omitted those of S. Ignatius; see also their *Bibl. Apost. Vat. Cod. MSS Catal.* III. p. 319 sq. Cureton attempted to obtain a transcript of the Acts of Ignatius in this volume, but did not succeed (*C. I.* p. 362). In the beginning of the year 1870 I myself paid a visit to the Vatican Library, hoping to copy them, but was told that the volume could not be found. Afterwards however, seeing a reference to it as still accessible in de Rossi *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.* I. p. 5 sq. (1857 — 1861), I instituted further enquiries, and through the intervention of Prof. W. Wright was enabled to procure a transcript made for me by Dr Bollig, the Sub-librarian of the Vatican, to whom I am much indebted for this act of kindness. The readings of this MS therefore are given in the present edition for the first time. The end is wanting, but the MS contains the whole of the Epistle to the Romans, and breaks off at φθάσαι in c. 5 of the Acts.

This Syriac version of the Antiochene Acts has been edited anew by Prof. Wright for the present work (II. p. 687 sq.). The various readings of the three MSS, designated A, B, C, respectively, are there given.

The Epistle to the Romans incorporated in these Acts was translated, together with the Acts themselves, directly from the Greek, and is

therefore quite independent of the general Syriac version of the Ignatian Epistles [S]. It is very loose and paraphrastic. Only those variations are given in my apparatus criticus, which have some value in determining the Greek text or are otherwise of interest.

(v) Copto-Thebaic [C].

A fragment of a version in the Sahidic or Thebaic dialect of the Coptic language is printed for the first time in this edition. No use has hitherto been made of it.

Borg. 248. This MS is inadequately described in Zoega's *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* (Romae, 1810) p. 604, as follows: 'Primo loco occurrit postrema pars epistolae primae S. Ignatii Martyris quae Philippis scripta ad Heronem. Deinde pag. 6 prostat titulus ⲁ.ϩⲟⲙⲟⲓⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲉ ⲑⲉⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϥⲟⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲁϥⲥϩⲁⲓⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲣⲙⲥⲙⲩⲣⲛⲁ. II. Pariter alia epistola sancti Ignatii martyris quem vocant Theophorum, i. e. qui Deum fert; quam scripsit ad Smyrnaeos.' The heading of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans is not quite accurate, as will appear by comparing it with the transcript printed in this edition: and moreover Zoega does not say whether the MS contains the title only or part of the epistle; and, if the latter, to which recension it belongs. This MS, together with the patristic MSS belonging to this Borgian collection, has been transferred to the Library of the *Museo Nazionale* at Naples, where I transcribed it. The portions of the Ignatian Epistles contained in it are (1) *Hero* § 7 Πολυκάρπῳ *παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς* to the end, followed by (2) *Smyrnæans* from the beginning as far as § 6 *πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος*[1]. They are written on two loose leaves, or four continuous pages marked ⲉ, ⲥ, ⲍ, ⲏ. The MS is a 4to with double columns, clearly written. The initial letters are occasionally very rudely illuminated and the ⲫ's are generally coloured. The marks over the ⲛ are capriciously inserted or omitted. Of the date I cannot venture to express an opinion, where Zoega is silent. The four pages missing at the beginning, ⲁ, ⲃ, ⲩ, ⲍ, must have contained the earlier part of the Epistle to Hero, and can hardly have contained anything else. The Epistle to the Smyrnæans is distinctly numbered the second. Thus the epistles in this Thebaic MS were arranged in an order different from any which is found in the MSS

[1] Moesinger (*Suppl. Corp. Ign.* p. 30) speaks of the Epistle to 'the Antiochenes' as existing in this Coptic version. His error is not explained by anything in the passage of Cureton (*C. I.* p. 362 sq.) to which he refers.

of other versions and recensions. The MS affords no clue for determining how many of the Ignatian Epistles this version included.

3.

LONG FORM.

Besides the original GREEK of this recension, a LATIN VERSION exists, omitting however the letter of Mary to Ignatius. This Latin version was first printed together with the works of Dionysius the Areopagite by J. Faber Stapulensis, *Ignatii Undecim Epistole* (Paris 1498). The letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius did not appear in this edition. The twelve letters complete were published by Symphorianus Champerius (Colon. 1536). The editio princeps of the Greek is that of Valentinus Paceus (Dillingae 1557), but it does not contain the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius, which was first published in full by Voss (1646).

(i) GREEK.

1. *Monac. Graec.* 394 [g_1], now in the Royal Library at Munich; see *Catal. Cod. MSS Bibl. Reg. Bavar.* IV. p. 221 (1810). This MS was formerly at Augsburg (hence the name *Augustanus*, by which it is commonly known), and is described in the *Catal. Cod. in Bibl. Reipubl. August. Vindel.* p. 22 (1595). The editio princeps of Valentinus Paceus was taken from it. It is a 4to MS on vellum in single columns, written in a fine legible cursive hand, apparently the same throughout. The headings to the epistles are in capitals. Iotas adscript are sometimes given, but most commonly omitted. It probably belongs to the eleventh century. The volume, after the table of contents (fol. 1 a—2 b), contains (1) fol. 3 a—199 a the προκατήχησις and the eighteen κατηχήσεις τῶν φωτιζομένων of Cyril of Jerusalem, the author's name however not being given; (2) fol. 199 a—212 b, the five μυσταγωγικαὶ κατηχήσεις commonly assigned likewise to Cyril of Jerusalem, but here stated to be Ἰωάννου ἐπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων (see Touttée's *Dissert.* ii. c. 3, prefixed to his edition of Cyril); (3) fol. 213 a—261 a, the Ignatian Epistles, ending the volume. Fol. 212 b ends with the words θλίψεις ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον ἡμῶν, Cyril. *Catech. Mystag.* v. 17 (p. 330); fol. 213 a begins in the middle of a word -νάσκαλον δὲ τῷ λογισμῷι σοῦ κ.τ.λ. *Mar. Ign.* 2. Fol. 212 is a single leaf, the rest of the quire, which contained the end of the last *Catechesis* and the beginning of the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius, having disappeared. The fragment of

the Epistle of Mary is not given in the editio princeps, but was printed by Ussher (*Polyc. et Ignat. Ep.* p. 129 sq.; see his *Append. Ignat.* p. 80), from the *Catal. Bibl. August. Vindel.* l. c., where it is published. In the much later *Catal. Bibl. Reg. Bavar.* l. c. it is ignored.

This MS gives the Ignatian Epistles in the same order in which they occur commonly in the Greek MSS of this recension; (1) Mary to Ignatius; (2) Ignatius to Mary; (3) Trallians; (4) Magnesians; (5) Tarsians (*πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ταρσῷ*); (6) Philippians (*πρὸς Φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτίσματος*); (7) Philadelphians; (8) Smyrnæans; (9) Polycarp (*πρὸς Πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον Σμύρνης*); (10) Antiochenes; (11) Hero (*πρὸς Ἥρωνα διάκονον Ἀντιοχείας*); (12) Ephesians; (13) Romans. The epistles are generally numbered in the margin (though sometimes the number is omitted); but the first number Δ begins with Ignatius to Mary, the preceding letter of Mary to Ignatius not being reckoned in. Two lessons are indicated; (i) *τῇ γ̄ κυριακῇ τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν*, of which the beginning (*ἀρχὴ*) is noted at *Ephes.* 2 *πρέπον οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐστιν* on fol. 252 a, and the end (*τέλος*) at *Ephes.* 9 *μάλιστα πιστῶν* on fol. 254 a; (ii) *ἐν τῇ μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου*, of which the beginning (*ἀρχὴ*) is at *Rom.* 3 *ἐγὼ γράφω* on fol. 259 b, while the end is not marked, or at least I have no record of it (see below, II. p. 429).

This MS was very carelessly transcribed for the editio princeps. Thus in *Ign. Mar.* 1 Paceus prints *κρίττοσι*, *λημὴν*, *παραγγυᾶ*, *ib.* 2 *ἠτιμασμένων*, *κελευθέντα*, *ἂν ἐγνοὺς* (for *ἀναγνοὺς*), *ἐρήνην*, *ib.* 4 *ἀνακλήτῳ* (for *ἀνεγκλήτω*), *οὐ ἦεν* (for *οὐκ ἐν*), *προσδοκόμενος ισθὸς* (for *προσδοκώμενος μισθὸς*), etc., in all which cases the words are correctly written in the MS. Not unnaturally editors have been misled by these phenomena. Thus Zahn (*Ign. et Polyc. Ep.* p. xx) writes 'Paceum codicis scripturam satis fideliter expressisse...ipsa vitiorum, quibus illa scatet, ratio ostendit. Ne manifestissimos quidem errores emendavit' etc. Thus the very errors of the editio princeps have lulled subsequent editors into a false security; and the MS, though easily accessible, does not appear to have been collated since with the printed text. Through the intervention of the English Foreign Office the Munich authorities kindly allowed the MS to be sent to England for me, and I collated it throughout.

2. *Vaticanus* 859 [g_2], collated by Dressel, who marks it [V], and thus describes it; 'membraneus, foliorum quaternariorum maj. 288, saec. xi, graeca ac docta manu scriptus'...'Codex est optimae notae, scribendi quidem ratio nostrorum Graecorum, idcirco ob itacismum vocales ac diphthongos haud raro permutans. Inscriptiones rubrae. Nierses ille Ghelazensis, qui eum olim possidebat, in calce epistolae Barnabae notulam sermone Armeniaco adscripsit. Qui cum anno 1173 obierit,

facile apparet Angelum Maium, cum [consentiente?] Jacobsono (*Patres Apost.* ed. pr. p. v) codicem 'saeculo forsitan xiii' assignaret, in hoc quoque errasse'.

I have inspected the volume myself. It contains a collection of miscellaneous patristic tracts and sermons. The Ignatian Epistles are immediately preceded by the letters of the false Dionysius the Areopagite. Fol. 149 b begins *τίτῳ ἱεράρχῃ ἐρωτήσαντι δι' ἐπιστολῆς τίς ὁ τῆς σοφίας οἶκος κ.τ.λ.*, the 9th letter of this pseudo-apostolic father. This continues for some pages. On fol. 151 b col. 2 below the middle is *καὶ τὴν μὲν κατ' αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ καθ' ὕπαρξιν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ μέθεξιν, καὶ ἄλλα ἄλλως. ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται κ.τ.λ.* The first part as far as *ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ* belongs to the pseudo-Dionysius (p. 800, ed. Corder.): the remaining words from *οὖν πραότητος* onwards are from the Ignatian Epistle to the Trallians § 4. There is no indication of the transition from Dionysius to Ignatius in the original MS, but a marginal note in Greek in a later hand-writing points out the dislocation, to which attention is also directed by a drawing of a hand and by a mark of separation in the text, this mark however being placed not after *ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ* (its right place) but after *ἄλλα ἄλλως*, so that the words *ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ* are wrongly assigned to Ignatius. This fact enables us to trace the parentage of other MSS, which I shall describe afterwards. Thus the Ignatian Epistles are defective at the beginning, the Epistle to Mary of Cassobola and part of that to the Trallians being wanting[1]. The epistles then follow in the usual order as already described. After the Ignatian Epistles follows the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians which is blended with the Epistle of Barnabas, just as we have seen that the Dionysian letter was blended with the Ignatian, the junction taking place in the same way in the middle of a sentence. The Epistle of Barnabas ends on fol. 211 b, and after its close is the Armenian note already mentioned. The rest of fol. 211 b is left blank, and on fol. 212 a begins the *Protevangelium Jacobi.*

The MS was collated by Dressel, from whom I have taken the various readings in the Ignatian Epistles.

3. *Ottobonianus* 348, also in the Vatican Library. This MS was collated by Dressel, who describes it 'Chartaceus, foliorum quaternariorum min. ineuntis saeculi xiv', and pronounces 'ex uno fonte cum Vaticano fluxisse videtur'. Having inspected it myself, I believe it to be a lineal rather than a collateral descendant of *Vatic.* 859, and per-

[1] Dressel (p. 230) quotes the authority of this and the two MSS which I shall next describe, for a reading in *Trall.* 3 (*ἣν* for *ὃν*). This error is inexplicable. They do not any of them commence till the end of § 4.

haps a direct copy. It contains the eleven Ignatian Epistles in the same order, followed by the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas welded together in a like manner, the Epistle to the Trallians being mutilated at the beginning and commencing at the same place as in the older MS. This is far from convincing in itself; but there are other indications. The ungrammatical ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ οὖν πραότητος of *Vatic.* 859 becomes ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ οὖν πραότης in *Ottob.* 348. The natural inference from this fact is that it was copied after the marginal note to the older MS had been written, and the transcriber, having been thereby misled as to the point at which the Ignatian Epistle begins, takes offence at the grammar and alters accordingly. I have not noticed any reading in Dressel's collation of the Ignatian Epistles inconsistent with the supposition that it was copied from *Vatic.* 859: and, having myself examined the vv. ll. of both MSS in the Epistle of Polycarp, I am confirmed in this view by the minute differences, which are at once explained by the phenomena of the older MS. Still it is barely possible that *Ottob.* 348 was copied not from *Vatic.* 859 itself, but from some MS closely allied to it. The headings to the epistles are simpler than in the older MS, being of the type τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μαγνησίους ἐπιστολὴ τρίτη. Dressel says of *Ottob.* 348 'Adsunt in margine scholia, adnotationes, correctiones ac conjecturae haud contemnendae'. He has not remarked that these marginal notes are chiefly in the Epistle to the Romans, where they are merely various readings derived from the text of the Metaphrast. Elsewhere its corrections of the text of *Vatic.* 859 are for the most part very obvious. These marginal notes are in a different hand from the MS itself.

The title page (fol. 1 a) has τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου ἐπιστολαὶ in rubric: then πρὸς τραλλησίους ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα, with a side note λείπει ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πρὸς τραλλησίους ἐπιστολῆς β', τῆς δὲ πρώτης τὸ πᾶν, but the last line τῆς δὲ πρώτης τὸ πᾶν seems to be by a different hand. The text begins about two-thirds down fol. 1 b.

4. *Laurent.* Plut. vii. Cod. 21, in the Laurentian library at Florence, described in Bandini *Catal. MSS Graec. Bibl. Laurent.* I. p. 269. Some vv. ll. are given from it by Ussher, who designates it Flor., and a fuller but still partial collation appears in Dressel [F]. The volume contains (1) The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp (with the Epistle of Barnabas attached to the latter); (2) Hippolytus *de Consummatione Mundi*, *de Antichristo*, and *de Secundo Adventu*. The MS is ascribed to the 15th century, but seems to belong rather to the 16th.

The Epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas in this MS appear to have been derived (so far as I have observed) immediately from

Ottob. 348. The title page presents exactly the same appearance, except that the words τῆς δὲ πρώτης τὸ πᾶν are omitted; the fragment of the Trallians begins with the same words ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ οὖν πραότης and in the same part of the corresponding (second) page; and the readings agree, excepting such alterations of spelling or otherwise as might easily occur to a moderately intelligent transcriber. Moreover in one instance at least the scribe has clumsily incorporated a marginal note of *Ottob.* 348. The Epistle to Polycarp at the close has the words ἀμήν. ἡ χάρις; but *Laur.* vii. 21 reads ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις ἴσως τοῦ θεοῦ εἴη μεθ' ὑμῶν (see Bandini p. 270), the words ἴσως τοῦ θεοῦ εἴη μεθ' ὑμῶν being unintelligently copied from a conjecture (ἴσως) in the margin of *Ottob.* 348, which was intended to supply the supposed omission.

5. *Paris. Graec.* 937, formerly *Colbert.* 4443, described in the *Catal. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 183, where it is assigned to the 16th century. This MS has every appearance of being a facsimile of the last-mentioned. The title page, commencement, headings, etc., and general appearance are exactly the same. Moreover the Epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, are followed by the same three treatises of Hippolytus. In the Paris MS however after these treatises other works are added (see the *Catal.* l. c.), which are wanting in the Laurentian. The Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp ends in this MS in the same way as in the preceding, ἡ χάρις ἴσως τοῦ θεοῦ εἴη μεθ' ὑμῶν. In the only portion for which I have examined both MSS carefully—the Epistle of Polycarp—the phenomena suggest that *Paris. Graec.* 937 was copied directly from *Laurent.* vii. 21, or (if not so) was a second transcript made from the same MS about the same time; e.g. in § 4 the marginal reading of the Laurentian μόμος σκοπεῖται is introduced into the text of the Parisian. But possibly a closer examination of other parts might show that the relation is not quite so simple.

6. *Paris. Suppl. Graec.* 341, a small 4to written on paper; a volume of miscellaneous contents, containing various works, some in manuscript (apparently in different hands), some printed. At the end of the first part, which is chiefly occupied with the treatise of Gregory Nyssen περὶ κατασκεύης ἀνθρώπου, the transcriber has written on a blank leaf (fol. 91 b) 'Patavii exscriptum anno ab incarnatione servatoris nostri Jesu Christi M.D. XXXII'. After the second part, which contains the *Christus Patiens*, is written 'Venetiis anno salutis M.D. XXXV sextodecimo Cal. Octobris'. The two printed works which are bound up in the volume bear the dates 1558 and 1553 respectively. The Ignatian Epistles stand at the end of the manuscript portion, and immediately

before the printed works. It may be inferred therefore that they were written somewhere about the middle of the 16th century.

Cotelier in his preface states that for the Ignatian Epistles he made use of 'codice Claudii Jolii praecentoris ecclesiae Parisiensis'. He gives the various readings of this manuscript in his margin, designating it simply 'MS', without mentioning the name[1]. This Claude Joly, who has a certain position in the literary history of France, was made precentor of Notre Dame A.D. 1671 (the year before Cotelier's edition appeared) and died A.D. 1700. He had a good library, which he left to the Chapter of Notre Dame. The MS used by Cotelier was evidently this *Paris. Suppl. Graec.* 341, for on a fly leaf it has the entry 'A la Bibliothèque de l'Église de Paris B.2', and it appears as no. 214 in the manuscript catalogue of the books which came to the National Library from Notre Dame. The variations moreover agree with those of Cotelier's MS, so far as I have tested them, though they are frequently quite unique.

This MS evidently belongs to the same class as the four preceding; for it begins at the same point in the Epistle to the Trallians. The general title is τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου ἐπιστολαί, followed by the special title πρὸς τραλλησίους ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα. As in the MSS previously described, the epistle itself begins in the lower part of the second page, ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὰ οὖν πραότης, the upper part being left blank.

This fact indicates its general relationship, but its lineage may be more closely determined. A comparison with *Ottob.* 348 seems to show that it was derived mediately or immediately from this last-mentioned MS. Thus *Ottob.* 348 gives in the margin a large number of various readings derived from the Metaphrast. In *Paris. Suppl. Graec.* 341 these readings are incorporated into the text, with occasional exceptions where they are given as marginal alternatives. It is unnecessary to give examples, for any one may satisfy himself on this point by comparing Cotelier's various readings taken from his MS with the marginal alternatives of *Ottob.* 348 as given by Dressel. The coin-

[1] Zahn, by no fault of his own, has been misled by the manner in which Cotelier gives the variations. Thus p. 194 for *Magn.* 11 τὴν Ἰουδαίων Zahn gives the v.l. of our MS as τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, whereas it should be τῶν Ἰουδαίων (om. τὴν), and in *Magn.* 12 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ he gives υἱοῦ, whereas it should be υἱοῦ Χριστοῦ. Sometimes Cotelier himself is incorrect; but his faults are chiefly of omission. On the whole however his collation is as full as we should expect from any critic of his age.

cidences however are even more numerous than appear from Cotelier's collation. Thus in *Rom.* inscr. the correction of ἡνωμένοις, πεπληρωμένοις, into ἡνωμένην, πεπληρωμένην (the words however being written with o for ω in the Paris MS), is common to both; and so in other cases which he has omitted to record. The incorporation of these marginal readings of *Ottob.* 348 is not always very intelligently made. Thus in *Rom.* 9 τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα κατὰ πόλιν κ.τ.λ., the words τῇ κατὰ σάρκα are omitted in the interpolator's text, but inserted in the marg. of *Ottob.* 348 from the Metaphrast; whereas the transcriber of our MS has simply substituted κατὰ σάρκα for κατὰ πόλιν in the text. I have only examined this Paris MS very partially; but, so far as I have observed, all the phenomena suggest that it was copied directly from *Ottob.* 348. At all events it has no independent value and is useless for all critical purposes.

In his note on *Magn.* 8 Cotelier writes 'participium ὑποστήσαντι, quod sequitur in codice Thuaneo, quodque agnoscit barbarus interpres'. He is evidently alluding to a Greek MS; and as in his preface he only mentions using one Greek MS for these epistles and in his margin here gives ὑποστήσαντι as the reading of this MS, it may be assumed that he is referring to it also in his note. But how comes he to describe it as belonging to Thuanus (de Thou), when in his preface he states that Claude Joly was the owner of it? Elsewhere, so far as I am aware, he never designates it *Thuaneus*. The difficulty seems not to have occurred to subsequent editors. Whiston, who in his edition of these epistles (*Primitive Christianity* I. p. 102 sq.) gives the various readings of Cotelier's MS throughout, marks it T and calls it 'that of Thuanus' (*Advertisement* p. ii). So too Cureton and Zahn designate it without misgiving. This ready acquiescence of later editors is probably due to the fact that they did not use Cotelier's original work (A.D. 1672) but one or both of Leclerc's editions of Cotelier (so certainly Zahn p. xxiii, note 1; and for Whiston see *Advertisement* p. iii), in which Cotelier's preface, containing an account of the MS, is omitted. I am disposed to think that 'in codice Thuaneo' is a slip of Cotelier. He elsewhere frequently gives the readings of a *Latin* 'codex Thuaneus' of these epistles, which I shall describe below, and may accidentally have substituted the wrong name in this place. It is difficult to see how the MS of Claude Joly can ever have belonged to the library of de Thou. In the catalogue of de Thou's library, published by Quesnel (Paris 1679) a few years after Cotelier's edition appeared, but before this library was dispersed, there is no mention of a Greek MS of the Ignatian Epistles, whereas the Latin MS is duly entered. A 'codex

Thuaneus' therefore could hardly have been in Joly's possession at this time.

It will have appeared from the description that the last four MSS have no independent value, as there is every reason to believe that they are lineally descended from *Vatic.* 859. They may therefore be safely neglected. It would be worse than useless to encumber the apparatus criticus with their various readings.

7. *Nydpruccianus* [g_3], the MS from which Gesner printed his edition. The editor (praef. p. 4) says 'Graecum exemplar manuscriptum nactus [sum] ex bibliotheca Cl. V. piae memoriae D. Gaspari a Nydprugck [i. e. von Nienburg, or Newenburg].' I have investigated in all likely quarters, and cannot find that this MS is still in existence. As it does not appear to have been seen by any one since Gesner, it may have been given as copy to the printer, in which case it would probably have been destroyed at the time.

Gesner appears to have published his edition without any knowledge that he had been anticipated; for his language distinctly implies that he is giving the Greek of these epistles for the first time. His ignorance however is difficult to explain. His preface is dated 1559, while the title page of the Ignatian Epistles bears the date 1560. Yet not only had the editio princeps appeared three years before (1557), but in the following year (1558) Morel at Paris had followed it up by an edition founded on it.

This text differs very widely from any other, and the eccentric readings must be attributed to arbitrary invention. They plainly have no traditional value. These variations are of different kinds. Sometimes they consist in the capricious substitution of synonyms: e. g. *Magn.* 9 νεότητα for καινότητα, *Trall.* 9 κοιλίᾳ for καρδίᾳ, *Rom.* 4 ἐπιστέλλω for ἐντέλλομαι, *Ephes.* 10 λέγετε for εἴπατε. Sometimes a word of different import is substituted with the idea of improving the sense, the substituted word being not unfrequently suggested by similarity of sound; e. g. *Magn.* 10 μωμήσηται for μιμήσηται, *Rom.* 2 διελθεῖν for διαλυθῆναι, *Philad.* 8 αὐθεντικόν for ἄθικτον, προκρίνεται for πρόκειται, *Smyrn.* 3 σῆμα for τμῆμα, *Polyc.* 4 ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου for ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, *ib.* 7 αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσητε for αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε, *Ephes.* 16 ἐκκλησίαν for διδασκαλίαν. On this principle the Latin words in *Polyc.* 6 are all changed; διασαλευθῇ being substituted for δεσέρτωρ εὑρέθῃ, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ for τὰ δεπόσιτα, τὰ ἄθλα for τὰ ἄκκεπτα. So too Ἀβνὲρ is substituted for Ἀβεδδαδὰν in *Magn.* 3, where the historical reference is unintelligible; and in the same context the unusual word ἐκκρεμὴς is changed into ἐκεῖ κρεμηθείς. Again; a very frequent motive of change is the

desire to simplify the grammar, where the sentence is abrupt or elliptical: e.g. the insertion of ἡ εὐχὴ πρὸς in *Polyc.* 2, and of δὲ ἐκβάλλετε in *Ephes.* 8; or the omission of ὃς καὶ in *Magn.* 4; or the substitution of ψέγω δὲ for ψέγων and of ὧν for τούτων *Philad.* 4, and again of αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος for καθὼς Παῦλος in *Tars.* 7. Instances of all classes of variations might be largely multiplied.

It is difficult to say how far these readings are due to the scribe of the MS or of its prototype, and how far to the editor of the printed text. The substitution of Greek words for Latin in *Polyc.* 6 would seem to show that the corrector was more familiar with Greek than with Latin, and thus to point to the scribe rather than to the editor. But whoever may have been their author, they are valueless for critical purposes. A primary test of correctness in the readings of the Long recension is conformity with the pre-existing text of the Middle form on which it was founded; and this test the characteristic readings of the Nydprugck MS generally fail to satisfy, thus condemning themselves. As a rule also, they diverge from the old Latin version. In a very few cases indeed they may seem to be confirmed by this version; e.g. in the curious substitution of αὐθεντικόν for ἄθικτον, and προκρίνεται for πρόκειται, *Philad.* 6, where the Latin has *principatus*, *praejudicatur*. If these readings be not, as we are tempted to suspect, emendations of the editor who had the Latin version before him, they must be more ancient than this version; but even then they are condemned by reference to the text of the Middle form, which has ἄθικτον and πρόκειται like the other MSS of the Long recension.

The eccentric readings of this MS therefore must be set aside. But on the other hand it contains an ancient element of some value; and cannot be altogether neglected, though it requires to be used with discrimination.

8. *Constantinopolitanus* [g_4]. This is the important MS from which Bryennios first published the Epistles of S. Clement in their complete form (A.D. 1875), and is described accordingly in my *Appendix* to *S. Clement of Rome* p. 224 sq. It bears the date A.D. 1056. The Ignatian Epistles begin on fol. 81 with the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius, and occur in the order which is usual in this recension.

I am indebted to the great kindness of Bryennios, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia, for a collation of the Ignatian Epistles in this MS, procured for me through the mediation of our common friend Dr Hieronymus Myriantheus, Archimandrite of the Greek Church in London. The collation is made with the text of the Ignatian Epistles in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Where there was any chance

of a variation escaping the eye of a careful collator, I have recorded the fact that the reading of this MS is inferred *ex silentio*.

The MS maintains the same character in the Ignatian letters which has been noticed in the Epistles of Clement (*Appendix* p. 226 sq.). Here, as there, it exhibits manifest traces of a *critical revision*, which detracts from its authority. But after due allowance made for this editorial interference, it remains an important aid to the criticism of the text; and moreover it has a special value as being the only Greek MS which preserves the thirteen Ignatian Epistles of the Long recension (including the Letter of Mary to Ignatius) entire.

9. *Vatic. Regius* (*Reginensis*?) 30 [g_5], a Vatican MS collated by Dressel and called by him [R]. He thus describes it (p. lvii); 'Membraneus, foliis octonariis, saeculi xi ineuntis. Insunt Opp. *Dionysii Areopagitae* cum glossis haud indoctis, necnon ad *Ioannem Apostolum* spectantia (1—160). Postea fragmentum Epistolae *Ignatii ad Ephesios* exhibetur in sex foliis cum dimidio'. The fragment extends from the beginning of the epistle to § 18 *ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγο-*. This epistle is numbered Δ, which points to an arrangement differing from the common order, where it would be ΙΔ.

10. *Barber.* 68, in the Barberini Library at Rome. At the beginning is written 'S. Ignatii Martyris Epistolae Graecae ex Codice Vaticano a Leone Allatio erutae', and below is the number 428. Dressel wrongly copies it 'ex codice Vaticano 428 a Leone Allatio erutae', and adds 'Cod. Vaticanus frustra quaeritur, cum ille numero 428 insignitus Ignatium non contineat, neque ad Vaticanum 859 aut Ottobonianum 348 ne ex longinquo quidem accedat'. The correct position of 428 points not to the number of the Vatican MS from which it was copied, but to the number of the transcript itself in the collection to which it at one time or other belonged, as I ascertained by personal inspection. Montfaucon indeed (*Bibl. Bibl.* I. pp. 116, 131, 142) mentions a Vatican MS of the Ignatian Epistles numbered 4248, but I was informed on the spot, that there was no Greek MS corresponding to this number. This transcript (*Barber.* 68) contains the twelve Epistles of Ignatius in the order usual in the Long recension. The Epistle of Mary to Ignatius is not included. Dressel in his preface (p. lx) promises to designate this MS C, but in his notes it appears as B.

But what is the value of this professed transcript? In the margin Allatius gives various readings from the famous Medicean MS (see above, p. 73 sq.), and in reference to these Dressel describes him as 'haud raro suas conjecturas pro libri scripti lectionibus tacite venditans'. How just this accusation is, any one may see for himself by comparing these

marginal readings with any fair collation of the Medicean MS itself. But I can prove to demonstration that his text is even less trustworthy than his margin. On a closer inspection of the text of this transcript, I became more and more convinced that its characteristic readings were taken from some printed edition of the Ignatian Epistles; and at length I obtained direct proof of this. In *Hero* 4 this transcript reads *εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων πρωτοπλάστων*, inserting the worse than superfluous *πρώτων*. This reading is obviously false, and is not found in any other MS. But it occurs in some printed texts, and I have been able to trace its history. It appears first in Ussher, and for the moment I was perplexed to explain its appearance. But turning to the Antwerp edition of Ignatius printed by Plantinus (A.D. 1572) I found the solution. The last words of the last line on p. 53 in this edition are *εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ*, and below is written *τῶν πρω-* according to a common practice of giving the catch words to carry the eye forward, as the next page begins with *τῶν πρωτοπλάστων*. Ussher must have had his text printed from a copy of this edition; and the compositor has carelessly read on continuously *ἐπὶ τῶν πρω | τῶν πρωτοπλάστων*. Ussher indeed found out the misprint, for in his table of errata *πρώτων* is directed to be omitted; but Voss, not seeing this, prints *ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων πρωτοπλάστων* after Ussher. A happy blunder; for it enables us to detect the imposture of Allatius. Allatius, professing to transcribe a Vatican MS, really transcribes the text of Ussher or Voss. Nor is this the only case in which he is clearly detected. Thus in *Smyrn.* 6 the transcript of Allatius reads *οὐ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου*, for *ὅτι ζωῆς αἰωνίου*. This position of the article is a solecism in Greek, and it is not found in any other MS. But the sense seemed to require a negative (which appears also in the Latin version), and accordingly the early editor Morel (A.D. 1558) substituted *οὐ τῆς* for *ὅτι*. He would have respected Greek usage more, and have diverged less from MS authority, if he had read *οὐ* simply for *ὅτι*. But his solecism was perpetuated in later editions, till it reached Ussher and Voss, and from one or other it was taken by Allatius. Again in *Tars.* 9 this transcript reads *ἀνεπίστητοι* with the printed editions, though the word does not occur elsewhere and could hardly be used in the sense required here. The other MSS vary between *ἀνεπίστατοι* and *ἀνεπιστάτητοι*, both these words being found elsewhere, and both perhaps possible in this context. Again in *Philipp.* 11, where the editio princeps had *ἠκείσας*, Morel boldly substituted *ἐξώσας* and is followed by later editors; accordingly *ἐξώσας* is found in this transcript, though no MS has any reading at all resembling it. Again in *Magn.* 13 the correct reading is *ἀξιοπλόκου καὶ πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυ-*

τερίου ὑμῶν, where by a fanciful metaphor the circle of presbyters seated round the bishop are regarded as a spiritual wreath 'fitly woven' about him. In some MSS however πρεσβυτερίου has been corrupted into πρεσβυτέρου, and στεφάνου is in consequence changed into a proper name 'Stephen.' In this connexion the epithet ἀξιοπλόκου is quite out of place, and Morel substituted ἀξιονίκου 'sua authoritate', as Ussher truly says, and in this he was followed by most later editors, though not by Ussher or Voss. So ἀξιονίκου appears in the transcript of Allatius. These are some of the more decisive instances in which Allatius copies a printed text; but many more might be adduced. Thus αἱμάτων for σπερμάτων, *Trall.* 10, was Morel's conjecture: ἀπέδειξεν for ἀπήλεγξεν, *Magn.* 3, appeared first in an edition of Plantinus, being suggested by ἀπήλειξεν a misprint of the editio princeps; εἰλήφεσαν was first substituted for εἴλκυσαν, *Philad.* 5, in the edition of Plantinus, where the editio princeps has εἴληνσαν; πεπληροφορημένῃ for πεπληρωμένῃ, *Smyrn.* præf., was an early editorial correction, founded on πεπληρομένῃ, again a misprint of the editio princeps. All these are devoid of MS authority, and yet all appear in this transcript. In several passages also this transcript follows the capricious alterations of g_3 where they are found in no other MS, and the strong presumption is that in these cases also the transcriber must have derived his readings from some printed text. Lastly, it occasionally introduces readings which are found only in the text of the Middle form, and which (there is good reason to believe) never had a place in the Long recension; e. g. ἀναστάσει for αἰτήσει in *Polyc.* 7.

The case against this transcript might be considerably strengthened; but I believe that sufficient has been said to show its worthlessness. It contains in fact a *made up* text. Allatius must have had before him more than one printed edition, for he could not (so far as I have observed) have got the readings τῶν πρώτων πρωτοπλάστων *Hero* 4 and ἀξιονίκου *Magn.* 13 from the same edition. He professes however to have taken the epistles from a Vatican MS; and this may be so far true, that together with his printed texts he did employ such a MS. But, if so, can we identify it? After we have thus traced the most characteristic and striking readings of this transcript to printed editions, it no longer remains an obstacle to the identification of the MS in question with *Vatic.* 859 or with *Ottob.* 348, that its text 'ne ex longinquo quidem accedit' to that presented by either. A more formidable objection is the fact that, whereas the transcript contains the twelve epistles complete, these two MSS want the whole of the first epistle and the beginning of the second. But with his other aids

before him, Allatius could easily have supplied the omission. Until some other Vatican MS therefore is discovered which better satisfies the conditions, it may be presumed that the MS referred to was one of those with which we are acquainted. At all events sufficient has been said to show that this transcript is quite useless for critical purposes. Nor has the investigation been superfluous; for, if we had been obliged to accept its text as an authority, wholly new phenomena would have had to be considered, and the entire subject would have been thrown into confusion.

11. *Bodl.* Auct. D. Infr. 2. 19 (see Coxe's *Catal. Cod. Manuscr. Bibl. Bodl.* I. p. 627), a small vol. parchment, in a comparatively recent (17th century) hand. Its history is given by Bp. Fell on the fly leaf:

'Septembris 17° A. 1673 cum ex itinere Harburiam Comitatus Leicestriae pertransirem, codicis hujus copia mihi facta est; eundemque dono dedit egregius vir et de re literaria optime meritus D^nus^ Johannes Berry, scholae ibidem Grammaticalis ludimagister. Codicem ipsum Oundleiae in Agro Northamptoniensi apud Bibliopolam neglectum, et inter scruta delitescentem, pretio satis exiguo redemit. J. FELL.'

This MS must also be the same which is mentioned in Bernard's *Catal. Libr. MSS Angl. et Hibern.* (Oxon. 1697) no. 7099 'Ignatii Antiocheni Epistolae Graece,' as belonging to the library of the Rev. H. Jones; for Jones was the successor of Bp. Fell in his living of Sunningwell and came into possession of several of his books.

This MS contains the seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius, but in the interpolated text. It is thus quite unique.

In the *Vind. Ign.* p. 57 sq. (ed. Churton) Pearson writes: 'Habeo exemplar MS Graecum epistolarum Ignatianarum mihi a viro docto et antiquitatum curioso communicatum sine fictis et suppositiis (septem enim tantum sunt) sed cum assumentis quidem diu post Eusebium, imo et Gelasium, factis, epistolas hoc ordine repraesentans; πρὸς Τραλλησίους Α. πρὸς Μαγνησίους Β. πρὸς Φιλαδελφεῖς Γ. πρὸς Σμυρναίους Δ. πρὸς Πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον Σμύρνης Ε. πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ϛ. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ζ.'

This description entirely accords with the Bodleian MS.

In other passages Pearson refers to a MS which he calls *Leicestrensis* (*Minor Theol. Works* II. p. 443, *Epist. Ign.* p. 15), and Smith also mentions this MS on one occasion (*Epist. Ign.* p. 70). Elsewhere again Pearson designates a certain MS as *Anglicanus* (*V. I.* p. 490, *Ep. Ign.* pp. 33, 38, 44). Both designations would be appropriate to the Bodleian MS. It was found by Bp. Fell in Leicestershire, and it is the only Greek MS of Ignatius known to exist in England.

The identification moreover is further confirmed when we come to examine the readings. Pearson mentions four readings of *Anglicanus*, all of which are found in this MS: *Ephes.* 12 μνημονεύει ὑμῶν (*V. I.* p. 490); *Polyc.* 7 σύντονον (*Ep. Ign.* p. 33); *Magn.* 10 ὑπέρθεσθε (*Ep. Ign.* p. 44); *Ephes.* 12 παραδοθείς γε τῶν with a marginal reading περίοδός ἐστε τῶν (*Ep. Ign.* p. 38). The last coincidence would be almost decisive in itself, since this marginal reading is quite unique. Two readings are also given as from *Leicestrensis*, which agree with the Bodleian MS, τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα *Smyrn.* 5 by Pearson (*Ep. Ign.* p. 15) and ἐπισκόπου *Polyc.* 8 by Smith (*Ep. Ign.* p. 70). Hitherto therefore all the facts conspire to identify the *Anglicanus* and *Leicestrensis* with each other[1], and with the Bodleian MS. But there is one statement which seems inconsistent with this identification and which Churton (*V. I.* p. 58) urges as fatal to it. In his treatise *de Annis Primorum Romae Episcoporum* (*Minor Theol. Works* II. p. 443) Pearson adduces Ἀνακλήτῳ as the reading of *Leicestrensis* in the spurious epistle *ad Mar.* § 4, which epistle is not contained in our MS. This however was a posthumous work left unfinished by Pearson; and there is probably some confusion with the parallel passage in *Trall.* 7, where our MS does write this name Ἀνάκλητος[2]. There is therefore no sufficient ground for questioning the identification.

But if so, it becomes important to ascertain the character and history of this MS, since Pearson (*V. I.* p. 57 sq.), when discussing the genesis of the Ignatian Epistles, grounds an argument on the fact that it contains only seven letters, though in the long form.

From this MS Whiston (*Primitive Christianity Revived*) gives various readings, designating it B (as being already in the Bodleian Library). With this exception it has been overlooked by Ignatian editors, and no one seems to have examined it carefully before myself. When I first turned over the leaves, I saw at once that it had been written after the Ignatian controversy had arisen, and that the transcriber had consequently picked out the seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius and

[1] Against the identification of *Anglicanus* with *Leicestrensis* Churton (l. c.) writes 'id quominus credam, obstat quod duos codices distinguit Smithius Nott. p. 70.' This is a mistake. Smith there mentions *Augustanus*, but not *Anglicanus*, in connexion with *Leicestrensis*. Lipsius (*Syr. Text. d. Ign.* p. 48) falls into the mistake of treating *Leicestrensis* as distinct from Pearson's MS.

[2] Careful as he was, Pearson could sometimes make great mistakes even in his finished works. Thus in *V. I.* p. 517 he writes *Tertullianus* for *Hieronymus*, while giving the reference and quoting the words of the passage. See also my notes on *Philad.* 11 Ἀγαθόποδι (II. p. 280), and on *Smyrn.* 13 Ἄλκην (II. p. 325).

isolated them from the rest, as alone genuine[1]. I supposed however that they might have been copied from some older MS. But a further examination enables me to say confidently that it is taken from the 2nd edition of Morel, Paris 1562. The transcriber is very careless and ignorant. He omits and miswrites constantly. But I have collated nearly the whole volume, and have not found a single reading which cannot be traced to Morel, when proper allowance is made for errors of transcription.

This relation betrays itself in many ways. Thus in *Ephes.* inscr. the scribe has imitated the contraction of ἡνωμένην as it appears in Morel's type, though generally he writes the letters separately. Thus again in *Rom.* 9 the first ο of μόνος in Morel's edition is faulty, so that the word looks like μίνος; accordingly our scribe has written it μίνος[2]. Nor are these the only instances where the peculiarities or imperfections of the type have misled him. Contracted words for instance are frequently read and written out wrongly by him. Moreover this MS exhibits a number of Morel's readings, which were due to conjectural emendation, and which (being demonstrably wrong) could not have occurred in any MS independently.

In the following readings for instance, for which there is no manuscript authority, *Leicestrensis* (L) agrees with Morel (M): *Trall.* 3 ὃν λογίζομαι, ML ἣν λογίζομαι; ib. 7 ἀσφαλίζεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους, ML πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους, *ib.* Ἀνέγκλητος, ML Ἀνάκλητος; *ib.* 8 μέλλοντας, ML μέλλουσιν (in M the accent is on the contracted λλ; in L it is placed on the ου); *ib.* 10 σπερμάτων, ML αἱμάτων (in M the two last syllables are contracted, so that the position of the accent is not obvious; L writes αἱματῶν): *Magn.* 1 κατὰ θεόν, ML κατὰ θεοῦ; *ib.* 3 πνεῦμά ἐστιν, ML πνεῦμα ὅ ἐστιν; *ib.* θείῳ, ML θεοῦ (the editio princeps misprinted it θεῷ, and hence M's conj. θεου); *ib.* κατερριπού, ML κατερείπου; *ib.* 5 τῶν εἰρημένων, ML τῶν ἠρημένων; *ib.* 8 ἀπειθοῦντας, ML ἀπιστοῦντας (the ed. princ. misprinted it ἀπειτοῦντας, and hence M's conj.); *ib.* 9 καὶ ἀργίαις, ML ὡς ἀργίαις; *ib.* 13 ἀξιοπλόκου...στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν, ML ἀξιονίκου...Στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ὑμῶν which is based on a misconception (see p. 112 sq.); *ib.* 14 ἡνωμένης, M ἠρωμένης, L ἠρωμένης; *Philad.* inscr. συγκλύσαντες, ML συγκλήσαντες (a misprint of the ed. princ.); *ib.* 3 αὐτοὺς φυτείαν, ML αὐτὰς φυτείαν; *ib.* 11 ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ML ἐν ἀγάπῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν (apparently a misprint of M in his 2nd ed., for it makes no sense; it is

[1] This is done, for instance, by Vedelius in his edition of 1623, some years before Ussher's discovery of the genuine Ignatian text. Vedelius divides the epistles into two books 'quorum prior continet epistolas genuinas, alter suppositicias.'

[2] These two instances show that the scribe did not use the first edition of Morel (1558), but the second (1562). In the first edition ἡνωμένην is uncontracted, and μόνος is clearly printed. So again in *Philad.* 5 the MS has εἵλκυσαν with the second edition, whereas in his first edition Morel read εἰλήφεσαν.

correct in his first); *ib.* 4 *τῆς τῶν νόμων μελέτης*, ML *τῆς τοῦ νόμου μελέτης* (the ed. princ. printed incorrectly *τῆς τῶν νόμον μελέτης*, which M emended accordingly); *Smyrn.* inscr. *πεπληρωμένῃ*, ML *πεπληροφορημένῃ* (the ed. princ. misprinted it *πεπληρομένῃ*, and M emended); *ib.* 6 *ὅτι ζωῆς αἰωνίου*, ML *οὐ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου* (where M's emendation introduces a solecism: see above, p. 112); *Polyc.* 2 *τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν*, ML *τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν*; *ib.* 8 *ἐπισκοπῇ*, ML *ἐπισκόπου*; *Ephes.* 5 *ἀνακεκραμένους*, ML *ἀνακρεμαμένους* (this conjecture of M was founded on the corrupt reading of the Aug. MS *ἀνακεκρεμαμένους* reproduced in the ed. princ.); *ib.* 9 *συνοδοιπορούντας*, ML *συνοδοιπορούντα* (this is a mere misprint in M's 2nd ed.; it is correct in the 1st); *Rom.* 5 *κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα κ.τ.λ.*, ML *καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐὰν ἐκόντα κ.τ.λ.* (the ed. princ. has *καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα*, after the Aug. MS, and M supplied the missing *ἐὰν* or *ἂν* in the wrong place).

The origin of this MS therefore can hardly be disputed. It may safely be set aside as worthless; and so Pearson's argument, founded on the unique phenomenon which it exhibits, must fall to the ground.

It will thus be seen that all the Greek MSS except four g_1 (*Augustanus*), g_2 (*Vatic.* 859), g_3 (*Nydpruccianus*), g_4 (*Constantinopolitanus*), with the addition perhaps of a fifth g_5 (*Vatic. Reg.* 30) for the greater part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, may be discarded, as having no independent value. Of these four g_1 is the most important, and g_2 comes next; while g_3 and g_4 bear on their face the signs of literary revision, but are not without their value as subsidiary evidence in confirmation of readings found in other authorities.

(ii) LATIN.

The date of this version is uncertain. Ussher (*Polyc. et Ign. Ep.* p. lxxxv) hazarded the opinion that it was made in the same century in which the Ignatian writer himself lived. This view was plainly untenable and is retracted by Ussher himself in his table of *Emendanda*. It must be remembered however that he placed the spurious Ignatian writings themselves at the close of the sixth century (i.e. probably two centuries or more after their proper date), so that he was not so very wide of the mark with regard to the epoch of the translator as he might seem at first sight. No date indeed can be assigned to this version, except within somewhat wide limits. Of Latin writers Gregory the Great is the earliest who is alleged as quoting the Long Recension of the Ignatian Epistles (*Op.* VII. p. 320, Venet. 1770). But the very expression, 'Amen Gratia,' which he cites is wanting in this Latin version; and even if he is here quoting the interpolated rather than the genuine letters, which is somewhat doubtful (see II. p. 850 sq.), he himself intimates that he derived his quotation not from the epistles themselves, but from his Greek correspondent

Anastasius of Antioch, and we may even infer from his language that he had no direct acquaintance with them. It may be presumed therefore that at the close of the sixth century, when Gregory wrote, this Latin version was not yet in existence. On the other hand it is certainly quoted by Ado of Vienne (†874) more than once in his *Liber de Festiv. Apostolorum* (on *xiv Kal. Mart.* from *Ephes.* 1 for Onesimus, on *Prid. Non. Mai* from *Antioch.* 7 for Euodius). Between these dates therefore the translation must have been made.

The epistles occur in this version in the following order; (1) to Mary of Cassobola, (2) Trallians, (3) Magnesians, (4) Tarsians, (5) Philippians, (6) Philadelphians, (7) Smyrnæans, (8) Polycarp, (9) Antiochenes, (10) Hero, (11) Ephesians, (12) Romans. To these is added the *Laus Heronis* or Prayer of Hero to Ignatius. Some MSS interpose between the Epistle to the Romans and the Laus Heronis the Bollandist Acts of Ignatius (see II. pp. 365 sq., 370). Others again prefix the correspondence of Ignatius with the Virgin and S. John (see II. p. 653 sq.). But neither has any necessary connexion with this version. On the other hand the Epistle of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius is wanting in all the extant MSS of this version, and probably never formed part of it.

The following is a complete list of the MSS which have come to my knowledge. Probably however others may lie hidden in public or private libraries of which no catalogues exist or are accessible.

1. *Reginensis* 81 (called *Regius* 81 by Dressel p. lvii), belonging to the collection of Christina Queen of Sweden, in the Vatican library. It is described by Dressel (l. c.) and more accurately by Reifferscheid *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica* p. 369. Dressel says 'indole atque aetate notabilis, cum accedat ad saec. ix'; but Reifferscheid assigns the part containing the Ignatian Epistles etc. (fol. 13—97) to the eleventh century. This part comprises (1) The twelve Ignatian Epistles, (2) The *Laus Hyronis*, (3) The Epistle of Polycarp, (4) The Life of Polycarp, 'Polycarpus johannis apostoli discipulus' etc.; after which the scribe has written five hexameter verses. Dressel only gives four (and these not quite correctly), omitting the third and most important 'Quem lector sancti fore cognoscat juliani.' The headings and endings of the Ignatian Epistles are very simple (e.g. *Explicit secunda, Incipit tertia*). A former owner was one Loys Cartier. Dressel collated this MS, and calls it *Reg.* It is apparently the most ancient and best of the extant MSS.

Ussher (*In Polyc. Epist. Ign. Syll. Ann.* p. ii) says, 'Cum intel-

lexissem in bibliotheca Cl. V. Alexandri Petavii senatoris Parisiensis, Pauli filii, vetustissimum exemplar aliud conservari; quicquid et illud continebat, humanissimi Claudii Sarravii, senatoris itidem Parisiensis, beneficio sum consecutus.' Accordingly he gives various readings from this MS from time to time. Judging from these, we infer that it must have been very closely allied to *Regin.* 81. Thus they agree in such readings as *Ephes.* 9 'clarificabit' for 'glorificabit', *Ephes.* 21 'que (or quae) misistis' for 'quem misistis', *Philad.* 11 'Chatopo' for 'Agathopo', *Mar.* 4 'Anencletum' for 'Anacletum' or 'Cletum', *Tars.* 6 'glorifica me pater' (the addition of 'pater'), *Philipp.* 2 'spiritus paracletus' (the omission of 'sanctus' after 'spiritus'). Like *Regin.* 81 also it contained the prayer of Hero. As Petau's MSS generally passed into the library of the Queen of Sweden, to which also *Regin.* 81 belongs, we are led to suspect that the two should be identified. Unless however either Dressel's collation of *Regin.* 81 or Ussher's of *Petav.* is inaccurate, this cannot be; for they do not always agree[1].

The next seven manuscripts are all Burgundian and seem to be closely allied.

2. *Trecensis* 412, in the public library at Troyes, described briefly and not very happily[2] in the *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* II. p. 184. It belonged formerly to the monastery of Clairvaux and was marked G. 4. The Ignatian Epistles are immediately preceded by S. Augustine's Commentary on the Galatians, which ends 'cum spiritu vestro fratres. amen.' Then follow; (1) The twelve Ignatian Epistles, '*Incipit scriptum ignatii episcopi martyris discipuli johannis evangeliste ad mariam*' (fol. 115 a); (2) The Bollandist Acts of S. Ignatius, '*Kalendas februarii. Passio sancti ignatii martiris discipuli beati johannis apostoli et evangeliste:* Cum trajanus romanorum suscepisset imperium etc.... sollempniter celebratur. *Explicit. hucusque historiam passionis ejus conscriptor ipsius.*' This is followed by testimonies concerning Ignatius:

[1] The above account of these MSS was written some time before Zahn's edition appeared. I find that Zahn (p. xxvi sq.) very confidently identifies the two, and probably his view is correct.

[2] The compiler of this catalogue is guilty of two great errors in a very few lines. (1) He says 'La première épître de S. Ignace est adressée à la Sainte Vierge.' The first letter is addressed to Mary *of Cassobola*. (2) He hazards the criticism, 'Robert de Lincoln passe pour le traducteur latin des lettres de S. Ignace, mais l'écriture de ce manuscrit me paraît antérieure à Robert, qui est mort en 1253.' The Latin version of the Middle recension is ascribed with great probability to Robert of Lincoln (see above p. 76); but no one ever supposed him to be the translator of the Long.

'Quid vero de eo vel epistolis ejus eusebius historiographus vel ieronimus presbyter etc....extra portam dafniticam in cimitherio de roma antiochiam delate. *Passio sancti ignatii explicit.*' (3) The Praise of Hero. '*Incipit laus hironis* etc....prius faciebas. *Expliciunt epistole sancti martiris ignatii secundi antiochie episcopi sed et gesta passionis eius et laus hironis discipuli et successoris eius.*' (4) The Epistle of Polycarp. '*Epistola policarpi martiris smirneorum episcopi discipuli sancti johannis incipit.* Policarpus et qui cum eo...amen. *Explicit epistola sancti policarpi episcopi et martiris.*' This MS is ascribed to the 12th century in the Catalogue: 'in folio sur beau vélin', 'manuscrit de 145 feuillets en belle minuscule.' I have myself inspected it, and collated it from the end of Polycarp's Epistle.

3. *Paris. Bibl. Nat.* 1639 (formerly *Colbert.* 1039), parchment, fol. double columns, described in the *Catal. Cod. MSS Bibl. Reg.* III. p. 162, where it is assigned to the 12th century. On the fly leaf is written '*Hunc solemnem librum dedit huic monasterio beate marie magister johannes de burgundia* etc.' As in the Troyes MS, the Ignatian Epistles follow upon S. Augustine's Commentary on the Galatians: fol. 177 a... 'cum spiritu vestro fratres. amen. *Explicit explanatio sancti augustini super epistolam ad galathas. Incipit scriptum ignatii episcopi et martyris discipuli iohannis evangeliste. Ad mariam* etc.' It contains the same Ignatian matter; (1) The twelve Epistles, (2) The Martyrology etc., (3) The Praise of Hero, (4) The Epistle of Polycarp. The last however is followed by '*Passio sancti aygulfi abbatis sociorumque ejus,*' which ends the volume.

Cotelier in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers gives collations from a MS belonging to the collection of *Thuanus* (de Thou). This MS is included in the catalogue of de Thou's library, *Catal. Bibl. Thuan.* II. p. 457 (Paris. 1679, and Hamburg 1704), from which it appears that the contents of the volume were exactly the same as in *Paris.* 1639, though these contents are very heterogeneous, commencing with Ruffinus' translation of Origen on the Romans and ending with the Passion of S. Aygulf. I infer therefore that this must be the same MS, and that it passed into the Colbert collection with de Thou's MSS generally, whence it was transferred to the Royal Library. I have already (p. 108) pointed out Whiston's mistake about the MS of *Thuanus*.

4. *Bruxellensis* 5510. So numbered in the *Catal. des MSS de la Bibl. Roy. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, where it is assigned to the first third of the 12th century (XI$\frac{1}{3}$). The Ignatian matter (including the Epistle to Polycarp) is exactly the same as in the two preceding

MSS (the catalogue gives it imperfectly), and coincides in all essential respects.

5. *Bruxellensis* 703; see the *Catal. des MSS* etc., as before. The date there assigned to it is the last third of the 15th century. The Ignatian matter (with the Epistle to Polycarp) is the same as in the last. The catalogue wrongly describes the Ignatian letters, as *Epistolae ad Mariam.* I collated both MSS for the end of the Epistle to Polycarp, and from the close resemblances there and elsewhere I infer that *Bruxell.* 703 was copied from *Bruxell.* 5510. This book belonged to the Jesuits' College at Louvain, before it came to the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne.

6. *Bruxellensis* 20132, not included in the printed catalogue, but assigned in a manuscript catalogue to the second third of the 16th century, and this is apparently about its date. It contains (1) The twelve Ignatian Epistles; (2) The Epistle of Polycarp; (3) The correspondence of Ignatius with the Virgin and S. John. Then follows '*De vita et moribus sancte marie virginis sanctus epiphanius* etc.' The twelve Ignatian Epistles and the Epistle of Polycarp appear to have been copied directly or indirectly from *Bruxell.* 5510. The book belonged to the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne.

7. *Carolopolitanus* 173, in the Library at Charleville, described in the *Catal. Gén. des Manuscr. des Bibl. Publ. des Départem.* v (1879), a folio MS of the 12th century on parchment. The Ignatian matter consists of (1) The twelve Ignatian Epistles, (2) The Acts of Ignatius, (3) The Laus Heronis. It is immediately preceded by 'Gregorii Nazianzeni Opuscula' and followed by the Epistle of Polycarp.

8. *Carolopolitanus* 266, described in the same catalogue; likewise a parchment folio MS of the 12th century. Its contents are there stated to be (1) 'Eusebii Caesariensis Historia Eccl.,' (2) 'Tractatus ejusdem adversus Sabellium,' (3) 'Incipit Eusebii Pamphili liber de incorporali et invisibili,' (4) 'Incipit de bonis operibus ex epistola beati Pauli ad Corinthios secunda,' (5) The twelve Ignatian Letters.

9. *Oxon. Balliolensis* 229, at Balliol College, Oxford, described in Coxe's *Catal. Cod. MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxon. hodie asservantur* (Oxon. 1852) I. p. 75 sq. as 'codex membranaceus in folio, ff. 171, sec. XII exeuntis, binis columnis exaratus.' It is one of the books bequeathed to the college by William Gray, Bp of Ely († 1478). For an account of Bp Gray's library see Mullinger *University of Cambridge* p. 397. The Ignatian matter begins on fol. 103 a. It comprises (1) The twelve Epistles, (2) The Laus Heronis, and is followed by the Epistle of Polycarp. This MS was used by Ussher.

10. *Palatinus* 150, in the Vatican Library; collated by Dressel who describes it (p. lvii; comp. p. lix) 'membraneus, foliis quaternariis min., saeculi xiv.' The Ignatian matter commences the volume, and consists of the twelve Epistles, followed by the Laus Heronis. The subsequent contents are the Epistle of Polycarp, seven Epistles of S. Antonius Abbas, the *Pastor* of Hermas (a second Latin version, not found in any other MS and published for the first time by Dressel), and the *Enchiridion* of Xystus the Pythagorean. Is this the Vatican MS which Turrianus, quoted by Ussher (p. cxxii), mentions as omitting the name of S. Paul in *Philad.* 4? It fulfils the condition.

11. *Laurentianus* Pl. xxiii. Cod. 20, in the Medicean Library at Florence, described in Bandini's *Catal. Cod. Lat. Bibl. Laur.* I. p. 727 sq., 'codex membranaceus MS in folio saec. xv.' The earlier part of the volume contains the correspondence of Paulinus of Nola. Then follows the Ignatian matter, which consists of (1) The correspondence with the Virgin, preceded by the testimonies of Hieronymus and others, (2) The twelve Epistles, (3) The Laus Heronis, followed by (4) The Epistle of Polycarp. Upon this follow immediately (fol. 228 b) the seven Epistles of S. Antonius, as in *Palat.* 150. The other treatises however are not the same in the two MSS.

12. *Vindobonensis* 1068, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, described in Denis *Bibl. Cod. MSS Theol. Bibl. Palat. Vindob. Latin.* II. p. 874 (where it is numbered cccxci), 'cod. membraneus sec. XIV.' It is written in a very small neat hand, and contains among other works (1) fol. 72 b, The Epistle of Polycarp, followed immediately by (2) Hieronymus *de Vir. Ill.* 16, with the heading 'Ieronimus in libro illustrium virorum capitulo de beato Ignatio in hunc modum scribit,' and (3) The twelve Ignatian Epistles in the usual order. In *prefixing* the Epistle of Polycarp this MS is unique. The other treatises in the volume do not throw any light on its connexion with other Ignatian MSS.

13. *Oxon. Magdalenensis* 78, in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, described in Coxe's *Catal. Cod. MSS Coll. Oxon.* II. p. 43 sq., as 'cod. membranaceus in folio, ff. 290, sec. XV, nitide exaratus, manu Joh. de Rodenberga scriptus.' It contains among other matter (1) fol. 213 a, The correspondence of Ignatius with the Virgin and S. John; (2) fol. 214 a, The twelve Epistles introduced by '*Ignatii duodecim epistole ad diversos*,' but without the usual headings to the several epistles; (3) The Laus Heronis; (4) The Epistle of Polycarp, with the heading '*Epistola policarpi ad philippensem ecclesiam.*' Its date is approximately fixed to the 15th century by the fact that one of the treatises is the Latin version of the Life of Gregory Nazianzen by Gregory the Presbyter,

translated by Ambrosius Camaldulensis who died A.D. 1490 (see Ussher *Proleg.* p. cxxiii). Great stress was laid on this MS by Romanist writers, because it omits the words 'et Paulus' in the enumeration of married saints and worthies in *Philad.* 4. This led Ussher (l. c.) to call attention to its late date. It was used by Ussher throughout[1].

Eleven of these MSS (here numbered 2—12) or at least ten (for the information respecting *Carolopolitanus* 266 is not precise) are connected together by the headings of the epistles, which are substantially the same in all, though somewhat remarkable in themselves; e.g. *ad philippenses de baptismo scripta de endamno* [variously corrupted] *per euphanium* [variously written] *lectorem navim ascensurum;* again, *ad hironem diaconum ecclesiae antiochenae quem ei dominus ostendit sessurum in sede ipsius;* again *ad ephesios scripta de smyrna de unitate.* These headings are given in Dressel's edition as they appear in *Palat.* 150, and the other MSS only differ in minor points.

Of the thirteen MSS enumerated, I have derived my knowledge of two [1, 10] from Dressel, and of two [7, 8] from the printed catalogue. The rest I have inspected, though cursorily in some instances, and have collated for the end of the Epistle of Polycarp.

These are all the Latin MSS which I know to be extant. In Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* I. p. 227, no. 422 of the MSS of Monte Cassino is stated to contain *Epistolae D. Ignatii ad Romanos et Ephesios.* I have inspected this MS. It contains (fol. 131) not the two Epistles mentioned, but only the opening sentences of the Epistle to the Romans, 'Ignatius qui et...fundatae in dilectione et fide Christi.' The mistake has arisen from a very careless reading of the title, which is *Divi Ignatii Epistola ad Romanos de Smyrna per Ephesios.* Among the MSS at S. Gall again Haenel in his *Catal.* gives no. 454 *Epistolae S. Ignatii a notis posterioris aevi. Codex insignis.* This MS also I have seen. It is a fine copy of *Adonis Martyrologium* followed by other works. Among these is the following Ignatian matter: (1) p. 343 sq. the Bollandist Martyrology, '*Gloriosa incipit passio sancti ignatii episcopi.* Cum traianus suscepisset...a fidelibus solemniter celebratur': (2) p. 368 (the last page in the book), The Correspondence of Ignatius with the Virgin and S. John. This last is written in a much smaller and later hand, as if to fill up a blank page at the end of the volume. Of the 'veneranda antiquitate nobilis [codex] qui asservatur in amplissima bibliotheca invictissimi regis Pannoniarum Matthiae Corvini,' of which

[1] In one place (p. 7), commenting on *Ephes.* 9, Ussher speaks of 'Mertonensis codex.' This must be a slip for Magdalenensis.

Baronius (s. ann. 57, § 64) speaks, I know nothing. Ussher regards this as a pleasant dream ('suaviter somniavit'), inasmuch as the Buda library had been plundered several years before by the Turks (*Proleg.* p. cxxv). The few volumes of this once famous library which still remained at Constantinople were sent back by the Sultan to Buda a few years ago; but in the catalogue of 45 MSS thus returned there is no mention of Ignatius (see *Academy* 1877, June 2, p. 487; June 23, p. 557; August 18, p. 167).

While this sheet was passing through the press, the second volume of Funk's *Patres Apostolici* was published; and his speculations respecting the sources of the earliest printed editions call for some remark. He attempts to show that the *editio princeps* of J. Faber Stapulensis (A.D. 1498), which contains only eleven epistles (omitting the Epistle to Mary of Cassobola), was taken chiefly from *Regin.* 81, but that some other MS, probably *Balliol.* 229, was also used by him. He had propounded this view shortly before in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* LXIII. p. 142 sq. But if so, it is difficult to see why Faber Stapulensis should have omitted the letter to Mary of Cassobola, which is found in both these MSS; nor does it seem at all probable that *Balliol.* 229 would have been accessible to him, as it was already in the library of Balliol College with Bp Gray's other books. Funk's inference is based on the tacit assumption that he could not have used any other MS except those which are not only known to us but have been collated—surely a most precarious assumption. Of the thirteen MSS which I have described above, only five are enumerated by Funk, and apparently he is not aware of any others. Yet I should be over sanguine, if I supposed that my list of thirteen had altogether or almost exhausted the extant MSS; and in the early days of printing it was by no means uncommon to place a MS in the printer's hands for copy, so that it was then and there destroyed. The epistle to Mary of Cassobola was first printed by Symphorianus Champerius (A.D. 1536) in an edition of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite and of Ignatius. Funk seems to have shown (p. xx) that for this epistle he used *Palat.* 150, for he reproduces the special blunders which appear in this MS and are not likely to have been found in another.

All the extant MSS of this version, which have been examined, belong to one family. All omit the latter part of the Epistle to Polycarp, ending abruptly at the words 'passibilem vero propter nos ut hominem.' Moreover all reproduce the same errors, which are due to some blundering scribe or scribes in the course of transmission. Zahn (praef. p. xxix) gives the following instances: *Magn.* 3 Ἀβεδδαδὰν 'Ahab et Dadan' (the proper names however being variously spelt); *Philad.* 3

τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν ἄστινας 'a verbis malis quae' for 'ab herbis malis quas'; *Ephes.* 6 ὁρατικὸν δὲ ἄνδρα 'prospectorem autem verum' for 'virum'; *Ephes.* 10 ἁλμυρά 'falsa' for 'salsa'; *ib.* 19 ἄστρα...χόρος ἐγένοντο 'sidera corusca facta sunt', where 'corusca' should be 'chorus'. Within this family, however, we might be tempted to discover two sub-families; (1) those which have the simple headings (*Regin.* 81, *Magdal.* 76), and (2) those which agree in the elaborate headings (the remaining MSS). On this supposition it would be our first impulse to assign a later archetype to those which have the elaborate headings. In this instance however the assumption would be wrong. There is no special analogy between *Regin.* 81 and *Magdal.* 76, the former being the best and the latter one of the worst of the extant MSS. Nor would it be correct to regard the more elaborate headings as an indication of a later date here, as is commonly the case. In the heading to *Philippians* for instance, 'De baptismo' must have been derived immediately from the Greek περὶ βαπτίσματος, which is erroneous in itself and probably originated in a marginal gloss (see II. p. 772).

This version is exceptionally slovenly and betrays gross ignorance of the Greek language. Frequently sentences are rendered without any regard to the grammar of the original. Two or three examples will suffice, though they might be multiplied to any extent.

μὴ οὖν ἀναίσθητοι ὦμεν τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν μιμήσηται ἡμᾶς καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκ ἔτι ἐσμέν. *Magn.* 10.

Non enim sentimus utilitatem ejus, nisi nos tentaverit. Secundum autem quod agimus, jam non erimus, nisi ipse nos miseratus fuerit.

θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν· μικρὸν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὕβρεων καὶ πληγῶν· οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐπιδεῖξαι ἑαυτὸν κ.τ.λ. *Smyrn.* 3.

Mortem contempserunt, parum dicentes esse injurias et plagas et alia nonnulla propter ipsum sustinere. Nam et postquam ostendit se, etc.

ὁ πάντα κάλων κινῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκευήν· οὐ μεταγινώσκων ἐπὶ [τῷ] τοσούτῳ κακῷ· ἦ γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα ἦν πονηρός, ἀλλ' ἐπήσθετο κ.τ.λ. *Philipp.* 4.

ipse omnia evocans et movens in suam praeparationem, non recognoscens; in tantum enim mala erant non omnia; malignus autem sentiebat etc.

So again we have such renderings as Παύλου...μεμαρτυρημένου 'Pauli... martyrium consummantis' (*Ephes.* 12), οὐ λήσεται ὑμᾶς τι τῶν νοημάτων τοῦ διαβόλου 'nolite vos vulnerare in aliqua contagione diaboli' (*Ephes.*

14; did this arise from a confusion with the Latin *laedo, laesi*, the word being read λήσετε?), οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιοῦμαι τῶν δεινῶν 'nulli iniquorum istorum facio sermonem' (*Tars.* 1), παροξυσμοὺς 'acredines' (*Polyc.* 2), and the like. So too ὀναίμην is almost universally translated with an entire disregard of the mood. In *Ant.* 12, *Hero* 8, it is rendered 'nutrivi'; in *Trall.* 13, *Magn.* 12, *Tars.* 8, 10, *Ant.* 14, *Ephes.* 2, 'adquisivi'; in *Philipp.* 15 'adjutus sum'; in *Philad.* 4 'memor sum'. In one passage indeed, *Rom.* 5, it is correctly rendered 'utinam fruar', but this passage happens to be given in Latin by Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* 16) after Eusebius, and the Ignatian translator reproduces Jerome's rendering. With these instances of blundering before us, we may question whether the translator really had any different reading before him, when we find him giving 'auxiliatrix' for διαβοήτου (*Ephes.* 8), 'laus, laudabilis' for ἕνωσις, ἡνωμένης (*Magn.* 13, 14; comp. *ib.* 1). Other passages however seem to show that he used a text which had many corruptions; e.g. 'adjutorium' (βοήθειαν for ὁμοήθειαν) *Polyc.* 1, 'habui' (εἶχον for εἶδον) *Ephes.* 2, 'placitum voluntatis ejus' (εὐδοκήσει for οὐ δοκήσει) *Trall.* 9 (comp. *ib.* 10 'voluntarie complacens'), 'Christi dimicationem' (χριστομαχίαν for χριστομαθίαν) *Philad.* 8, 'festino' (σπεύδομαι for σπένδομαι) *Antioch.* 8.

These examples will have shown that this Latin version is absolutely worthless for interpretational purposes, and that even its textual value is limited. Still it was evidently translated from an older form of the Greek than any preserved in extant Greek MSS, and there are not a few passages in which we are able to correct errors or to supply omissions by its means (see e.g. II. pp. 730, 738, 748, 750, 758, 785, 826, 853, etc.). The cases are very rare however, in which its value for textual purposes is affected by variations in the readings of the Latin MSS themselves, and in all such cases the correct Latin reading is at once determinable without any elaborate weighing of authorities; e.g. in *Rom.* inscr., where the Latin alternatives are 'fide Christi' and 'lege Christi', and the Greek χριστώνυμος and χριστόνομος, we at once reject 'fide Christi', because it has no connexion with either Greek reading. Under these circumstances it seemed to me that I should only be wasting time and encumbering my pages to no purpose, if I attempted to produce a revised text of this Latin version with its proper 'apparatus criticus,' and I have been content to avail myself of the labours of my predecessors (see II. p. 717).

3.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES.

IT seems advisable, as a preliminary to the discussions relating to the priority and authenticity of the several Ignatian Epistles, to give the passages in ancient authors in which mention is made of Ignatius and his writings, or in which they are quoted directly or indirectly. This course is suggested for convenience of reference, and has been adopted by Ignatian editors generally. It is superfluous to acknowledge obligations to predecessors in this case, where the harvest has been already reaped and where at the utmost only the scantiest gleaning is left to the last comer.

1.

Polycarp [c. A.D. 110].

Epistula ad Philippenses 1, 9, 13.

1. Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων...

9. Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν καὶ εἴδατε κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ῥούφῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις· πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον

εἰσι παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.

13. Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ἵνα, ἐάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καιρὸν εὔθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰσὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ· ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὠφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε. περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν. Et de ipso Ignatio et de his qui cum eo sunt, quod certius agnoveritis, significate.

For the notes on these passages see II. pp. 906, 921 sq., 931 sq.

Besides these direct references to Ignatius and his writings, the Epistle of Polycarp presents several coincidences. For his inability (§ 3) κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, comp. *Rom.* 4; for the warning (§ 4) λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. comp. *Ephes.* 15; for the metaphor (§ 5) θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ comp. *Ephes.* 5 with the note (II. p. 44); for § 5 ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι comp. *Smyrn.* 10 with the note (II. p. 316); for § 5 ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ, comp. *Magn.* 6, *Trall.* 3, *Smyrn.* 8; for § 6 μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ comp. *Smyrn.* 6, *Polyc.* 4; for § 6 οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμᾶς κ. τ. λ. comp. *Philad.* 5, 9 (comp. *Magn.* 8, 9, *Smyrn.* 7); for § 6 τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου comp. *Ephes.* 7; for § 8 δι' ἡμᾶς...πάντα ὑπέμεινεν comp. *Polyc.* 3; for § 9 τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα comp. *Rom.* 6; for § 10 'firmi in fide, mansuetudine Domini alterutri praestolantes' comp. *Ephes.* 10; for § 10 'vae autem per quem etc.' comp. *Trall.* 8; for § 11 'ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis' comp. *Trall.* 8, *Magn.* 11; for § 11 'in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus etc.' comp. *Ephes.* 12; for § 12 'nihil vos latet' comp. *Ephes.* 14.

This letter was written immediately after the journey of Ignatius to Rome, and before the writer had received intelligence of the martyr's fate.

2.

MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP [c. A.D. 156].

3. ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσβιασάμενος: comp. *Rom.* 5 κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ [τὰ θηρία] ἑκόντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι.

22. ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος οὗ γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς: comp. *Ephes.* 12 Παύλου...ἀξιομακαριστοῦ οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι, ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχῶ.

This Letter of the Smyrnæans, containing the account of Polycarp's martyrdom (which happened A. D. 155 or 156), was written not long after the event itself.

3.

LUCIAN [A.D. 165—170].

De Morte Peregrini 11 sq.

[Lucian relates this story in a letter to Cronius. The hero is Peregrinus, who called himself Proteus—a name not inappropriate to one who was 'all things by turns' (μυρίας τροπὰς τραπόμενος). The main incident is his self-immolation by fire at the Olympian games. Lucian, arrived at Elis, overhears a eulogy of this Peregrinus from an admirer, the Cynic Theagenes, who among other complimentary terms describes him as τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ δεθέντα. On the other hand an unfriendly critic, a philosopher of the Democritean school, in Lucian's hearing paints the earlier life of Peregrinus in the darkest colours. Among other abnormal crimes he had murdered his own father. This getting wind, he took to flight, and wandered from land to land. During his wanderings he fell in with the Christians.]

11. ὅτεπερ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν σοφίαν τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐξέμαθε περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν ξυγγενόμενος. καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν βραχεῖ παῖδας αὐτοὺς ἀπέφηνε προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεὺς καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὤν· καὶ τῶν βίβλων τὰς μὲν ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ διεσάφει, πολλὰς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ξυνέγραφε, καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι ἡγοῦντο καὶ νομοθέτῃ ἐχρῶντο

καὶ προστάτην ἐπέγραφον· τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι σέβουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσήγαγεν ἐς τὸν βίον. 12. τότε δὴ καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ ἀξίωμα περιεποίησε πρὸς τὸν ἑξῆς βίον καὶ τὴν τερατείαν καὶ δοξοκοπίαν, ὧν ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐδέδετο, οἱ χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἐξαρπάσαι πειρώμενοι αὐτόν. εἶτ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἥ γε ἄλλη θεραπεία πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ἕωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γράδια χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά, οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ διαφθείροντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας· εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος Περεγρῖνος—ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο—καινὸς Σωκράτης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠνομάζετο. 13. καὶ μὴν κἀκ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων ἐστὶν ὧν ἦκόν τινες, τῶν χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσοντες καὶ ξυναγορεύσοντες καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀμήχανον δέ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδάν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται δημόσιον· ἐν βραχεῖ γάρ, ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περεγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἦκε χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ πρόσοδον οὐ μικρὰν ταύτην ἐποιήσατο· πεπείκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἑκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί· ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιῶσι. καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἁπάντων ἐξ ἴσης καὶ κοινὰ ἡγοῦνται ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι. ἢν τοίνυν παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος

καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγένετο ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανών.

[He was released by the governor of Syria who, being a man of a philosophic turn, would not gratify his craving for martyrdom. Then he returned to his own country, but was arrested there on the charge of parricide. He managed however to cajole the people and was set free.]

16. *ἐξῆει οὖν τὸ δεύτερον πλανησόμενος, ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ἔχων, ὑφ' ὧν δορυφορούμενος ἐν ἅπασιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα οὕτως ἐβόσκετο, εἶτα παρανομήσας τι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους—ὤφθη γάρ τι, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς—οὐκέτι προσιεμένων αὐτῶν ἀπορούμενος κ.τ.λ.*

[He then went to Egypt, and became a Cynic.]

18. *ἐκεῖθεν δὲ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἔπλευσε, καὶ ἀποβὰς τῆς νεὼς εὐθὺς ἐλοιδορεῖτο πᾶσι καὶ μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ, πρᾳότατον αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμερώτατον εἰδώς, ὥστε ἀσφαλῶς ἐτόλμα.*

[After other wanderings, having failed in obtaining the notoriety which he sought in any other way, he declared his intention of immolating himself by fire at the Olympian games which are now being celebrated, and for this he is already making preparations. It is said that he now calls himself Phœnix, in allusion to the story of this bird; he also repeats certain ancient oracles. His followers will doubtless say that they have been cured of fevers (*τεταρταίων*) by his intervention (*δι' αὐτοῦ*) and will build an oracular temple and a shrine (*χρηστήριον καὶ ἄδυτον*) over his pyre. The Sibyl herself, so Theagenes is reported to have said, had predicted his self-immolation and apotheosis. Thus far the story is told by the Democritean philosopher, whom Lucian overhears. From this point onward Lucian relates the incidents in his own person.

Lucian arrives at Olympia. He is present when Proteus discourses on his coming self-martyrdom. Having lived the life of a Hercules, he desires to die the death of a Hercules, that he may teach men to despise death (*θανάτου καταφρονεῖν*). Nevertheless he puts it off again and again, hoping that some intervention may prevent the necessity of his fulfilling his promise. At length, after the Olympian games are over,

the great event comes off at Harpine, some twenty stades east of Olympia. It takes place at night in the moonlight. Lucian goes thither.]

36...καὶ προσελθόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνῆψαν τὸ πῦρ μέγιστον ἅτε ἀπὸ δᾳδων καὶ φρυγάνων· ὁ δέ, καί μοι πάνυ ἤδη πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀποθέμενος τὴν πήραν καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον καὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἐκεῖνο ῥόπαλον ἔστη ἐν ὀθόνῃ ῥυπώσῃ ἀκριβῶς. εἶτα ᾔτει λιβανωτόν, ὡς ἐπιβάλοι ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἀναδόντος τινὸς ἐπέβαλέ τε καὶ εἶπεν ἐς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἀποβλέπων—καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἦν ἡ μεσημβρία—Δαίμονες μητρῷοι καὶ πατρῷοι δέξασθέ με εὐμενεῖς. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπήδησεν ἐς τὸ πῦρ, οὐ μὴν ἑωρᾶτό γε, ἀλλὰ περιεσχέθη ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς ἠρμένης.

[Many arrived too late. Lucian met them on his return.]

39...ἀπέστρεφον δ' οὖν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν λέγων ἤδη τετελέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οἷς μὴ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ περισπούδαστον ἦν, κἂν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν τόπον καί τι λείψανον καταλαμβάνειν τοῦ πυρός. ἔνθα δή, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μυρία πράγματα εἶχον ἅπασι διηγούμενος καὶ ἀνακρίνουσι καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐκπυνθανομένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἴδοιμί τινα χαρίεντα, ψιλὰ ἂν ὥσπερ σοὶ τὰ πραχθέντα διηγούμην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βλᾶκας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν κεχηνότας ἐτραγῴδουν τι παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἀνήφθη μὲν ἡ πυρά, ἐνέβαλε δὲ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ὁ Πρωτεύς, σεισμοῦ πρότερον μεγάλου γενομένου σὺν μυκηθμῷ τῆς γῆς, γὺψ ἀναπτάμενος ἐκ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς οἴχοιτο ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρωπίνῃ μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ λέγων Ἔλιπον γᾶν, βαίνω δ' ἐς Ὄλυμπον.

[He subsequently overhears one of his audience repeat his own story, and relate]

40...ὡς μετὰ τὸ καυθῆναι θεάσαιτο αὐτὸν ἐν λευκῇ ἐσθῆτι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ νῦν ἀπολίποι περιπατοῦντα φαιδρὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπταφώνῳ στοᾷ κοτίνῳ τε ἐστεμμένον· εἶτ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι προσέθηκε τὸν γῦπα, διομνύμενος ἢ μὴν αὐτὸς

ἑωρακέναι ἀναπτάμενον ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς, ὃν ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀφῆκα πέτεσθαι καταγελῶντα τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ βλακικῶν τὸν τρόπον. 41. ἐννόει τὸ λοιπὸν οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι, ποίας μὲν οὐ μελίττας ἐπιστήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, τίνας δὲ τέττιγας οὐκ ἐπάσεσθαι, τίνας δὲ κορώνας οὐκ ἐπιπτήσεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου τάφον, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. εἰκόνας μὲν γὰρ παρά τε Ἠλείων αὐτῶν παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οἷς καὶ ἐπεσταλκέναι ἔλεγον, αὐτίκα μάλα οἶδα πολλὰς ἀναστησομένας. φασὶ δὲ πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτόν, διαθήκας τινὰς καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ νόμους· καί τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρεσβευτὰς τῶν ἑταίρων ἐχειροτόνησε νεκραγγέλους καὶ νεκροδρόμους προσαγορεύσας.

[A little lower down Lucian says]

43. ἐκεῖνα...πάλαι οἶσθα εὐθὺς ἀκούσας μου ὅτε ἦκον ἀπὸ Συρίας διηγουμένου ὡς ἀπὸ Τρῳάδος συμπλεύσαιμι αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.

The self-immolation of Peregrinus took place according to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (II. p. 170 sq., ed. Schöne) in Olymp. 236 (i. e. A. D. 165). There is no reason to question the date, which must have been well known, the event being so exceptional. Moreover it agrees well with the chronology of Lucian's life, and with the notices in this treatise and elsewhere; see Keim *Celsus' Wahres Wort* p. 144 sq., Harnack in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie* s. v. 'Lucian von Samosata' VIII. p. 775. This satire of Lucian appears to have been written not very long after the event.

4.

Melito [c. A.D. 160—170].

The coincidences with this father will be seen in the notes on *Ephes.* 7 (II. p. 48), *Polyc.* 3 (II. p. 343).

5.

Churches of Vienne and Lyons [c. A.D. 177].

For coincidences with the Letter of these Churches, which is preserved in Eusebius *H. E.* v. 1, see the notes on *Ephes.* 11 (II. p. 62), *Rom.* 9 (II. p. 230), and comp. § 33 ἐχρῆν γοῦν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς ποίκιλον ὑπομείναντας ἀγῶνα καὶ μεγάλως νικήσαντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον with *Polyc.* 3 μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ κ.τ.λ. There are also other minor resemblances.

6.

Athenagoras [c. A.D. 177].

In *Suppl.* 1 is the strange expression τοῦ λόγου ἐξακούστου μετὰ πολλῆς κραυγῆς γεγονότος. This may have been suggested by the well-known words in *Ephes.* 19 τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς.

7.

Theophilus of Antioch [c. A.D. 180].

Comment. in Evangelia i § 4 (p. 280, ed. Otto).

Quare non simplici virgine sed desponsata concipitur Christus? Primum ut per generationem Joseph origo Mariae monstraretur; secundo, ne lapidaretur a Judaeis ut adultera: tertio, ut in Aegyptum fugiens haberet solatium viri: quarto, ut partus ejus falleret diabolum, putantem Jesum de uxorata non de virgine natum.

This passage seems plainly to be suggested by *Ephes.* 19; but a twofold doubt rests on the authenticity of this work which claims to have been written by Theophilus of Antioch. (1) A commentary on the Gospels bearing the name of this father was known to Jerome, but his language throws some doubt on its authorship; *de Vir. Ill.* 25 'Legi sub nomine ejus [Theophili] in Evangelium et Proverbia Salomonis commentarios, qui mihi cum superiorum voluminum elegantia et φράσει non videntur congruere.' The 'superiora volumina' are the treatise *ad Autolycum* and other works (doubtless genuine) which Jerome mentions, following generally Eusebius *H. E.* v. 24. Elsewhere however he refers to and quotes this work, as if it were the genuine production of Theophilus: *Epist.* 121 (Ad Algasiam) *Op.* I. p. 866 sq.; *Comm. in Matth.* praef. *Op.* VII. p. ?. (2) There are grave reasons for supposing that the extant commentary is not the same which was read by Jerome but a later work written originally in Latin and compiled from Latin fathers. Thus the comment on 'the carpenter's son' (i. § 120, p. 295 ed. Otto) is found almost word for word in S. Ambrose (*Comm. in Luc.* iii. § 2, *Op.* I. p. 1313), and the remarks on the body and blood of Christ (i. § 153, p. 301) appear in Cyprian (*Epist.* lviii. § 5, p. 754, ed. Hartel). See more on this subject in Otto's preface, p. viii. Zahn however (Ign. *Epist.* p. 329) supposes that these fathers borrowed from the extant Latin work, which he asserts to be a translation from the Greek, and he promises to discuss the subject at some future time. I wish to suspend judgment until I have seen his arguments; but as at present advised I am constrained to believe that the passage before us is taken from Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.* i, *Op.* VII. p. 12), whose words will be quoted below in their proper place.

For a coincidence in the genuine extant work of Theophilus, see the note on *Trall.* 6 (II. p. 168). Zahn also (p. 89) compares *Smyrn.* 2 with *ad Autol.* i. 10 οὐ γάρ εἰσιν θεοὶ ἀλλ' εἴδωλα...καὶ δαιμόνια ἀκάθαρτα· γένοιντο δ' οὖν τοιοῦτοι οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, but this is taken from Ps. cxv. 8, cxxxiv. 15.

8.

IRENAEUS [C. A.D. 175—190].

Adv. Haereses v. 28. 4.

Quemadmodum quidam de nostris dixit, propter martyrium in Deum adjudicatus ad bestias, quoniam *Frumentum sum Christi et per dentes bestiarum molor ut mundus panis inveniar* (*Rom.* 4).

The original Greek is given by Eusebius (see below, p. 139).

This is the only direct quotation; but coincidences are not unfrequent and sometimes striking. Thus the phrase *πνεῖν ἀφθαρσίαν* (*Ephes.* 17) occurs in Iren. iii. 11. 8 (see II. p. 73); and the language respecting the Docetics (*Trall.* 10, *Smyrn.* 2) is reproduced in Iren. iv. 33. 5 (see II. p. 175). I have also pointed out striking coincidences in *Smyrn.* 4 to Iren. iii. 2. 3 (see II. p. 298). Zahn (p. 331) among other passages compares *Ephes.* 7 *οὓς δεῖ...ἐκκλίνειν* with Iren. ii. 31. 3, iii. 4. 1; *Ephes.* 9 *βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα* with Iren. iii. 4. 2; *Ephes.* 19 *ὅθεν ἐλύετο κ.τ.λ.* with Iren. ii. 20. 3 'mortem destruxit' etc.; *Magn.* 8 *ἐμπνεόμενοι κ.τ.λ.* with Iren. iv. 20. 4; *Trall.* 6 *οἳ καὶ ἰῷ κ.τ.λ.* with Iren. i. 27. 4 (a remarkable coincidence, see II. p. 166).

9.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA [C. A.D. 190—210].

For coincidences which suggest that this father was acquainted with the Ignatian letters, see the notes, II. pp. 72, 81, 129, 171, 337.

10.

ACTS OF PERPETUA AND FELICITAS [C. A.D. 202].

The expression 'ut bestias lucraretur' (§ 14) is probably taken from *Rom.* 5 *ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων κ.τ.λ.* These Acts likewise present other coincidences with the Epistles of Ignatius; e.g. § 10 'coeperunt me favitores mei oleo defrigere quomodo solent in agonem' (comp. *Ephes.* 3 *ὑπαλειφθῆναι* with the note), and § 18 'Christi Dei' (comp. *Trall.* 7, *Smyrn.* 6, 10, with the note on *Ephes.* 1 below, II. p. 29 sq.).

11.

TERTULLIAN [C. A.D. 193—216].

For parallels to the letters of Ignatius in this father see II. pp. 48, 175, 349 sq. They are sufficiently close to render it highly probable that directly or indirectly Tertullian was indebted to this early martyr.

12.

ORIGEN [† A.D. 253].

(i) *De Oratione* 20 (I. p. 229, Delarue).

Οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν ἐστιν (*Rom.* 3), οἱονεὶ δοκήσει ὂν καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς.

(ii) *In Canticum Canticorum* Prolog. (III. p. 30).

Denique memini aliquem sanctorum dixisse, Ignatium nomine, de Christo, *Meus autem amor crucifixus est*, nec reprehendi eum pro hoc dignum judico (*Rom.* 7).

This treatise is extant only in the version of Ruffinus.

(iii) *Homilia vi in Lucam* (III. p. 938).

Καλῶς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν μάρτυρός τινος ἐπιστολῶν γέγραπται· τὸν Ἰγνάτιον λέγω τὸν μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερον ἐπίσκοπον, τὸν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηρίοις μαχησάμενον· Καὶ ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας (*Ephes.* 19).

Unde eleganter in cujusdam martyris epistola scriptum reperi; Ignatium dico, episcopum Antiochiae post Petrum secundum, qui in persecutione Romae pugnavit ad bestias: *Principem saeculi hujus latuit virginitas Mariae.*

This homily is extant as a whole only in Jerome's version, but the particular passage is preserved in an extract which Delarue printed from Grabe's papers.

See also the parallels quoted II. pp. 333, 337; and compare *Hom.* 1 *in Levit.* (II. p. 187, Delarue) 'Quae fuerint legis principia, qui etiam in prophetis profectus accesserit, quae vero in evangeliis plenitudo perfectionis habeatur' with *Philad.* 9.

13.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS [A.D. ?].

vii. 46 Ἀντιοχείας δὲ [ἐχειροτονήθη ἐπίσκοπος] Εὐόδιος μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου.

In the earlier books the influence of this Apostolic father is unmistakeable; see the notes, II. pp. 119, 120, 121, 122, 138, 158, 172, 334,

337. Compare also *Apost. Const.* ii. 25 οἱ πάντων τὰς ἁμαρτίας βαστάζοντες with *Polyc.* 1.

The passages from the earlier books are for the most part substantially the same in the Syriac, which is thought to preserve an earlier form of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and which Lagarde has translated back into Greek (Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicaena* II. p. 35 sq.).

14.

PETER OF ALEXANDRIA [A.D. 306].

See the passage quoted from *Polyc.* 2 in the notes II. p. 337.

15.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA [C. A.D. 310—325].

(i) *Chronicon* II. pp. 158, 162 (ed. Schoene).

Ann. Abrah.	Vespas.	
2085	I	Antiochiae secundus episcopus constitutus est Ignatius.

On the chronological bearing of this notice see below, II. p. 469 sq. In Jerome's revision it is attached not, as here, to the first year of Olymp. 212, but to the number of the Olympiad itself.

Ann. Abrah.	Trajan.	
2114	I	Johannem apostolum usque ad Trajani tempora (vitam) produxisse Irinaeus tradit. Post quem ejusdem auditores cognoscebantur Papias Ierapolitanus et Polycarpus Smyrnaeorum provinciae episcopus.

To this notice Jerome adds 'et Ignatius Antiochenus.' On this addition see above, I. p. 29 sq., and below, II. p. 472 sq. The notice in the Armenian comes *after* the year Abraham 2114; in Jerome it is attached to the year 2116.

Ann. Abrah.	Trajan.	
2123	10	

After this comes the notice of Ignatius' martyrdom. In Jerome's revision it is attached to this tenth year. This notice is given at length below, II. p. 447, where also its chronological bearing is discussed.

(ii) *Historia Ecclesiastica* iii. 22, 36 sq.

22. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐοδίου πρώτου καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνω-

ρίζετο. Συμεὼν ὁμοίως δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τούτους τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν.

36. Διέπρεπέ γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητὴς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει παροικίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, [ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογιώτατος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων,] ὅ τε παρὰ πλείστοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος. λόγος δ' ἔχει τοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀναπεμφθέντα θηρίων γενέσθαι βορὰν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἕνεκεν· καὶ δὴ τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακομιδὴν μετ' ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς ποιούμενος, τὰς κατὰ πόλιν αἷς ἐπεδήμει παροικίας ταῖς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλίαις τε καὶ προτροπαῖς ἐπιρρωννύς, ἐν πρώτοις μάλιστα προφυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον [ἀναφυείσας καὶ] ἐπιπολαζούσας παρῄνει, προὔτρεπέ τε ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἐγγράφως ἤδη μαρτυρόμενος διατυποῦσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖτο. οὕτω δῆτα ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενος, ἔνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἦν, μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπιστολὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ποιμένος αὐτῆς μνημονεύων Ὀνησίμου, ἑτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ, ἔνθα πάλιν ἐπισκόπου Δαμᾶ μνήμην πεποίηται· καὶ τῇ ἐν Τράλλεσι δὲ ἄλλην, ἧς ἄρχοντα τότε ὄντα Πολύβιον ἱστορεῖ. πρὸς ταύταις καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ᾗ καὶ παράκλησιν προτείνει, ὡς μὴ παραιτησάμενοι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τῆς ποθουμένης αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσαιεν ἐλπίδος. ἐξ ὧν καὶ βραχύτατα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν εἰρημένων παραθέσθαι ἄξιον. γράφει δὴ οὖν κατὰ λέξιν·

Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὅ

ἐστι στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οἱ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἑτοίμων· ἃ καὶ εὔχομαι σύντομά μοι εὑρεθῆναι, ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἥψαντο· κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε. τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω. νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι. μηδέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω (*Rom.* 5).

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης πόλεως ταῖς καταλεχθείσαις ἐκκλησίαις διετυπώσατο. ἤδη δ' ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σμύρνης γενόμενος, ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ αὖθις διὰ γραφῆς ὁμιλεῖ, καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ· ὃν οἷα δὴ ἀποστολικὸν ἄνδρα εὖ μάλα γνωρίζων, τὴν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῷ ποίμνην ὡς ἂν γνήσιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν παρατίθεται, τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς φροντίδα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναίοις γράφων οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξιών·

Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα· καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἐλήλυθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν (*Smyrn.* 3).

Οἶδε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λέγων οὕτως·

Ὡς εἶπέ τις τῶν ἡμετέρων διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν μαρτυρίαν κατακριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία, ὅτι Σῖτός εἰμι Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ.

καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ, φάσκων αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι·

Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν κ.τ.λ. (see II. p. 921).

Καὶ ἑξῆς ἐπιφέρει·

Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος, κ.τ.λ. (see II. p. 931).

καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰγνάτιον τοιαῦτα. διαδέχεται δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπὴν Ἥρως.

Eusebius again refers to the testimony of Irenaeus, *H. E.* v. 8. See above, p. 135.

37. Ἀδυνάτου δ' ὄντος ἡμῖν ἅπαντας ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι, ὅσοι ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις γεγόνασι ποιμένες ἢ καὶ εὐαγγελισταί, τούτων εἰκότως ἐξ ὀνόματος γραφῇ μόνων τὴν μνήμην κατατεθείμεθα, ὧν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι' ὑπομνημάτων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἡ παράδοσις φέρεται· ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοῦ Ἰγνατίου ἐν αἷς κατελέξαμεν ἐπιστολαῖς, καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογημένῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἣν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο.

38. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰγνατίου καὶ Πολυκάρπου.

(iii) *Quaestiones ad Stephanum* 1 (*Op.* IV. p. 881, Migne).

Φησὶ δέ που ὁ ἅγιος ἀνήρ, Ἰγνάτιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας δεύτερος γεγονὼς μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐπίσκοπος, ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔλαθεν ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐξ αὐτῆς γένεσις· λέγει δὲ οὕτως·

Καὶ ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη (*Ephes.* 19).

16.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM [C. A.D. 347].

The resemblance of the passage quoted, II. p. 175, to *Trall.* 9, 10, *Smyrn.* 2, 3, is striking.

17.

ATHANASIUS [A.D. 359].

De Synodis Arimini et Seleuciae 47 (*Op.* I. ii. p. 607, Patav. 1777).

Ἰγνάτιος οὖν, ὁ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενος, γράφων περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου εἴρηκεν· Εἷς ἰατρός ἐστι σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ (*Ephes.* 7). τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ Ἰγνάτιον διδάσκαλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν· Ἓν τὸ ἀγέννητον ὁ πατήρ, καὶ εἷς ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς γνήσιος, γέννημα ἀληθινόν, λόγος καὶ σοφία τοῦ πατρός. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐναντίως διακείμεθα, ἔστω καὶ πρὸς τὰς συνόδους ἡμῖν ἡ μάχη· εἰ δέ, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ πίστιν αὐτῶν γινώσκοντες, πεπείσμεθα ὅτι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰγνάτιος ὀρθῶς ἔγραψε, γεννητὸν αὐτὸν λέγων διὰ τὴν σάρκα· ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς σὰρξ ἐγένετο· ἀγέννητον δέ, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ γεννητῶν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' υἱὸς ἐκ πατρός.

This treatise was written A.D. 359, as Montfaucon (p. 571) points out. Two chapters however (30, 31) were added a little later. The attempt to discredit the whole on account of these chapters, which there is every reason to think were inserted by the author himself, is futile. The treatise evidently arose out of the immediate circumstances to which it relates, and must have been the work of a contemporary. But no contemporary is so likely to have written it as Athanasius, to whom it is ascribed and whose style and treatment it reproduces throughout. The case is well stated by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 578 sq.). The use which S. Athanasius here makes of these expressions of Ignatius is discussed at length below (II. p. 90 sq.). The remarks of Cureton (*C. I.* p. lxix sq.) seem to me to be altogether confused and confusing.

18.

SYRIAC MARTYROLOGY [C. A.D. 350?]

The reference will be found below, II. p. 417.

Reasons are there given for assigning this document to a date not later, or at least not much later, than the middle of the fourth century.

19.

EPHREM SYRUS [† A.D. 373].

The coincidences with *Polyc.* 3 given in the notes (II. p. 342) cannot have been accidental. The same may be said, though not with the same degree of confidence, of the coincidence with *Rom.* 2, which is likewise noticed in its proper place (II. p. 202). For other coincidences pointing to the same conclusion see II. pp. 74, 76, 82, 168.

The date of Ephrem's death, as given above, is taken from the MS, *Brit. Mus. Add.* 12155 (see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 947).

20.

BASIL OF CAESAREA [† A.D. 379].

Hom. in Sanctam Christi Generationem 3 (*Op.* II. p. 598, Garnier).

Εἴρηται δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τινι καὶ ἕτερος λόγος ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τὴν παρθενίαν τῆς Μαρίας ἡ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἐπενοήθη μνηστεία ..... ἀπεβουκολήθη οὖν διὰ τῆς μνηστείας ὁ ἐπίβουλος τῆς παρθενίας· ᾔδει γὰρ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Κυρίου γενησομένην.

It might have been supposed that this reference to *Ephes.* 19 was borrowed from Origen (see above, p. 136), to whom S. Basil is so largely indebted elsewhere; but the words κατάλυσιν τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς point to a knowledge of the context of Ignatius which he could not have derived from the passage of the Alexandrian father.

Garnier (*Praef.* p. xv) gives reasons for questioning the authorship of this treatise of S. Basil; but he is not uninfluenced by doctrinal prejudices (see *Galatians* p. 284), and his arguments in this case do not seem to have any weight.

21.

JOHN THE MONK [c. A.D. 380—390?].

Epistula ad Eutropium et Eusebium de Communione Veritatis in Vita Nova, etc.

'All the saints who loved God, since their love towards him was hidden in the power of their soul, proclaimed their love by the voice, that is, by the death of the flesh which is the voice; because they were not able in any other way to show their love, but by even going out of

voice, in being divested of the flesh, that they might become word and not voice. For whilst they were in the world of the voice, they were men of the voice; but after they are gone out of the world of the voice, they will become men of the word and not of the voice....

But that it might be not supposed that I speak from opinion, and not from grace, respecting the man of the voice and the word, we will show you evidently by bringing, as testimony to our words, the authority of one of the saints...the blessed Ignatius, the glorious martyr, who was the second bishop after the Apostles in Antioch of Syria, who, when he was going up to Rome in the testimony for Christ, wrote epistles to certain cities; and in that to Rome, when he was persuading them not to hinder him from the testimony of Christ, said, *If ye be silent from me, I shall be the word of God; but if ye love my flesh, again I am to myself a voice* (*Rom.* 2). And he implored them to cease from intreating respecting him, and begged them not to love his life of the flesh better than his life in the spirit. Were these things spoken in an ordinary way by this saint? What then is this, that after his departure from this world he is to himself a word; but if he continue he is to himself a voice?...This man of God deserves to be reckoned amongst the company of the Apostles, of whom I had almost said, that whilst he was in the flesh in the world he had immersed himself from the world with his Lord: as he also himself said, *Then am I faithful when I am not seen in the world* (*Rom.* 3); and, *It is good for me that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him in life* (*Rom.* 2). And again he said, *Let nothing envy me of those that are seen and that are not seen* (*Rom.* 5). That there might be no indignity therefore to the greatness of this man of God through what I say, I honour him in silence, and approach to the saying which he spake, *If ye are silent from me*, and leave me to die in sacrifice, *I am to myself the word of God;* but if not, *I am to myself a voice....*

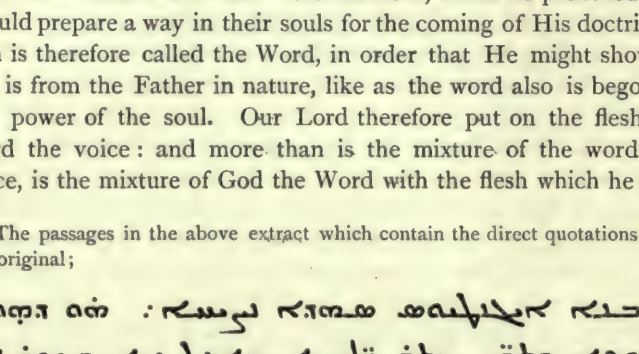
'And this again, *If I shall continue, I am to myself a voice:* he desires to teach that the temporary life here is of the flesh in a compound person; for the word is not of the flesh, but of the spirit; but the voice is not of the spirit, but of the flesh, because all bodies have the voice only, but have not the word, inasmuch as they have not in them the soul in the person. For every beast and bird, together with cattle and creeping things of the earth, utter the voice only; but because man has in him a soul, and is not like the rest of the other bodies, he uses the word and the voice....

'But I am not alleging, as in a discussion, proofs respecting the soul, to require many things to be said; but I am sowing a few things into

your ears, that they may be instruction for you. But more especially from the reasoning faculty of the word do we comprehend the power of the soul which is in us; because the reasoning faculty of the word is not found in any of the bodies, as we have said, but in man only....

'Thus also was it effected in this economy of Christ, that John the Baptist, because he was about to preach respecting God the Word, was called a voice; *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare the way.* For whom but for the Word the Lord, whom he preached that men should prepare a way in their souls for the coming of His doctrine? The Son is therefore called the Word, in order that He might show us that He is from the Father in nature, like as the word also is begotten from the power of the soul. Our Lord therefore put on the flesh, like the word the voice: and more than is the mixture of the word with the voice, is the mixture of God the Word with the flesh which he put on.'

The passages in the above extract which contain the direct quotations run thus in the original;



ܗܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܫܠܝܚ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܒܪ ܪܓܫ ܒܪ ܪܓܫ ܐܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܒܪ ܪܓܫ ܒܪ ܪܓܫ.

This passage is taken by Cureton (see *Corp. Ign.* p. 351) from the British Museum MS, *Add.* 12170, fol. 211 (fol. 224 in Wright's *Catalogue* p. 749), apparently of about the 8th century. He compared it with another, *Add.* 14580, which is dated A.D. 866 (see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 767). The text and translation will be found in Cureton *C. I.* pp. 205, 239 sq. From his translation I have taken these extracts.

Works by the same John the Monk appear in numerous Syriac volumes in the British Museum (see the index to Wright's *Catalogue* p. 1296). Among them are other letters to these same persons, the monks Eutropius and Eusebius. One MS containing works by him (*Add.* 17169) is dated as early as A.D. 581 (see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 451). Who then was this John?

In the MS *Add.* 17172, prefixed to various works by this John are the words, 'By the strength and help of the Holy Trinity we begin to write the book of the holy John, the monk and seer of Thebais. But first an account respecting him, that is, the blessed John, which was written by Palladius bishop of Jerusalem' (it should have been 'Helenopolis'). Then follows substantially the same narrative which is given in Palladius *Hist. Laus.* c. 43 *περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου* (see Cureton *C. I.* p. 351, Wright's *Catalogue* p. 760). In the course of this narrative occurs the following statement; 'Also he informed the blessed emperor Theodosius beforehand respecting things future, I mean respecting his being about to vanquish the rebel Maximus and to return from Galatia [i.e. 'Gaul,' see *Galatians* pp. 3, 31]. Then again he also foretold respecting the defeat of Eugenius' (comp. *Hist. Laus.* 43, 46, pp. 1107 sq., 1130, Migne). After this life follows the letter of John to Eutropius and Eusebius on the Spiritual Life, which is designated at the close as the work of 'my Lord John the monk and seer of Thebais'; and this again is succeeded by four discourses by the same writer in the form of dialogues addressed to these same persons Eutropius and Eusebius.

It seems then, that this MS identifies John the Monk, the writer of these works, with John of Lycopolis, the seer of the Thebais, with whom Palladius had direct personal communications, whose life he writes, and from whom he obtained much information (which he retails) respecting other monks of the Thebais. This identification is apparently accepted by Cureton (*C. I.* p. 351 sq.).

But Palladius in a later chapter (c. 61) gives an account of another John, likewise a monk of Thebais. He too might be called a seer, for he received revelations (*ἀποκαλύπτεται αὐτῷ*) respecting the state of the monasteries, which proved true. This John is stated to have been the writer of letters and other works, whereas John of Lycopolis is not mentioned as an author. Moreover the subjects of his works are of the same kind as those of our 'John the Monk.' They are addressed to monks, and they deal with the same topics (e.g. *ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν εἰς τὴν νόησιν ἀναχωρεῖν κ.τ.λ.*; comp. Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 432 'debet visibilia...omnia contemnere'). Our John therefore should more probably be identified with this person than with John of Lycopolis. If so, he was a contemporary of John of Lycopolis, of Evagrius of Pontus, and of other famous monks of the Thebaid; and his date as an author would probably be about A.D. 380—390. He may also have been the same,

as Zahn suggests (*I. v. A.* p. 222), to whom Ephrem Syrus writes, *Op. Graec.* p. 186 sq. (comp. Proleg. p. 49) *πρὸς Ἰωάννην μονάζοντα* (see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 150).

Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 431) identifies John the Monk, our Syriac writer, with John of Apamea, whom he places in the 6th century. Cureton (*C. I.* p. 352) seems to accept this date for John of Apamea, but rejects the identification. In both respects he acts too hastily. As regards the date Assemani's reasons are far from conclusive. On the other hand very much may be said for the identification, though rejected also by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 222) and others. Ebedjesu (*Bibl. Orient.* III. p. 50) gives the following list of the works of John of Apamea, 'Tres composuit tomos; necnon epistolas; de Regimine Spirituali, de Passionibus, et de Perfectione.' There is extant a work of our John a letter to Eutropius and Eusebius 'on the Spiritual Life' (Wright's *Catalogue*, pp. 451, 657, 757, 760, 767, 795, etc.); another in the form of dialogues with these same persons 'on the Passions' (*ib.* pp. 452, 761, 767, 805, 857, Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 431); another 'on Perfection' (Wright pp. 758, 768, etc.). I am therefore constrained to believe that the same writings are meant in both cases. There is indeed, so far as I know, no reason why John the Monk of the Thebais should not be John of Apamea. There were many Syrians among the monks of the Egyptian desert. In this case however Assemani's date for John of Apamea must be abandoned. One of the MSS of our John bears the date A.D. 581 (see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 451).

Ebedjesu mentions two Johns: one (c. 39) as John simply of whom he gives no information, not even the title of his work; and another, as John of Apamea (c. 47), giving the account of his writings which I have already quoted. It is possible that he splits up one man into two; or he may have erroneously assigned to the latter the works which really belonged to the former. At all events, if there be a mistake in the identification, it is Ebedjesu's, not Assemani's.

The works of John seem to have been written in Syriac, so that we possess the originals (see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 431, Cureton *Corp. Ign.* p. 294, Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 222 sq., though Zahn expresses hesitation in his later work, *Ign. Epist.* p. 339). It was frequently the case that the monks of the Egyptian desert could not speak Greek, being either Copts or Syrians. Thus John of Lycopolis conversed with Palladius through an interpreter (*Hist. Laus.* 43, p. 1113). Moreover the quotations of our John from Ignatius are not translated from the Greek, but taken from the Syriac version. This appears from the fact that for *ἀνατείλω* (*Rom.* 2) he writes 'I may rise in life' with the Syriac (Σ) and the Armenian (A) which was taken from the Syriac, besides other slighter resemblances.

Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 223) objects to Cureton's translation 'certain (ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ) cities,' and contends that it must be rendered 'famous cities,' like Lucian's *ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν* (see above, p. 133). On this basis he founds an argument that John was acquainted with the Seven Epistles, since otherwise the expression would be meaningless. But the word certainly has this sense sometimes (e.g. in the Peshito of Acts xvi. 12 *ἡμέρας τινάς*, xviii. 23 *χρόνον τινά*; see also Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* p. 1556), so that the argument cannot be pressed. On the other hand the expression 'sowing a few things into your ears' seems to be suggested by *Ephes.* 9 *οὐκ ἐλάσατε σπείρειν εἰς ὑμᾶς, βύσαντες τὰ ὦτα* κ.τ.λ., a passage which is not found in the Curetonian letters.

22.

HIERONYMUS [C. A.D. 390—415].

(i) *De Viris Illustribus* 16, *Op.* II. p. 842 (ed. Vallarsi).

Ignatius, Antiochenae ecclesiae tertius post Petrum apostolum episcopus, persecutionem commovente Trajano damnatus ad bestias Romam vinctus mittitur: cumque navigans Smyrnam venisset, ubi Polycarpus, auditor Johannis, episcopus erat, scripsit unam epistulam ad Ephesios, alteram ad Magnesianos, tertiam ad Trallenses, quartam ad Romanos; et inde egrediens scripsit ad Philadelphinos et ad Smyrnaeos et proprie ad Polycarpum, commendans illi Antiochensem ecclesiam; in qua et de evangelio, quod nuper a me translatum est, super persona Christi ponit testimonium, dicens; *Ego vero et post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi, et credo quia sit; et quando venit ad Petrum et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis; Ecce palpate et videte quia non sum daemonium incorporale. Et statim tetigerunt eum et crediderunt.*

Dignum autem videtur, quia tanti viri fecimus mentionem, et de epistula ejus quam ad Romanos scribit pauca ponere; *De Syria usque ad Romam pugno ad bestias, in mari et in terra, nocte et die, ligatus cum decem leopardis, hoc est, militibus qui me custodiunt; quibus et cum benefeceris, pejores fiunt. Iniquitas autem eorum mea doctrina est; sed non idcirco justificatus sum. Utinam fruar bestiis, quae mihi sunt praeparatae; quas et oro veloces mihi esse ad interitum, et adliciam* [*eas*] *ad comedendum me; ne, sicut* [*et*] *aliorum martyrum, non audeant corpus meum adtingere. Quodsi venire noluerint, ego vim faciam, ut devorer. Ignoscite mihi, filioli; quid mihi prosit, ego scio. Nunc incipio esse discipulus, nihil de his quae videntur desiderans, ut Jesum Christum inveniam. Ignis, crux, bestiae, confractio ossium, membrorumque divisio, et totius corporis contritio, et tormenta diaboli in me veniant; tantum ut Christo fruar.* Cumque jam damnatus esset ad bestias, et ardore patiendi rugientes audiret leones, ait; *Frumentum Christi sum, dentibus bestiarum molar, ut panis mundus inveniar.*

Passus est anno undecimo Trajani. Reliquiae corporis ejus Antiochiae jacent extra portam Daphniticam in coemeterio.

(ii) *Adv. Helvidium* 17, *Op.* II. p. 225.

Numquid non possum tibi totam veterum scriptorum seriem commovere, Ignatium, Polycarpum, Irenaeum, Justinum Martyrem, multosque alios apostolicos et eloquentes viros, qui adversus Ebionem et Theo-

dotum Byzantium, Valentinum, haec eadem sentientes, plena sapientiae volumina conscripserunt?

(iii) *Comment. in Matthaeum* i. § 1, *Op.* VII. p. 12.

Quare non de simplici virgine, sed de desponsata concipitur? Primum, ut per generationem Joseph origo Mariae monstraretur. Secundo, ne lapidaretur a Judaeis ut adultera. Tertio, ut in Aegyptum fugiens haberet solatium mariti. Martyr Ignatius etiam quartam addidit causam, cur a desponsata conceptus sit; *Ut partus*, inquiens, *ejus celaretur diabolo*, dum eum putat non de virgine sed de uxore generatum.

(iv) *Adv. Pelagianos* iii. 2, *Op.* II. p. 783.

Ignatius, vir apostolicus et martyr, scribit audacter; *Elegit Dominus apostolos, qui super omnes homines peccatores erant.*

It is obvious from these passages that Jerome had no personal acquaintance with the writings of Ignatius. The *first* passage (*Vir. Ill.* 16) is taken almost entirely from Eusebius (see above p. 138). He only adds two particulars to the account of the historian. (1) He is able to point out the source of the apocryphal quotation in *Smyrn.* 3, of which Eusebius was ignorant (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποθεν), namely the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he himself had translated (see the note II. p. 295 sq.). (2) He can point out the resting-place of the bones of Ignatius, the Cemetery at Antioch, which probably he himself had visited (see below, II. pp. 376 sq., 429 sq.). On the other hand he is so ignorant of the facts, that whereas Eusebius mentions two letters, one to the Smyrnæans and the other to Polycarp, Jerome blundering over ἰδίως (by which Eusebius meant 'in a separate epistle') supposes him to speak of only one letter. This ignorance might have been pardoned if it had not misled the greatest of Ignatian critics. The one blot on the critical scutcheon of Ussher is his rejection of the Epistle to Polycarp as spurious on the ground that Jerome does not recognize it. The date of the treatise *de Viris Illustribus* is A. D. 392.

The *second* passage (*adv. Helvid.* 17) is nothing more than a bold rhetorical venture after Jerome's manner. Probably the sole foundation for this sweeping assertion, so far as regards Ignatius, was the single fact known to Jerome (see the next passage) that Ignatius spoke of the virginity of Mary (*Ephes.* 19). The description it is true would better apply to such passages as *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 6, in the Long Recension, where Ebion (a purely imaginary person) and Theodotus (who lived long after the age of Ignatius) with others are mentioned by name. But it is highly improbable that Jerome should have seen this recension, and we need not look for the same precision in him which we should expect in a more careful writer. Though well versed in works on Biblical exegesis, which was his speciality, he was otherwise extremely ignorant of early Christian literature. This treatise was written about A. D. 382.

In the *third* passage (*Comm. in Matt.* i. § 1), belonging to the year 398, he probably borrowed the fact, which he mentions, from Origen as quoted above (p. 136); while in the *fourth*, written about A. D. 415, in which again he professes to quote Ignatius, he is guilty of a blunder, for he assigns to Ignatius words which are taken from Barnabas. Here again he was probably indebted to Origen (*c. Cels.* i. 63, *Op.* I.

p. 378) who however ascribes the saying to the right author, so that Jerome was misled by a treacherous memory.

For the notice of Ignatius in Jerome's revision of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, see above, p. 137.

23.

S. Chrysostom [c. A.D. 390].

(i) *Homilia in S. Ignatium, Op.* II. p. 592 (ed. Montfaucon).

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΑ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ, ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ ΑΠΕΝΕΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΘΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΝ ΚΟΜΙΣΘΕΝΤΑ...

... Πρώην γοῦν ἡμᾶς κόρη κομιδῇ νέα καὶ ἀπειρόγαμος ἡ μακαρία μάρτυς Πελαγία μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐφροσύνης εἱστίασε· σήμερον πάλιν τὴν ἐκείνης ἑορτὴν ὁ μακάριος οὗτος καὶ γενναῖος μάρτυς Ἰγνάτιος διεδέξατο. διάφορα τὰ πρόσωπα, ἀλλὰ μία ἡ τράπεζα· ἐνηλλαγμένα τὰ παλαίσματα, ἀλλ' εἷς ὁ στέφανος· ποικίλα τὰ ἀγωνίσματα, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ βραβεῖον ....

Ὁ μὲν οὖν καιρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤδη πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν τῶν τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου κατορθωμάτων καλεῖ· ὁ λογισμὸς δὲ ταράττεται καὶ θορυβεῖται, οὐκ ἔχων τί πρῶτον, τί δεύτερον εἰπεῖν, τί τρίτον· τοσοῦτον περιρρεῖ πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς ἐγκωμίων πλῆθος· καὶ ταὐτὸν πάσχομεν, οἷον ἂν εἴ τις εἰς λειμῶνα εἰσελθών, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ῥοδωνίαν ἰδών, πολὺ δὲ τὸ ἴον, καὶ τὸ κρίνον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἕτερα δὲ ἠρινὰ ἄνθη ποικίλα τε καὶ διάφορα, ἀπορήσειε τί πρῶτον ἴδῃ, τί δεύτερον, ἑκάστου τῶν ὁρωμένων πρὸς ἑαυτὸ καλοῦντος τὰς ὄψεις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν πνευματικὸν τοῦτον λειμῶνα τῶν Ἰγνατίου κατορθωμάτων εἰσελθόντες καὶ οὐχὶ ἄνθη ἠρινὰ ἀλλ αὐτὸν τοῦ πνεύματος τὸν καρπὸν ποικίλον τε καὶ διάφορον ἐν τῇ τούτου ψυχῇ θεώμενοι, θορυβούμεθα καὶ διαποροῦμεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ποῦ πρῶτον τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπερείσομεν, ἑκάστου τῶν ὁρωμένων ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον ἀνθέλκοντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς οἰκείας εὐπρεπείας θεωρίαν

ἐπισπωμένου τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὄψιν. σκοπεῖτε γάρ· προέστη τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίας γενναίως καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀκριβείας μεθ' ὅσης ὁ Χριστὸς βούλεται· ὃν γὰρ μέγιστον ὅρον καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἔφησεν εἶναι ἐκεῖνος, τοῦτον οὗτος διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπεδείξατο. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούσας ὅτι Ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων, μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας αὐτὴν ἐπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων. συνεγένετο τοῖς ἀποστόλοις γνησίως, καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν νομάτων ἀπήλαυσεν. ὁποῖον οὖν εἶναι εἰκὸς τὸν συντραφέντα ἐκείνοις καὶ πανταχοῦ συγγενόμενον, καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς κοινωνήσαντα, καὶ τοσαύτης εἶναι δόξαντα αὐτοῖς ἀρχῆς ἄξιον; ἐπέστη πάλιν καιρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπιζητῶν καὶ ψυχὴν τῶν παρόντων ὑπερορῶσαν ἁπάντων καὶ τῷ θείῳ ζέουσαν ἔρωτι καὶ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα τῶν ὁρωμένων προτιμῶσαν· καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης εὐκολίας τὴν σάρκα ἀπέθετο, μεθ' ὅσης ἄν τις ἱμάτιον ἀποδύσαιτο. τί οὖν πρότερον εἴπωμεν; τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἣν ἐπεδείξατο διὰ πάντων; ἢ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς τὴν ὑπεροψίαν; ἢ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀρετῆς μεθ' ἧς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ᾠκονόμησεν; τίνα πρότερον ἀνυμνήσομεν; τὸν μάρτυρα, ἢ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ τὸν ἀπόστολον; τριπλοῦν γὰρ στέφανον ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος πλέξασα χάρις οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκείνην ἀνέδησε κεφαλήν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλοῦν· τῶν γὰρ στεφάνων ἕκαστον εἴ τις αὐτοὺς μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἀναπτύξειεν, εὑρήσει καὶ ἑτέρους ἡμῖν βλαστάνοντας στεφάνους.

Καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε, πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἔπαινον ἔλθωμεν. οὐ δοκεῖ εἷς οὗτος εἶναι στέφανος μόνος; φέρε οὖν αὐτὸν ἀναπτύξωμεν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὄψεσθε καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς καὶ πλείους ἐξ αὐτοῦ τικτομένους ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὅτι τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς ἄξιος εἶναι ἔδοξε, θαυμάζω τὸν ἄνδρα ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐνεχειρίσθη, καὶ αἱ τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ μικρὸν τοῦτο εἰς

ἐγκωμίου λόγον· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πλείω τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπεσπάσατο χάριν, οὐδ' ὅτι δαψιλεστέραν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν ἐλθεῖν τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνέργειαν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐμαρτύρησαν ἀρετήν. τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐγὼ λέγω. Τίτῳ γράφων ὁ Παῦλός ποτε· ὅταν δὲ Παῦλον εἴπω, οὐ τοῦτον μόνον λέγω, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν τὸν χορόν· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν λύρᾳ μιᾷ διάφοροι μὲν αἱ νευραὶ μία δὲ ἡ ἁρμονία, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἀποστόλων κ.τ.λ. . . . . θαρρῶν τοίνυν εἴποιμι ἄν, ὅτι πᾶσαν αὐτὴν μετὰ ἀκριβείας ὁ μακάριος Ἰγνάτιος ἀπεμάξατο ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ· καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος ἦν καὶ ἀνέγκλητος καὶ οὔτε αὐθάδης οὔτε ὀργίλος οὔτε πάροινος οὔτε πλήκτης, ἀλλ' ἄμαχος, ἀφιλάργυρος, δίκαιος, ὅσιος, ἐγκρατής, ἀντεχόμενος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, νηφάλιος, σώφρων, κόσμιος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπερ ὁ Παῦλος ἀπῄτησε. καὶ τίς τούτων ἀπόδειξίς, φησιν; αὐτοὶ οἱ ταῦτα εἰρηκότες αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἱ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀκριβείας παραινοῦντες ἑτέροις τὴν δοκιμασίαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναβαίνειν ταύτης, αὐτοὶ παρέργως τοῦτο ἐποίησαν ἄν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πᾶσαν εἶδον τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ μάρτυρος τούτου πεφυτευμένην, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ ταύτην ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν ἀρχήν. . . . . εἶδες πῶς διπλοῦς ἡμῖν ὁ στέφανος ἐφάνη τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τέως, καὶ λαμπροτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ τῶν χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀξίωμα, πᾶσαν ἀπόδειξιν ἀρετῆς αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦσαν;

Βούλεσθε καὶ ἕτερον ὑμῖν ἐκκαλύψω στέφανον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου βλαστάνοντα; ἀναλογισώμεθα τὸν καιρὸν καθ' ὃν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχειρίσθη ταύτην· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον ἐκκλησίαν οἰκονομῆσαι νῦν, καὶ τότε κ.τ.λ. . . . . ὥσπερ οὖν κυβερνήτην θαυμάζομεν, οὐχ ὅταν ἡσυχαζούσης τῆς θαλάττης καὶ ἐξ οὐρίων τῆς νηὸς φερομένης δυνηθῇ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας διασῶσαι, ἀλλ' ὅταν μαινομένου τοῦ πελάγους, διανισταμένων τῶν κυμάτων, αὐτῶν τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιβατῶν

στασιαζόντων, πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἔσωθεν ἔξωθεν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας πολιορκοῦντος, δυνηθῇ κατευθῦναι τὸ σκάφος μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἁπάσης· οὕτω καὶ τοὺς τότε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐγχειρισθέντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι χρὴ καὶ θαυμάζειν πολλῷ πλέον τῶν νῦν οἰκονομούντων αὐτήν, ὅτε πολὺς ὁ πόλεμος ἔξωθεν ἔσωθεν, ὅτε ἀπαλώτερον ἔτι τὸ φυτὸν τῆς πίστεως ἦν καὶ πολλῆς δεόμενον ἐπιμελείας, ὅτε καθάπερ ἀρτίτοκον βρέφος τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος πολλῆς ἔχρῃζε τῆς προνοίας καὶ σοφωτάτης τινὸς τῆς μελλούσης αὐτὸ τιθηνεῖσθαι ψυχῆς.....

Εἶπω καὶ τέταρτον στέφανον ἐκ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἡμῖν ἀνίσχοντα ταύτης. τίς οὖν ἐστιν οὗτος; τὸ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὸν ἐπιτραπῆναι τὴν ἡμετέραν. ἐπίπονον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα προστῆναι μόνον· τὸ δὲ πόλιν ἐγχειρισθῆναι τοσαύτην, καὶ δῆμον εἰς εἴκοσι ἐκτεινόμενον μυριάδας, πόσης ἀρετῆς οἶει καὶ σοφίας ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι.... καὶ ἄλλως δὲ πολὺς ἦν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης τῷ Θεῷ λόγος, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσε. τὸν γοῦν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιστάτην ἁπάσης Πέτρον, ᾧ τὰς κλεῖς ἐνεχείρισε τῶν οὐράνων, ᾧ πάντα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε, πολὺν ἐνταῦθα χρόνον ἐνδιατρῖψαι ἐκέλευσεν. οὕτως αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης ἡ πόλις ἀντίρροπος ἡ ἡμετέρα.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐμνήσθην Πέτρου, καὶ πέμπτον ἐξ αὐτοῦ στέφανον εἶδον πλεκόμενον· οὗτος δέ ἐστι, τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τοῦτον διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄν τις, λίθον ἐξαίρων μέγαν ἐκ θεμελίων, ἕτερον ἀντίρροπον ἐκείνου σπουδάζει πάντως ἀντεισαγαγεῖν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι πᾶσαν σαλεύειν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ σαθροτέραν ποιεῖν· οὕτω δὴ καὶ Πέτρου μέλλοντος ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημεῖν, ἕτερον ἀντίρροπον Πέτρου διδάσκαλον ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀντεισήγαγε χάρις, ὥστε μὴ τὴν ἤδη γενομένην οἰκοδομὴν τῇ τοῦ διαδεξομένου εὐτελείᾳ σαθροτέραν γενέσθαι.

Πέντε μὲν οὖν στεφάνους ἀπηριθμησάμεθα, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας τῶν κεχειροτονηκότων,

ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς πόλεως, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπισκοπήν. τούτους ἅπαντας πλέξαντας ἐνῆν καὶ ἕκτον εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἕβδομον, καὶ πλείους τούτων· ἀλλ' ἵνα μή, τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀναλώσαντες λόγον, ἐκπέσωμεν τῶν περὶ τοῦ μάρτυρος διηγημάτων, φέρε λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἆθλον ἐκεῖνον ἴωμεν. . . .

Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ ἐκακούργησεν ὁ διάβολος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔλαττον τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὧν προειστήκεισαν, ἠφίει σφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἄγων ἀνῆρει. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο, ὁμοῦ μὲν ἐρήμους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λαβεῖν σπεύδων, ὁμοῦ δὲ ἀσθενεστέρους ἐργάσεσθαι τῷ μόχθῳ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐλπίζων· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου πεποίηκεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, μακροτέρους αὐτῷ τιθεὶς τοὺς διαύλους τοῦ δρόμου, καὶ τῷ μήκει τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸ φρόνημα καταβάλλειν αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶν· οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι συνέμπορον ἔχων Ἰησοῦν καὶ συναπόδημον τῆς τοσαύτης ὁδοιπορίας ἰσχυρότερος μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο καὶ τῆς μετ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως οὔσης πλείονα παρεῖχε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας συνεκρότει μειζόνως. αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πόλεις συντρέχουσαι πάντοθεν ἤλειφον τὸν ἀθλητὴν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐξέπεμπον τῶν ἐφοδίων, εὐχαῖς καὶ πρεσβείαις αὐτῷ συναγωνιζόμεναι· καὶ αὐταὶ δὲ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παράκλησιν ἐλάμβανον μετὰ προθυμίας τοσαύτης ἐπὶ θάνατον τρέχοντα ὁρῶσαι τὸν μάρτυρα, μεθ' ὅσης εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ βασίλεια καλούμενον τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ· καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐμάνθανον αὐτῶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ γενναίου προθυμίας ἐκείνου καὶ φαιδρότητος, ὅτι οὐ θάνατος ἦν ἐφ' ὃν ἔτρεχεν, ἀλλ' ἀποδημία τις καὶ μετάστασις καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασις. καὶ ταῦτα διδάσκων κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀπῄει διὰ τῶν λόγων, διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνέβη, ὅτε τὸν Παῦλον δήσαντες καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην

ἀποστείλαντες ἐνόμιζον μὲν ἐπὶ θάνατον πέμπειν, ἔπεμπον δὲ τοῖς ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦσιν Ἰουδαίοις διδάσκαλον, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰγνατίου γέγονε μετὰ περιουσίας τινός. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦσι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κειμέναις πόλεσιν ἁπάσαις διδάσκαλος ἀπῆει θαυμάσιος, πείθων καταφρονεῖν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ βλεπόμενα καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐρᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ δεινῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τούτων πλείονα διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοὺς παιδεύων ὤδευε, καθάπερ ἥλιός τις ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν τρέχων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τούτου φαιδρότερος. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἔτρεχεν, αἰσθητὸν ἄγων φῶς, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ κάτωθεν ἀντέλαμπε, νοητὸν φῶς διδασκαλίας ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνιείς. κἀκεῖνος μὲν εἰς τὰ τῆς δύσεως ἀπιὼν μέρη κρύπτεται καὶ νύκτα εὐθέως ἐπάγει, οὗτος δὲ εἰς τὰ τῆς δύσεως ἀπελθὼν μέρη φαιδρότερον ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέτειλε, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπαντας εὐεργετήσας τὰ μέγιστα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέβη, κἀκείνην φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαίδευσε. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Θεὸς συνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖ τὸν βίον αὐτὸν καταλῦσαι, ὥστε τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν διδασκάλιον γενέσθαι εὐσεβείας τοῖς τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦσιν ἅπασιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι οὐδεμιᾶς ἐδέεσθε λοιπὸν ἀποδείξεως, ἐρριζωμένοι κατὰ τὴν πίστιν· οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦντες, ἅτε πολλῆς τότε ἀσεβείας οὔσης ἐκεῖ, πλείονος ἔχρῃζον βοηθείας. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οὗτος ἐκεῖ πάντες ἐθύθησαν . . . ἵνα τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν ἔργων παράσχωνται τὴν ἀπόδειξιν . . . . ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἔχοι λόγον . . . μὴ μόνον Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰγνάτιον τὸν οὐδὲ ἑωρακότα αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἀπολελαυκότα αὐτοῦ τῆς συνουσίας τοσαύτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προθυμίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν δι' αὐτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν ψυχήν ;

Ἵν' οὖν ταῦτα ἔργῳ μάθωσιν οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦντες ἅπαντες, συνεχώρησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκεῖ τελειωθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον. καὶ ὅτι

αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦτο πιστώσομαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔξω τειχῶν ἐν βαράθρῳ, οὐδὲ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, οὐδὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τινὶ τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἐδέξατο ψῆφον, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ, τῆς πόλεως ἄνω καθεζομένης ἁπάσης, τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τρόπον ὑπέμεινε, θηρίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντων· ἵν' ὑπὸ ταῖς ἁπάντων ὄψεσι τὸ τρόπαιον στήσας κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, τοὺς θεατὰς ἅπαντας ζηλωτὰς ποιήσῃ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκων μόνον οὕτω γενναίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀποθνήσκων. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ζωῆς ἀπορρήγνυσθαι μέλλων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ζωὴν καλούμενος βελτίω καὶ πνευματικωτέραν, οὕτως ἀσμένως ἑώρα τὰ θηρία. πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων, ὧν ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλων ἐφθέγξατο. ἀκούσας γὰρ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτὸν τῆς τιμωρίας ὁ τρόπος μένει, Ἐγὼ τῶν θηρίων ἐκείνων ὀναίμην, ἔλεγε. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ ἐρῶντες· ὅπερ ἂν πάσχωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐρωμένων, μεθ' ἡδονῆς δέχονται, καὶ τότε δοκοῦσιν ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὅταν πολλῷ χαλεπώτερα ᾖ τὰ γινόμενα. ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου συνέβαινεν. οὐ γὰρ τῷ θανάτῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ ζηλῶσαι τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἔσπευδε· καὶ ἀκούων ὅτι μαστιχθέντες ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνεχώρουν, ἐβουλήθη καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ τῇ τελευτῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χαρᾷ μιμήσασθαι τοὺς διδασκάλους· διὰ τοῦτο τῶν θηρίων, ἔλεγεν, ὀναίμην. καὶ πολλῷ τούτων ἡμερώτερα τὰ στόματα ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γλώττης, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν γέενναν ἐκάλει, τὰ δὲ τούτων στόματα πρὸς βασιλείαν παρέπεμπεν.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κατέλυσεν ἐκεῖ τὴν ζωήν, μᾶλλον δέ, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέβη, ἐπανῄει στεφανίτης λοιπόν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν οἰκονομίας, τὸ πάλιν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπαναγαγεῖν, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι διανεῖμαι τὸν μάρτυρα. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ στάζον τὸ αἷμα ἐδέξατο, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ λειψάνῳ τετίμησθε· ἀπηλαύσατε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὑμεῖς, ἀπήλαυσαν ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ μαρτυρίου.

εἶδον ἀγωνιζόμενον καὶ νικῶντα καὶ στεφανούμενον ἐκεῖνοι, ἔχετε διηνεκῶς αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς· ὀλίγον ὑμῶν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀπέστησεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ὑμῖν δόξης αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι χρήματα μετὰ τόκων ἀποδιδόασιν ἅπερ ἂν λάβωσιν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν τίμιον τοῦτον θησαυρὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ὀλίγον χρησάμενος χρόνον, καὶ τῇ πόλει δείξας ἐκείνῃ, μετὰ πλείονος ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἀποδέδωκε τῆς λαμπρότητος. ἐξεπέμψατε γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐδέξασθε μάρτυρα· ἐξεπέμψατε μετ' εὐχῶν, καὶ ἐδέξασθε μετὰ στεφάνων· καὶ οὐχ ὑμεῖς δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις. πῶς γὰρ αὐτὰς οἴεσθε διακεῖσθαι, ὁρώσας ἐπαναγόμενον τὸ λείψανον; πόσην καρποῦσθαι ἡδονήν; πόσον ἀγάλλεσθαι; πόσαις εὐφημίαις πάντοθεν βάλλειν τὸν στεφανίτην; καθάπερ γὰρ ἀθλητὴν γενναῖον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς καταπαλαίσαντα ἅπαντας, καὶ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς ἐξελθόντα δόξης ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάμματος, εὐθέως δεχόμενοι οἱ θεαταὶ οὐδ' ἐπιβῆναι τῆς γῆς ἀφιᾶσι, φοράδην ἀπάγοντες οἴκαδε καὶ μυρίοις βάλλοντες ἐγκωμίοις· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τότε ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης αἱ πόλεις ἐξῆς διαδεχόμεναι καὶ ἐπ' ὤμων φέρουσαι μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης παρέπεμπον, ἐγκωμιάζουσαι τὸν στεφανίτην, ἀνυμνοῦσαι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, καταγελῶσαι τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτῷ περιετράπη τὸ σόφισμα, καὶ ὅπερ ἐνόμισε κατὰ τοῦ μάρτυρος ποιεῖν, τοῦτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γέγονε. καὶ τότε μὲν τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας ἐκείνας ὤνησε καὶ ἀνώρθωσεν· ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς παρούσης τὴν ὑμετέραν πλουτίζει πόλιν. καὶ καθάπερ θησαυρὸς διηνεκὴς καθ' ἑκάστην ἀντλούμενος τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλείπων, ἅπαντας τοὺς μετέχοντας εὐπορωτέρους ποιεῖ· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ μακάριος οὗτος Ἰγνάτιος τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένους εὐλογιῶν, παρρησίας, γενναίου φρονήματος, καὶ πολλῆς ἀνδρείας πληρῶν, οἴκαδε ἀποπέμπει. μὴ τοίνυν σήμερον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν βαδίζωμεν, πνευματικοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ δρεπόμενοι καρπούς. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι, τὸν μετὰ πίστεως

ἐνταῦθα παραγινόμενον μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι ἀγαθά· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ σώματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ θῆκαι τῶν ἁγίων πνευματικῆς εἰσι πεπληρωμέναι χάριτος. . . . διὸ παρακαλῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς, εἴτε ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ τίς ἐστιν εἴτε ἐν νόσοις κ.τ.λ. . . . . ἐνταῦθα παραγινέσθω, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀποθήσεται καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπανήξει τῆς ἡδονῆς, κουφότερον τὸ συνειδὸς ἐργασάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας μόνης . . . ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἰδὼν τοῦτον ἀκίνητα ἕξει τὰ καλὰ . . . . ὥστε ἅπασι χρήσιμος ὁ θησαυρός, ἐπιτηδεῖον τὸ καταγώγιον, τοῖς μὲν ἐπταικόσιν ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῶν πειρασμῶν, τοῖς δὲ εὐημεροῦσιν ἵνα βέβαια αὐτοῖς μείνῃ τὰ καλά . . . . . ἅπερ ἅπαντα λογιζόμενοι πάσης τέρψεως, πάσης ἡδονῆς, τὴν ἐνταῦθα προτιμῶσιν διατριβήν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐφραινόμενοι καὶ κερδαίνοντες, καὶ ἐκεῖ σύσκηνοι τοῖς ἁγίοις τούτοις καὶ ὁμοδίαιτοι γενέσθαι δυνηθῶμεν κ.τ.λ.

We have no means of ascertaining the date of this homily. It must however have been delivered during the period of S. Chrysostom's activity as a preacher at Antioch (A.D. 381—398). For the place and day of delivery, and for other matters connected with it, see I. p. 46 sq., II. pp. 378 sq., 385, 416 sq., 430.

The one quotation (*Rom.* 5 *ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων*) in this passage might have been derived from Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 36. On the other hand there are various allusions and coincidences, which indicate an acquaintance with the letters of the saint. Thus the simile of the lyre and its strings (p. 151, l. 8) recals *Ephes.* 4, *Philad.* 1, while that of piloting the ship of the Church (p. 151, l. 31) reminds us of *Polyc.* 2, and that of anointing the athlete (p. 153, l. 23) appears in *Ephes.* 3. Again the mention of the delegacies which attended the saint (p. 153, l. 22) is not explained by anything in Eusebius and betokens a knowledge of the epistles themselves, since the expressions of S. Chrysostom recal the very language of Ignatius (*Rom.* 9). Again the mention of S. Peter and S. Paul as the predecessors of Ignatius in the instruction of the Roman Church (p. 154, l. 25) has its parallel in *Rom.* 4. Again the metaphor of the sunset and sunrise, in connexion with the saint's journey from west to east (p. 154, l. 10), is expressed in language closely resembling the martyr's own (*Rom.* 2 *εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος· καλὸν τὸ δῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς Θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω*). Again

the mention of his lover's passion (ἔρως) for Christ (p. 155, l. 15; comp. p. 150, l. 14, *τῷ θείῳ ζέουσαν ἔρωτι*) seems to be suggested by *Rom.* 7 *ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται*, as wrongly interpreted by Origen (see the note II. p. 222 sq.). Again the reference to the martyr's admonition to the Romans (p. 154, l. 6) *μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ βλεπόμενα* (comp. p. 150, l. 15 *τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα τῶν ὁρωμένων προτιμῶσαν*) is explained by *Rom.* 3 *οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν* (see II. p. 204), though the quotation from 2 Cor. iv. 18, which would make the coincidence with S. Chrysostom's language closer, is an interpolation in the text of Ignatius. Again the language relating to the companionship of the apostles (p. 150, l. 8) has a parallel in *Ephes.* 11, though the application is different; and the desire of Ignatius to tread in the footsteps of the Apostles as mentioned by Chrysostom (p. 155, l. 19) is illustrated by his own language in *Ephes.* 12, *Philad.* 5. With all these coincidences, I am constrained to believe with Pearson (*V. I.* p. 72 sq., 240 sq.) and others (e.g. Lipsius *Syr. Text.* p. 21 sq.) that this homily of S. Chrysostom shows an acquaintance with the Ignatian letters themselves. The opposite view however is maintained by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 33 sq.).

(ii) *Hom. de Anathemate* 3, *Op.* I. p. 693.

Βούλεσθε μαθεῖν οἷά τις ἐφθέγξατο, ἅγιός τις πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῆς διαδοχῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος, ὃς καὶ μαρτυρίου ἠξίωτο, δεικνὺς τούτου τοῦ λόγου τὸ φορτικόν, τοιούτῳ ἐχρήσατο ὑποδείγματι; Ὅν τρόπον ὁ περιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ ἀλογρίδα βασιλικήν, ἰδιώτης τυγχάνων, αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ συνεργήσαντες ὡς τύραννοι ἀναιροῦνται· οὕτως, ἔφη, οἱ τῇ δεσποτικῇ ἀποφάσει χρησάμενοι, καὶ ἀνάθεμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιήσαντες ἄνθρωπον, εἰς παντελῆ ὄλεθρον ἀπάγουσιν ἑαυτούς, τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ ἁρπάζοντες.

The date of this homily seems to be A.D. 386 (see Montfaucon, p. 689). S. Chrysostom is supposed by Baronius to be referring to *Smyrn.* 9 *εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος κ.τ.λ.* (found only in the Long Recension; see II. p. 809), and Montfaucon acquiesces. In this case Chrysostom would afford the earliest testimony to the Long Recension. But Chrysostom's quotation differs widely in its language from this Ignatian passage, and his description of the author will suit any bishop of any church during the three centuries which elapsed from the Apostolic age to his own.

(iii) *Hom. xi in Epist. ad Ephesios* 4, *Op.* XI. p. 86.

Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἅγιος εἶπέ τι δοκοῦν εἶναι τολμηρόν, πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐφθέγξατο. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν· Οὐδὲ

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΙΜΑ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΣΘΑΙ ΕΞΑΛΕΙΦΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ *ἔφησεν κ.τ.λ.*

No name is here mentioned, and the passage does not occur in the genuine Ignatius. Doubtless S. Chrysostom was referring to some one else. A later John of Antioch however, belonging apparently to the twelfth century, ascribes this saying to Ignatius (Cotel. *Mon. Eccl. Graec.* I. p. 176 *τῷ δὲ ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ σκανδαλίσαντι οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου αἷμα κατὰ τὸν θεοφόρον Ἰγνάτιον ἀρκεῖ εἰς συγχώρησιν*: comp. ib. p. 747). This is probably a pure assumption. There is something like the sentiment however in *Hero* 2.

(iv) *Hom. de Legislatore* 4, *Op.* VI. p. 410.

Διὰ τοῦτο γενναῖός τις τῶν ἀρχαίων, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ· οὗτος, ἱερωσύνῃ καὶ μαρτυρίῳ διαπρέψας, ἐπιστέλλων τινὶ ἱερεῖ ἔλεγε· ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΝΕΥ ΓΝΩΜΗΣ ΣΟΥ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΩ, ΜΗΔΕ ΣΥ ΑΝΕΥ ΓΝΩΜΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΙ ΠΡΑΤΤΕ (*Polyc.* 4).

This treatise, though its genuineness is defended by Pearson (*V. I.* pp. 73, 244 sq.), seems to be manifestly spurious. It is rejected by Ussher, as well as by Montfaucon and others. See also the valuable criticism of Churton in his edition of Pearson (*V. I.* p. 247 sq., note). It may belong to the fifth, sixth, or seventh century.

(v) *Hom. de Pseudoprophetis, Op.* VIII. ii. p. 79.

Ποῦ Εὐόδιος, ἡ εὐωδία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διάδοχος καὶ μιμητής; ποῦ Ἰγνάτιος, τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκητήριον;

This treatise also is manifestly spurious; see Montfaucon, p. 72. In the sentence immediately following the writer refers to Dionysius the Areopagite.

24.

CYRILLONAS [A.D. 396].

Metrical Hymns of this Syrian writer are preserved in a MS (*Add.* 14591) in the British Museum, belonging apparently to the end of the 6th century (Wright's *Catalogue* p. 669). One of these relates to the invasion of the Huns (A.D. 396) and was written at the time. It is translated whole (with his other hymns) into German by Bickell *Ausgewählte Gedichte der Syrischen Kirchenväter* etc. (Kempten, 1872) and in part also into Latin by the same in his *Conspectus Rei Syrorum Literariae* (1871) p. 34 sq. On this author see Bickell *Ausgewählte Gedichte* etc. p. 9 sq.

In the passage 'Meridies qui plenus est omnium magnalium tuorum, conceptionis, nativitatis, crucifixionis tuae, e quo aroma vestigiorum tuorum adhuc spirat' (p. 35), this juxtaposition of the three incidents seems to have been suggested by *Ephes.* 19.

25.

Ruffinus [a.d. 402—406].

Historia Ecclesiastica iii. 36.

Quibus temporibus apud Asiam supererat adhuc et florebat ex apostolorum discipulis Polycarpus Smyrnaeorum ecclesiae episcopus, et Papias similiter apud Hierapolim sacerdotium gerens. Sed et in nostra quoque tempora famae celebritate vulgatus Ignatius apud Antiochiam post Petrum secunda successione episcopatum sortitus est. Quem sermo tradidit de Syriae partibus ad urbem Romam transmissum et pro martyrio Christi ad bestias datum: quique cum per Asiam sub custodia navigaret, singulas quasque digrediens civitates, ecclesiae populos evangelicis cohortationibus edocebat in fide persistere et observare se ab haereticorum contagiis, qui tum primum copiosius coeperant pullulare; et ut diligentius et tenacius apostolorum traditionibus inhaererent. Quas traditiones cautelae gratia, et ne quid apud posteros remaneret incerti, etiam scriptas se asserit reliquisse. Denique cum Smyrnam venisset, ubi Polycarpus erat, scribit inde unam epistolam ad Ephesios eorumque pastorem, in qua meminit et Onesimi, et aliam Magnesiae civitati quae supra Maeandrum jacet, in qua et episcopi Dammei mentionem facit. Sed et ecclesiae quae est Trallis scribit, cujus principem tunc esse Polybium designavit. In ea vero quam ad Romanam ecclesiam scribit, deprecatur eos, ne se, tanquam suppliciis suis parcentes, velint spe privare martyrii, et his post aliquanta utitur verbis: *A Syria*, inquit, *Romam usque cum bestiis terra marique depugno, die ac nocte connexus et colligatus decem leopardis, militibus dico ad custodiam datis, qui ex beneficiis nostris saeviores fiunt. Sed ego nequitiis eorum magis erudior; nec tamen in hoc justificatus sum. O salutares bestias quae praeparantur mihi. Quando venient? quando emittentur? quando eis frui licebit carnibus meis? quas et ego opto acriores parari et invitabo ad devorationem mei et deprecabor ne forte, ut in nonnullis fecerunt, timeant contingere corpus meum. Quin imo et si contabuntur, ego vim faciam, ego me ingeram. Date, quaeso, veniam, ego novi quid expediat mihi. Nunc incipio esse discipulus Christi. Facessat invidia vel humani affectus vel nequitiae spiritalis, ut Jesum Christum merear adipisci. Ignes, cruces, bestiae, dispersiones ossium, discerptionesque membrorum, ac totius corporis poenae, et omnia in me unum supplicia diaboli arte quaesita cumulentur, dummodo Jesum Christum merear adipisci.* Haec et multa aliâ his similia ad diversas ecclesias scribit. Sed et ad Polycarpum, velut apostolicum virum, datis literis, Antiochenam ei ecclesiam praecipue

commendat. Ad Smyrnaeos sane scribens, utitur verbis quibusdam, unde assumptis nescimus, quibus haec de salvatore proloquitur: *Ego autem post resurrectionem quoque in carne eum scio fuisse et credo. Nam cum venisset ad Petrum ceterosque, ait eis; Accedite et videte quia non sum daemonium incorporeum. Qui et contingentes eum crediderunt.* Scit autem et Irenaeus martyrium ejus et mentionem facit scriptorum ejus per haec verba: *Sicut dixit, inquam, quidam ex nostris, pro martyrio Christi damnatus ad bestias, Frumentum, inquit, ego sum Dei: bestiarum dentibus molor et subigor, ut panis mundus efficiar Christo.* Sed et Polycarpus horum memoriam facit in epistula quam ad Philippenses scribit per haec verba; *Deprecor,* inquit, *omnes vos obedientiae operam dare et meditari patientiam, quam vidistis in Ignatio et Rufo et Zosimo, beatis viris, praecipue autem in Paulo et ceteris apostolis, qui fuerunt apud vos, scientes quod hi omnes non in vacuum, sed per fidem et justitiam cucurrerunt, usquequo pervenirent ad locum sibi a Domino praeparatum: quoniam quidem passionum ejus participes extiterunt, nec dilexerunt praesens saeculum, sed eum solum qui pro ipsis et pro nobis mortuus est et resurrexit.* Et post pauca subjungit; *Scripsistis mihi et vos et Ignatius, ut si quis vadit ad partes Syriae deferat literas ad vos. Quod faciam, cum tempus invenero. Mittam vobis et Ignatii epistulas et alias, si quae sunt, quae ad nos transmissae sunt, ex quibus utilitatem maximam capiatis. Continent enim de fide et patientia instructionem perfectam secundum Domini praeceptum.* Hactenus de Ignatio. Post hunc rexit ecclesiam civitatis Antiochenae Heros.

This extract has no independent value being a direct translation from Eusebius (see above, p. 138); but it is given here for its adventitious interest, as a main source of the references to Ignatius in later Latin writers.

26.

Theodoret [A.D. 446].

(i) *Epist.* 68, *Op.* IV. p. 1160 (ed. Schulze).

Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὰ τούτων ἡρμηνευκότες συγγράμματα, Ἰγνάτιος, Εὐστάθιος, Ἀθανάσιος, Βασίλειος, Γρηγόριος, Ἰωάννης, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστῆρες· καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνεληλυθότες ἅγιοι πατέρες.

(ii) *Epist.* 145, *Op.* IV. p. 1026.

Εὐστάθιος καὶ Μελέτιος καὶ Φλαβιανὸς τῆς ἀνατολῆς

οἱ φωστῆρες, καὶ Ἐφραὶμ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος λύρα, ὁ τὸ Σύρων ἔθνος ἄρδων ὁσημέραι τοῖς τῆς χάριτος νάμασι, καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀττικός, οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας μεγαλόφωνοι κήρυκες· καὶ οἱ τούτων πρεσβύτεροι, Ἰγνάτιος καὶ Πολύκαρπος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Ἰουστῖνος καὶ Ἱππόλυτος, ὧν οἱ πλείους οὐκ ἀρχιερέων προλάμπουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων διακοσμοῦσι χορόν.

(iii) *Epist.* 151, *Op.* IV. p. 1312.

Ταύτην ὑμῖν τὴν διδασκαλίαν οἱ θεῖοι προφῆται προσήνεγκαν· ταύτην ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων χορός· ταύτην οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἑῴαν καὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν διαπρέψαντες ἅγιοι· Ἰγνάτιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ πολυθρύλλητος, ὁ διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δεξάμενος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίας θηρῶν γενόμενος ἀγρίων βορά.

(iv) *Dialogus* 1, *Immutabilis*, *Op.* IV. p. 49.

Ἐπιδείξω δέ σοι τὸν πανεύφημον τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλον καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου περὶ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως φρόνημα, ἵνα γνῷς τίνα περὶ τῆς ληφθείσης ἐδόξασε φύσεως. ἀκήκοας δὲ πάντως Ἰγνάτιον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τὴν χάριν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιοχέων ἰθύνας τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀνεδήσατο ....

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ μάρτυρος, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους [l. Σμυρναίους] ἐπιστολῆς.

Πεπληροφορημένους ἀληθῶς εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θεότητα καὶ δύναμιν, γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί (*Smyrn.* 1).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, εἴπερ με ἐπαινεῖ τις, τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων τελείως αὐτὸν ἀπήρνηται ὡς νεκροφόρον (*Smyrn.* 5).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Εἰ γὰρ τῷ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, κἀγὼ τῷ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τί δὲ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἔκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ' ὁ ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας, ἐγγὺς Θεοῦ· μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ. πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου, ὧν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται (*Smyrn.* 4).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ ἐκ πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου, ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν καθαρισθῇ (*Ephes.* 18).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Εἴ τι οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες ἐν τῇ χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἑνὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαυείδ, τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Ephes.* 20).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Εἷς ἰατρός ἐστι σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν (*Ephes.* 7).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Τραλλιάνους ἐπιστολῆς.

Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑμῖν (v. l. ἡμῖν) λαλῇ τις, τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαυείδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέ τε καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ

Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανε, βλεπόντων τῶν ἐπιγείων καὶ ἐπουρανίων καὶ καταχθονίων (*Trall.* 9).

(v) *Dialogus* 2, *Inconfusus*, *Op.* IV. p. 127.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ μάρτυρος, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Σμυρναίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα· καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν (*Smyrn.* 3).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ συνέφαγε καὶ συνέπιεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς σαρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρί (*ib.*).

(vi) *Dialogus* 3, *Impatibilis*, *Op.* IV. p. 231.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ μάρτυρος, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Σμυρναίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφορᾶς οὐκ ἀποδέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν (*Smyrn.* 6).

The year given (A.D. 446) is the date of the *Dialogues*.

27.

John of Antioch [A.D. 435].

Epistula ad Proclum, Labb. *Conc.* IV. p. 531 (ed. Coleti).

Etenim apud magnum martyrem Ignatium, qui secundus post Petrum apostolorum primum Antiochenae sedis ordinavit ecclesiam, et apud beatissimum Eustathium, etc.....et apud alios decem millia, ut non singulos percurramus, consona decerptis his capitulis invenimus.

28.

Socrates [c. A.D. 440].

Historia Ecclesiastica vi. 8.

Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς

ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια. Ἰγνάτιος, Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν, ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνούντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὕτη ἡ παράδοσις διεδόθη.

29.

Timotheus of Alexandria [a.d. 457].

(i) *Adv. Diphysitas.*

ܕܛܘܒܢܐ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ܆
ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ.

* * ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܬܬܚܡܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܚܕܐ ܗܘ̇ ܕܐܬܘܗܝ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܡܫ̈ܒܚܢܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܘܙ̈ܡܪܐ܆ ܡܬܚ̈ܠܦܢܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚ̈ܠܦܢܝܐ. ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪܡܙ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ. ܐܦ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܝܬ. ܕܢܦܫ ܢܦܫ. ܘܚܕܬܐ ܠܐܝܕ ܠܐ ܬܬܚܙܐ. ܗܕܐ ܓܝܪ ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܬܬܝܗ̇ ܡܢܝܚܢܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܡܢܗܘܢ.

ܕܠܗ ܒܗ ܕܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ.

ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܕܒܐܝܐ. ܐܠܗܢ ܓܝܪ ܡܫܘܒ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܟܕ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܒܐܒܐ ܬܬܝܪܬ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܠܐ ܦܘܫܐ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܦܫܝܛܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܪܒܘܬܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܕܡܣܝܒܪܢܐ ܐܡܬܝ ܕܡܬܚܡܨܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܬ̈ܪܬܐ ܘܡܦܩܕ ܐܝܟ ܠܟܠܢ: ܕܡܢ ܨܒܝ ܗܠܦ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ. ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܟܠܘܢ.

ܘܒܬܪ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ.

ܛܒ ܠܝ ܕܐܡܘܬ ܡܛܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܘ ܕܐܡܠܟ
ܥܠ ܣܘ̈ܦܝܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܠܗܘ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܡܝܬ
ܚܠܦܝܢ. ܠܗܘ ܪܓܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܗܘ ܕܡܛܠܬܢ ܩܡ. ܡܘܠܕܐ
ܕܝܢ ܣܝܡ ܠܝ. ܫܒܘܩܘ ܠܝ ܐܚ̈ܝ.. ܠܐ ܬܟܠܘܢܢܝ
ܡܢ (ܚ̈ܝܐ.) ܠܐ ܬܨܒܘܢ ܕܐܡܘܬ. ܠܗܘ ܕܨܒܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܬܬܠܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܦܠܐ ܒܗܘܠܐ
ܬܛܥܝܘܢܝܗܝ. ܫܒܘܩܘܢܝ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܐܣܒ. ܟܕ ܠܬܡܢ
ܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܐܗܘܐ. ܐܦܣܘ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܕܡܐ
ܠܚܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ. ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ.
ܢܣܬܟܠ ܗܘ ܡܢܐ ܕܪܓܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܢܚܫ ܥܡܝ. ܟܕ ܚܝ
ܐܟܬܒ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܠܝ ܀

Of the blessed Ignatius, bishop and martyr, from the Epistle to the Smyrneans.

...until they repent to that passion which is our resurrection. Let no man err. Even heavenly things and the glory of angels and principalities, visible and invisible, unless they believe in the blood of Christ that it is of God, there is judgment even for them. He who can receive it, let him receive it. Let not place puff up any one; for all this is faith and charity, than which nothing is more excellent (*Smyrn.* 5, 6).

Of the same, from the Epistle to the Romans.

There is nothing which is seen that is becoming. For our God Jesus Christ, being in the Father, is the more seen. The work is not of persuasion, but the Christian is of greatness when he is hated by the world. I write to all the churches, and charge all men that by my own will I die for God, if it be that ye hinder [*me*] *not* (*Rom.* 3, 4).

And after a few [words].

It is better for me to die for the sake of Jesus Christ than to reign over the ends of the earth. I seek Him who died for us; I desire Him who rose on our account. The birth is appointed for me. Leave me alone, my brethren. Do not hinder me from life: do not desire that I should die. Do not give the world to him who desireth to be God's, neither entice me by any thing material. Leave me to receive the pure light. When I go thither, I shall be

a man. Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God. If any one possess himself in himself, let him understand what I desire, and suffer with me, knowing those things which encompass me (*Rom.* 6).

(ii) *Testimonia Patrum.*

ܕܛܘܒܢܐ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܡܢ
ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܐܦܣܝܐ.

ܐܝܟܘ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܐܝܟܘ ܕܪܘܫܐ. ܐܝܟܘ ܫܘܒܗܪܐ
ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܝܕܘܥܬܢܐ. ܐܠܗܢ ܓܝܪ ܝܫܘܥ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܒܛܢ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ. ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
ܡܢ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܘܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ
ܘܥܡܕ. ܕܠܚܫܐ ܚܫܘܫܐ ܢܕܟܐ. ܘܛܥܝܬܗ ܠܐܪܟܘܢܐ
ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܘܡܘܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܗ:
ܗܟܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ. ܐܦ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢܐ. ܬܠܬܐ ܪܐܙܐ
ܕܩܥܬܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܫܬܩܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܥܒܕܘ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܡܓܢܣܝܐ.

ܚܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܗܘ ܕܓܠܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܝܕ ܝܫܘܥ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ. ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܬܘܡܝܐ.
ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܫܬܩܐ ܢܦܩ. ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܫܦܪ ܠܗܘ
ܕܫܕܪܗ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ.

ܐܦܣܘ ܠܝ ܕܡܬܕܡܝܢܐ ܐܗܘܐ ܕܚܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ.

Of the blessed Ignatius, bishop and martyr, from the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Where is the wise? Where is the disputer? Where is the boasting of those who are called knowing? For our God Jesus Christ was conceived of Mary in the economy of God, of the seed of David, and of the Holy Ghost: who was born and baptized, that He might purify the passible waters. And there deceived the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary, and her child-birth, and in like manner also the death of the Lord; three mysteries of the shout, which were done in the silence of God (*Ephes.* 18, 19).

Of the same, from the Epistle to the Magnesians.

There is one God, who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, who is His eternal Word. He did not proceed from silence: who in every thing pleased Him who sent Him (*Magn.* 8).

Of the same.

Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God (*Rom.* 6).

Timotheus, surnamed Ælurus, properly 'the Cat,' but possibly here 'the Weasel' (Wright's *Catalogue* p. 1051), warmly espoused the Monophysite cause. The date given (A.D. 457) is the year of his accession to the patriarchate of Alexandria. He died A.D. 477, having been an exile during a considerable part of these twenty years. For more respecting him see Tillemont *Mém. Eccl.* XV. p. 782 etc., Le Quien *Oriens Christ.* II. p. 412 sq., Mai *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* VII. 1. p. 277. The fact of his writing against the fathers of Chalcedon is mentioned by Evagrius *H. E.* ii. 10.

Brit. Mus. Add. 12156, among other tracts relating to the Council of Chalcedon, contains these works:

(i) 'Against the Diphysites' by Timotheus. On fol. 1 a is the set of quotations from the *Romans*, as given above.

(ii) 'Many Testimonies of the holy Fathers' etc., apparently collected by the same Timotheus. On fol. 69 a, b, is the other set of quotations (*Ephesians*, *Magnesians*).

A note in the MS states that it was presented to a certain monastery, A.D. 562 (see Cureton *C. I.* p. 353, Wright's *Catalogue* pp. 640, 648). The Syriac version therefore must have been nearly coeval with the writings themselves. The extracts are published and translated by Cureton, *C. I.* pp. 210, 243. Dr Wright has kindly collated Cureton's texts with the Syriac MSS and revised his translations in the case of these and of the other Syriac extracts given in this chapter.

30.

GELASIUS OF ROME [†A.D. 496].

Adv. Eutychen et Nestorium (*Bibl. Patr.* v. iii. p. 671, De la Bigne).

Ignatii episcopi et martyris Antiocheni, ex epistola ad Ephesios; *Unus Medicus est, carnalis et spiritualis, factus et non factus, in homine Deus, in morte vita aeterna, ex Maria et ex Deo, primum passibilis et tunc impassibilis, Dominus noster Jesus Christus* (*Ephes.* 7). Et post pauca, *Singuli*, inquit, *viri communiter omnes ex gratia ex nomine convenite in unam fidem et in uno Jesu Christo, secundum carnem ex genere David, filio hominis et filio Dei* (*Ephes.* 20).

The authorship of this work has been questioned by Baronius, Bellarmin, and others, chiefly on doctrinal grounds (see p. 667, De la Bigne). The arguments of Baronius are discussed in Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.* I. p. 620, s. v. Gelasius. For our purpose the question is not very important, since those who refuse to accept Gelasius the Pope as the author assign it to Gelasius of Caesarea or Gelasius of Cyzicus, who were his contemporaries.

31.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE [c. A.D. 500].

De Divinis Nominibus iv. 12 (I. p. 565, ed. Corder.).

Καίτοι ἔδοξέ τισι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερολόγων καὶ θειότερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης· γράφει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰγνάτιος, Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται (*Rom.* 7).

32.

PHILOXENUS OF HIERAPOLIS [A.D. 485—518].

Epist. ad Patricium (Cureton *Corp. Ign.* pp. 220, 251).

'And Polycarp the disciple of John was burnt with fire, and Ignatius was devoured of beasts.'

This letter of Philoxenus (or Xenaias), Monophysite bishop of the Syrian Hierapolis (Mabug), is contained in the British Museum MSS, *Add.* 14649, *Add.* 14580, and *Add.* 12167; see Wright's *Catalogue* pp. 533, 768, 771. On this writer see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. p. 10 sq. The dates given above are the limits of his episcopate.

33.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH [c. A.D. 513—518].

(i) Cramer's *Catena in Epist. Cathol.* p. 67 (on 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20).

ΣΕΥΗΡΟΥ.....Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὁ θεοφόρος καὶ μάρτυς οὕτω φησί· ΠΩΣ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΥΝΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ ΖΗΣΑΙ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΟΝΤΕΣ, ΤΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΩΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΔΟΚΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ΑΝΕΜΕΝΟΝ, ΠΑΡΩΝ ΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ (*Magn.* 9).

This great Monophysite leader was patriarch of Antioch from A.D. 513 to A.D. 518, in which year he was deposed. The date of his death was somewhere about A.D. 540, a year or two before or after (see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. p. 54). As the teaching of Ignatius seemed to favour Monophysite doctrine, he is frequently quoted by Severus.

The title of the work to which this extract belonged is not given; but quotations from commentaries of Severus on the Scriptures are not rare in the Greek *Catenae*. It is the only quotation of Severus from Ignatius extant in the Greek. The others are preserved in Syriac versions of his works.

(ii) *Adv. Joannem Grammaticum.*

ܕܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܡܢ
ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ.

ܐܦܣܘ ܠܝ ܕܐܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܚܢܐ ܕܢܝܚܘܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ⁘
ܡܫܬܒܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ: ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܘ ܘܒܥܝܢ
ܗܒܢܐ. ܐܦܣܘ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܠܒܝܢܐ ܐܗܘܐ ܕܢܝܚܘܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܦܘܠܘܩܪܦܘܣ.

ܒܙ̈ܒܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ. ܠܗܘ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ
ܫܒܐ. ܠܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܙܒܢܐ. ܠܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ. ܠܗܘ
ܕܡܛܠܬܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ. ܠܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܬܓܫܫܢܐ. ܠܗܘ ܠܐ
ܚܫܘܫܐ. ܠܗܘ ܕܡܛܠܬܢ ܚܫܘܫܐ. ܠܗܘ ܕܒܟܠܙܢ
ܡܛܠܬܢ ܣܝܒܪ. ⁘ ⁘

ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܐܦܣܝ̈ܐ.

ܟܕ ܐܫܬܠܗܒܬܘܢ ܒܕܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܠܥܒܕܐ ܓܘܢܐ
ܕܟܝܢܢ ܓܡܝܪܐܝܬ ܫܡܠܝܬܘܢ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܒܡܓܢܝܣܝܐ.

ܚܕܐ ܕܠܡܐܡܪ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ
ܒܪܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܐ:
ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܕܫܘܒ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܗܘ
ܕܩܕܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܡ ܐܒܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ: ܘܒܫܘܠܡܐ
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ܢܒܝ̈ܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܠܗܝ̈ܐ. ܒܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܝܘ. ܡܛܠ
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ܠܐ ܡܬܥܠܝܢܝܬ ܘܡܪܓܫܢܝܬ ܡܬܠܠܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܫܝܬ.
ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܫܦܪ ܠܐܒܘܗ̇. ܒܕ ܫܠܡܝ ܟܠܗ̇ ܡܬܡܨܝܢܘܬܐ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܒܕ ܕܝܠܗ̇. ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܣܝܐ.

ܐܡܬܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ:
ܐܝܟ ܕܠܫܘܒ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܬܚܝܒܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܝ: ܕܠܘ
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ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܛܠܬܟܘܢ ܡܝܬ. ܕܒܕ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܡܘܬܗ.
ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܬܡܘܬܘܢ ܬܥܪܩܘܢ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܒܕ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢܗ̇ ܒܕ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ.

ܐܢܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܠܗ: ܗܢܘ
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ܠܡܪܢܐ. ܥܪܘܩܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܥܝܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ: ܕܝܠܕܢ
ܦܐܪܐ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ: ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܢ ܢܛܥܡ ܠܗ ܐܢܫ.
ܡܚܕܐ ܡܐܬ.

ܕܝܠܗ ܒܕ ܕܝܠܗ̇ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܣܡܘܪܢܝܐ.

ܡܫܒܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ: ܗ̇ܘ ܕܗܟܢܐ

ܠܗܘܢ ܢܓܕ. ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܒܪ. ܕܠܡܫܚܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ
ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ
ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܝܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܒܒܣܪ
ܘܒܪܘܚ. ܘܡܫܪܪܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܒܕܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܘܫܪܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܡܪܢ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܓܢܣܐ
ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܒܣܪ. ܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܨܒܝܢܐ ܘܒܚܝܠܐ
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ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ ܘܒܕ ܦܢܛܝܘܣ ܘܗܪܘܕܣ ܛܛܪܪܟܐ
ܐܬܨܠܒ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܒܒܣܪ. ܕܡܢܗ ܕܦܐܪܐ ܐܢܚܢ ܚܢܢ.
ܡܢ ܚܫܗ ܛܘܒܬܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܪܝܡ ܐܬܐ
ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܒܝܕ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܠܩܕܝܫܘܗܝ ܘܠܡܗܝܡܢܘܗܝ. ܐܢ
ܒܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܐܢ ܒܥܡܡܐ ܒܚܕ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ.
ܗܠܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܚܫ ܡܛܠܬܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܦܪܩ. ܘܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ
ܚܫ ܐܦ ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ ܐܩܝܡ ܗܘ ܠܗ.

Of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and martyr, from the Epistle to the Romans.

Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God. But it is found in other copies, which are more ancient than these, thus: *Permit ye me to be a disciple of the suffering of my God* (*Rom.* 6).

Of the same, from the Epistle to Polycarp.

Be observant of the times. Expect Him who is above the times, Him who is without times, Him invisible, Him who for our sakes became visible, Him impalpable, Him without suffering, Him who for our sakes became subject to suffering, Him who for our sakes endured in every manner (*Polyc.* 3).

Of the same, from the Epistle to the Ephesians.

When ye were inflamed in the blood of God, ye perfectly accomplished a deed of like kind (*Ephes.* 1).

Of the same, from the Epistle to those who are in Magnesia.

Take care to do every thing, the bishop sitting in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the session of the Apostles, who are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ; who before the worlds was with the Father, and in the end was manifested (*Magn.* 6).

Of the same, from the same Epistle.

For the divine prophets lived in Jesus Christ: on this account, they were also persecuted, who by His grace were inspired with the Spirit, so that they who were not persuaded might be persuaded, that there is one God who revealed Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word, who proceeded from silence, who in every thing pleased Him who sent Him (*Magn.* 8).

That He *proceeded from silence* is, that He was ineffably begotten of the Father, and so as that no word, be it what it may, can comprehend, or mind. Therefore it is just that He should be honoured in silence, and not that His divine and unprecedented birth should be enquired into: who, having this exaltation, for our sakes became man, not convertibly, but truly, and in every thing pleased the Father when He fulfilled the obedience for us.

Of the same, from the Epistle to the Trallians.

For when ye are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye seem to me not to be living as men, but as Jesus Christ: who for our sakes died, that believing in His death ye may flee from this that ye are to die (*Trall.* 2).

Of the same, from the same Epistle.

But if, like men who are without God, that is, do not believe, they say that in supposition He suffered, when they themselves are in supposition, I, why am I bound? Why then do I also pray that I may contend with beasts? In vain then do I die. I belie therefore the Lord. Flee therefore from evil branches which engender fruits that bear death, which if a man taste he dies immediately (*Trall.* 10, 11).

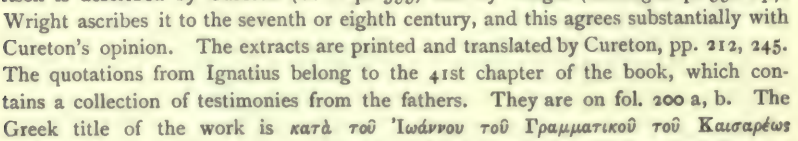
Of the same, from the Epistle to the Smyrneans.

I praise Jesus Christ God, who has thus made you wise. For I knew that ye were perfect in faith immovable, as if ye were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, in flesh and in spirit, and ye are confirmed in love in the blood of Christ; and it is confirmed to you that our Lord in truth is of the race of David in the flesh, but the Son of God by the will and the

power of God, who was born in truth of the Virgin, who was baptized of John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him. Truly before Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch He was nailed for us in the flesh, of which fruit we are, from His suffering divinely blest, in order that He may raise a sign to eternity by His resurrection for His saints and His believers, whether among the Jews or among the Gentiles, in one body of His church. For all these things He suffered for our sakes, in order that we might be saved; and truly He suffered, truly also He raised himself (*Smyrn.* 1, 2).

Brit. Mus. Add. 12157, containing the third book of this work, which consists of 42 chapters, in a Syriac version. The work is there entitled 'The writing of the holy Mar Severus, patriarch of Antioch, against the wicked Grammaticus.' The MS itself is described by Cureton (*C. I.* p. 355) and by Wright (*Catalogue* p. 550 sq.). Wright ascribes it to the seventh or eighth century, and this agrees substantially with Cureton's opinion. The extracts are printed and translated by Cureton, pp. 212, 245. The quotations from Ignatius belong to the 41st chapter of the book, which contains a collection of testimonies from the fathers. They are on fol. 200 a, b. The Greek title of the work is κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ τοῦ Καισαρέως (Fabric. l. c. p. 617). It was a reply to a book written by this John in defence of the Council of Chalcedon and directed against Timotheus (Anastas. *Hodeg.* 6, p. 102 sq., ed. Migne).

(iii) *Abbrev. adv. Joann. Grammaticum.*



Of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and martyr, from the Epistle to the Romans.

Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering [*of*] *my God* (*Rom.* 6).

Of the same, after some other [words], from the Epistle to the Ephesians.

When ye were inflamed in the blood of God, ye perfectly accomplished a deed of like kind (*Ephes.* 1).

Brit. Mus. Add. 14629. This MS, which is described by Wright (*Catalogue* p. 754), commences with the concluding portion (iii. 39—42) of an abridgement of the last-mentioned work, the treatise against Joannes Grammaticus. It is ascribed by Cureton (*C. I.* p. 357) to the 7th or 8th century, and by Wright (l. c.) to the 8th or 9th. In the part corresponding to the above passage from the larger work is the same quotation, *Rom.* 6. The variation 'my God' for 'of my God' (the omission of ܕ) must be ascribed to the accident or caprice of transcription. The Monophysite purpose of Severus in quoting Ignatius is entirely defeated by the change. It will have appeared from what has been said that this extract has no value as independent testimony, being derived from the last.

(iv) *Homiliae Cathedrales.*

(a) *Hom.* 37.

ܥܠ ܪܒܐ ܒܣܝܠܝܘܣ ܘܥܠ ܬܐܘܠܘܓܘܣ ܓܪܝܓܘܪܝܘܣ.
ܐܬܐܡܪܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܓܢܐܛܝܘܣ.

ܗܟܢܐ ܒܨܒܝܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܣܗ̈ܕܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ
ܦܪ̈ܝܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܟܘܪ̈ܣܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܒܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܗܢܐ ܐܣܝܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܠܒܝܫ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܓܢܐܛܝܘܣ
ܛܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘ ܠܡܥܪܒ
[marg. ܠܡܛܒܥ] ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܠܡܕܢܚ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܡܛܠܗܕܐ ܐܦ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ:
ܠܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܟܢܫܝܢ ܚܢܢ ܠܟܘܢ.
ܘܠܡܩ̈ܠܣܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܚܢܢ ܒܡܠܬܐ. ܟܕ ܠܡܠܦܢܐ
ܡܢܩܪܝܢ ܟܕ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ: ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ ܥܒܕ
ܪ̈ܚܡܘܬܗ ܡܠܝܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ.

On Basil the Great and on Gregory Theologus. But it was delivered in the church of the martyr the holy Ignatius.

Thus in their will they seemed martyrs, for they were not held by their seats, neither were they bound by the pleasures of this world. Since then they emulated the God-clad Ignatius, they said, *It is good to set from the world and to rise in Christ* (*Rom.* 2). For this reason we have assembled you in this his house, the house of prayer, for the commemo-

ration of these saints; and we have proceeded in the discourse to their praises, honouring the teacher through his disciples, who well imitated his pastorate which was full of his sufferings.

(b) *Hom.* 65.

ܒܐܓܘܢܐ. ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܒܥܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܘܬܐ. ܐܠܗܐ
ܓܝܪ ܢܨܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܡܠܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ: ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ
ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܠܛܢܐܝܬ ܐܬܚܫܒܘ: ܘܐܝܟܠܠ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܘܚܫ
ܒܚܫܪ. ܕܗ ܐܒܘܪܬܐ ܒܝܕܗ ܕܗܢܝܟܪܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ
ܘܢܘܡܘܣܐܪܚܢܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܡܦܣܡܢܐ: ܘܡܬܬܘܠܐ ܠܐ
ܐܠܗܝܬ ܒܫܘܬ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܡܦܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܓܝܪ̈ ܕܚܝܐ.
ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܗܘ ܠܐ ܚܘܫܒܐ: ܐܦ ܡܕܒܪܢܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ
ܡܫܡܪܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܫܢܝܐ: ܕܗ ܡܦܩܗܐ ܠܒܘܩܗܐ
ܕܡܫܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܒܠ ܘܕܣܦܝܬܐ ܀ ܘܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܗܘ
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ: ܐܦܝܣܘ ܠܝ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܚܝܐ
ܕܐܠܗܝ ܀

† ܕܗܢܐ ܠܡܕܒܪ ܐܦ ܗܘܢܐ. ܕܠܘ ܠܢܘܪܐ ܦܫܝܛܐܝܬ
ܦܢܐ ܕܗܒܐ ܐܝܓܢܛ: ܐܠܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܦܩܕܝܢ
ܒܘܩܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܪܘܚ ܘܡܫܘܕܥ ܡܫܡܫܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܕܝܠ
ܠܐ ܦܢܒ: ܕܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ: ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܦܕܫ ܥܠ ܬܠܠܐ
ܘܥܠ ܓܘܡܪܐ ܘܫܬܩܐ ܘܡܫܚܘܢ ܡܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܫܠܕܒܒܐ:
ܠܦܘܬ ܬܘܒ ܘܫܘܕܥܐ ܕܦܕܫ ܚܝܘ. ܗܘ ܕܦܢܐ ܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܦܘܪܣܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܦܢܐ: ܕܗܘ ܗܘ
ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܦܪܘܫ ܢܕܒ.

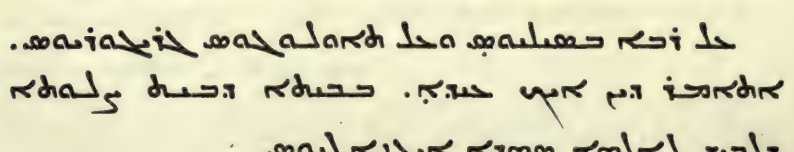
On the holy Basil and Gregory; but a few additional words are spoken towards the end of it also respecting the God-clad Ignatius.

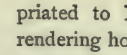
In the same manner also the God-clad Ignatius, who now has set before us this spiritual banquet in his house, which is the house of prayer, and who rejoices in the praiseworthy virtues of his disciples, was appropriately named Ignatius from facts, because he foreknew things future; for any one who is only moderately acquainted with the language of the Romans knows that *Nurono*, that is, Fiery, as we also say, was derived from hence; for the Romans call the fire which is

lighted up and blazing, *Ignem**. Who then is he that has in himself the flame, that is to say, the lamp of divine love, and is inflamed by the desire to suffer for Christ? The same who also in writing to the Romans said: *Fire and beasts and ten thousand sorts of torments, let them come upon me, only may I be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ* (*Rom.* 5). And since he had this within him for Him who was beloved, which is also wonderful, on this account also he cried, *From within he saith to me, Come thou to my Father* (*Rom.* 7). Not only then in the similarity[1] of the name, which, commencing with God, was appropriated to Basil and Gregory, did they resemble Ignatius, but also in the strenuous stand for the truth, in boldness of speech, in contests, in sufferings, in the harmony of preaching. For they knew God, and taught the Word of God who without conversion was made flesh and was crucified for us and suffered in the flesh; while they little heeded the Simonian and Nestorian advocacy, which is blinded and offended unholily at the suffering of the Godhead; for they were persuaded that the suffering did not touch that impassible one, although by way of the economy as one made flesh and made man He would be in sufferings when He was astonied at the sting of death which is against us, and of sin. And Ignatius indeed said, *Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God* (*Rom.* 6).

* 'It is right to know also here that the Romans do not call fire simply *Ignem;* but those fires which are kindled on elevated places, and show the signal of something which is not yet near; for example, such as those which are kindled upon hills and upon heights, and blaze and show the approach of enemies, according to a compact and sign prearranged, which the Greeks call πυρσος: for this reason the teacher [i.e. Severus] says, *Because he foreknew things future.*'

(c) *Hom.* 84.



[1] This is Cureton's rendering; and if it be correct, the reference is apparently to the words θεοφόρος, θεολόγος, though the latter was not so specially appropriated to Basil as to Gregory. This rendering however requires a slight emendation in the Syriac text as printed by Cureton from the MS, 

ܕܝܘܣ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܠܡܬܚܫܒ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܝ ܘܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܫܐ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܡܛܠ ܕܣܓܝ ܡܠܝܢ ܚܣܝܪ ܠܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܣܝܪ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܒܫ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܘܗܟܢܐ ܢܫܪܐ ܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܪܫܢ ܘܡܪܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܣܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܫ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܨܠܘܬܐ ܒܓܘ ܕܪܫܝܡ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܕܣܗܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܠܗ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

On Basil the Great, and on Gregory Theologus. But it was delivered according to custom in the interior of the house of prayer of the God-clad martyr Ignatius.

And they fixed their view towards heaven like the God-clad Ignatius, and looked for the excellent things which are above, and were stedfast, and dwelt with bodyless spirits, and were out of the flesh even when in the flesh. Take for me, as a proof of these things, the words of him who as in reality had put on God; *For I say, not because I am bound and am able to understand the heavenly things, and the places of angels, and the stations of principalities, visible, to wit, and invisible, from this am I already a disciple; for many things are lacking to us, so that we may not be lacking of God* (*Trall.* 5).

Let us therefore, since Christ is our head and master, and not man, as He says in the Gospels, be prepared for the kingdom of Heaven: like the saying of the martyr Ignatius, *So that we may not be altogether lacking of God*, to whom praise is meet for ever and ever. Amen.

Brit. Mus. Add. 12159, containing a Syriac version, mutilated in parts, of the *Epithronian* or *Enthroniastic Sermons* (λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι or ἐνθρονιαστικοί) of Severus, so called because they were delivered by him from the patriarchal chair (A.D. 513—518). On the nature of this work see Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* x. p. 617, ed. Harles, Mai *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* IX. p. 725, Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. pp. 494, 570 sq., Wright's *Catalogue* p. 534 sq. It is divided into three books, containing Hom. 1—43, 44—90, 91—125, respectively.

These sermons were twice translated into Syriac (see above p. 25). Large portions of both versions are extant in the Nitrian MSS of the Vatican and the British Museum. Our MS contains the later version, made by Jacob of Edessa, A.D. 701, to whom the note on *Hom.* 65 is due. The colophon giving the date of the MS is mutilated, but enough can be deciphered to fix the year of writing to A.D. 868 (Wright's *Catalogue* p. 545). On these homilies, delivered in the Church of S. Ignatius on the day of SS. Basil and Gregory, see above, I. pp. 24 sq., 48, and below, II. p. 419 sq. The extracts relating to Ignatius are given and translated by Cureton (*C. I.* pp. 215 sq., 247 sq.).

(v) *Epistulae Severi et Juliani.*

ܥܒܝܕܐ. ܒܓܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܒܡܘܬܐ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܘܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܠܘܩܕܡ ܚܫܘܫܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܐ
ܚܫܘܫܐ. ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ.

Also Ignatius, in whom Christ dwelt and spake even as in Paul, and from this he was named the God-clad: for he wrote to the Ephesians after this manner. Ignatius:

Ignorance was dissipated, the ancient kingdom was destroyed, when God was manifested [*as*] *man for the renewal of life without end: and that which was perfect with God took a beginning. From hence every thing was moved at once, because the destruction of death was prepared* (*Ephes.* 19).

But also Ignatius, the God-clad and martyr, in writing to the Ephesians, teaches that Christ, in that He was passible, that is, in the flesh, after the trial of sufferings and of death was at the last impassible: when still, in that He was always God, He was also always impassible. But he speaks thus. Ignatius:

There is one physician, carnal and spiritual, made and not made, amongst men God, in death true life, both from Mary and from God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord (*Ephes.* 7).

Brit. Mus. Add. 17200. 'This volume is written in a neat current hand of about the 7th century and contains the correspondence of Severus of Antioch and Julian of Halicarnassus on the Corruptibility or Incorruptibility of the Body of Christ' (Wright's *Catalogue* p. 554). It was translated by Paul of Callinicus, a contemporary of Severus (see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. p. 46). The extracts from Ignatius are contained in a reply of Severus (fol. 32 a), and are given and translated by Cureton (*C. I.* pp. 218, 249).

(vi) *Refutationes Capitulorum Juliani.*

ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܠܒܝܫ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ
ܘܪܝܫܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ
ܐܦܣ̈ܝܐ. ܕܡܠܠ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܚܫܘܫܐ
ܒܒܣܪ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܫܘܫܐ.
ܚܕ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܣܝܐ ܒܣܪܢܝܐ ܘܪܘܚܢܝܐ. ܥܒܝܕܐ
ܘܠܐ ܥܒܝܕܐ. ܒܓܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܒܡܘܬܐ ܚܝ̈ܐ

ܡܢ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܣܗܕܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ.

Of the holy Ignatius, the God-clad, martyr and archbishop of Antioch, from the Epistle to the Ephesians: who teaches that Christ was first passible in the flesh, and then impassible.

There is one physician, carnal and spiritual, made and not made, amongst men God, in death true life, from Mary and from God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord (*Ephes.* 7).

Brit. Mus. Add. 14529 (Cureton *C. I.* pp. 218, 249). On fol. 26 a sq. are 'The Eight Chapters of Julian of Halicarnassus with refutations' (Wright's *Catalogue* p. 919). 'The author is probably Severus,' writes Cureton (p. 358). What may be the relation of this work to the last, I do not know. There is mention of a *κατὰ τῶν προσθηκῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ σύγγραμμα* among the works of Severus (Fabric. x. p. 618). The Ignatian extract (*Ephes.* 7) appears on fol. 37 b. It is the same as in the previous work, and in the same words (except *καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας* for *ἐκ Μαρίας*). Cureton (p. 358) ascribes the MS to 'the end of the 6th or the 7th century,' Wright to 'the 7th or 8th century.'

(vii) *Contra Codicillos Alexandri.*

ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܩܕܝܫ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܣܗܕܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ: ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܩܕܝܫ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܣܗܕܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ: ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܩܕܝܫ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܣܗܕܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ: ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܩܕܝܫ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܣܗܕܐ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ:

[1] A ܡܫܝܚܐ without ܐ. [2] B ܠܐ ܣܗܕܐ.

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܡܠܐ[1] ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ∴ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܗ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܟܣ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܟܣ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܦ[2] ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܟܣ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܟܣ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ ∴ ܠܟ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܟܣ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ

But Ignatius, who was in truth God-clad and martyr, who saw the ineffable mysteries, if ever any man did, so that he could even put himself forward and say of himself—and this with a humble mind—*For I too, not because I am bound and am able to understand heavenly things, and the setting of the angelic places, and the princely hosts, things visible also and invisible, because of this, lo, am I a disciple*; [this Ignatius, I say,] when writing to those at Magnesia says thus: *For the divine prophets lived in Jesus Christ. Because of this they were also persecuted, being inspired by His grace, in order that the incredulous might be persuaded that there is one God, who hath revealed Himself through Jesus Christ His Son.* And a little after [he says]: *How can we live apart from Him, whom the prophets too, since they were His disciples in spirit, were expecting as a teacher? And because of this, He whom they were justly awaiting, when He came, raised them up from the dead.*

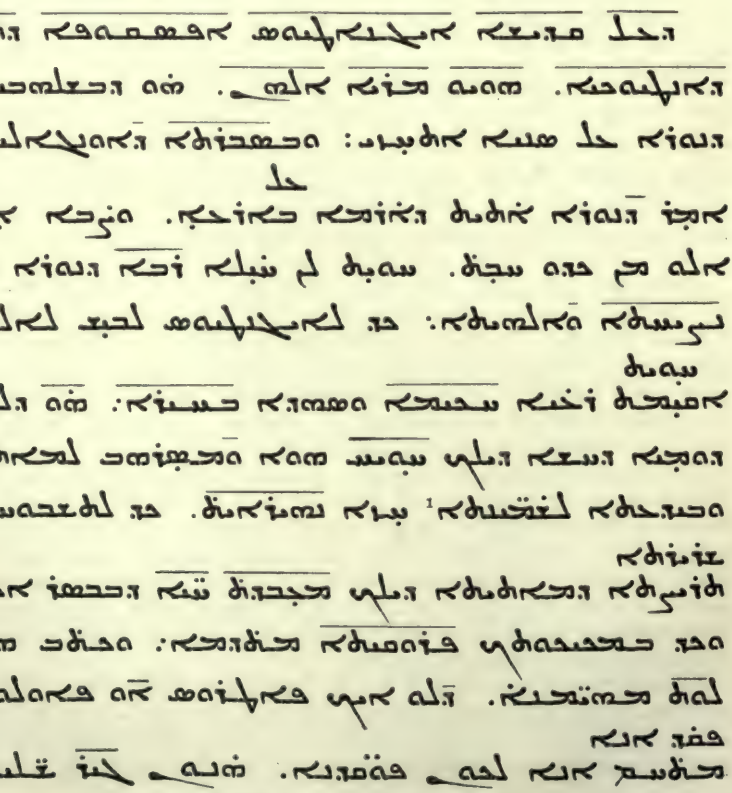
Brit. Mus. Add. 14533. An account of the Ignatian quotations which this MS contains is given by Land *Anecd. Syr.* I. p. 32 sq., II. 7 sq. They were overlooked by Cureton. On fol. 42 b (formerly 33 b) begins an extract entitled 'Of the holy Severus from the writings against the Codicils of Alexander.' The Greek title of this work is κατὰ Κωδικίλλων Ἀλεξάνδρου συντάγματα (Fabric. X. p. 608). In this extract the Ignatian quotations occur, which are given by Land. The same extract is found in another MS, *Brit. Mus. Add.* 12155, fol. 56 b (see Wright's *Catalogue* pp. 929, 969). The MS 14533 is ascribed by Wright (p. 967) to the 8th or 9th century, and by Cureton (*Spicil. Syr.* p. 98, where he gives a fragment of Melito from it) to 'about the 7th or 8th century.' Prof. Wright assigns the other MS, *Add.* 12155, to the 8th century (p. 921). He has re-transcribed the text for me and given an English translation. In the second and third lines Land's rendering has been retained, though not the natural rendering of the Syriac, which yields no adequate sense. There is perhaps some corruption in the Syriac text. The two MSS, *Add.* 14533, *Add.* 12155, are designated A, B, respectively in the notes.

After some remarks of Severus himself, suggested by these extracts, follows a quotation, '*Of the same from the Letter to Anastasia the Deaconess.*' Land in his first volume had not stated, and apparently had not noticed, that the whole preceding passage, containing the Ignatian quotation, was taken from Severus; but he did

[1] B ܠܥܠ. [2] B om. ܕܐܦ.

caution his readers against supposing that Ignatius was intended by this 'same' person, adding that the mode of writing and form of quotation showed it to be an extract from the later father who cited Ignatius, and not from Ignatius himself (p. 35). Merx however (*Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theol.* 1867, x. p. 96), disregarding this evidence, asserted that the pseudo-Ignatian literature was thus enriched by another epistle hitherto unknown. In his second volume (p. 7 sq.) Land pointed out that the previous extract was stated to have come from Severus, and that from the whole complexion of the MS the letter to Anastasia must also have been written by Severus. The evidence was complete, when Wright noticed that in the MS *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14601, fol. 115 b, the very same passage from the beginning of the Letter to Anastasia is quoted under the name of Severus of Antioch (see *Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theol.* 1868, XI. p. 468). In fact a conclusive answer might have been given without applying to these more recently accessible sources of information, for a letter to Anastasia the deaconess is mentioned among the works of Severus in Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 618, and in Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* x. p. 619 (ed. Harles).

(viii) *Hymnus in Ignatium.*



[1] *Add.* 18816 has ܠܥܩܣܢܐ.

ܥܠ ܡܪ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܛܝܘܟ. ܠܚܢ ܗܘ ܡܪܢ ܐܠܗܢ.

ܐܝܟ ܒܠܗܒܬܐ ܒܣܢܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܒܢܘܪ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܒ[ܣ]ܒܪ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܝܟ ܒܫܘܪܐ ܕܐܫ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܕܗܫ ܐܬܩܕ ܘܐܝܟ ܒܓܠܝܐ ܕܫܘܠܡܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܢ ܚܝܠ ܗܘ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܒܕ ܐܩܝܡ ܐܢܬ ܠܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܪܥܝܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܘܒܪܗܛܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܠܕܡܘܬ ܚܫܒܢܟ ܘܒܕܥܬܐ ܚܙܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܡܟ ܫܡܝܢܝ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܠܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܡܠ ܒܡܟܝܟܘܬܟ ܘܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܢܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܦܩܕܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܕܢ ܒܥܐ ܕܒܨܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܠܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܢܗܒ ܠܢ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܠܗ ܒܫܘܪܐ ܕܐܫ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܕܗܫ ܐܬܩܕ ܘܐܝܟ ܒܓܠܝܐ ܕܫܘܠܡܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܢ ܚܝܠ ܗܘ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܒܕ ܐܩܝܡ ܐܢܬ ܠܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܪܥܝܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܘܒܪܗܛܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܠܕܡܘܬ ܚܫܒܢܟ ܘܒܕܥܬܐ ܚܙܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܡܟ ܫܡܝܢܝ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܠܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܡܠ ܒܡܟܝܟܘܬܟ ܘܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܢܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܦܩܕܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܕܢ ܒܥܐ ܕܒܨܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܠܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܢܗܒ ܠܢ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܠܗ

On the holy Ignatius, the second bishop of Antioch. [To the tune of] *He is the Lord our God.*

Thou who didst show Thyself in the flame of fire on the bush, and in [the preaching of] the Gospel didst say, *I came to cast fire in* (*upon*) *the earth, and I would it were already kindled;* Thou hast shown unto us the [great] power of that [glorious and] divine fire, when Thou didst raise up (show) the God-clad Ignatius, the [wise] shepherd and [proven] martyr, who was [eager and] in haste to come unto the likeness of Thy passion, and by knowledge [clearly] saw heavenly things, when he proclaimed the right (true) belief* of Thy [life-working] advent which is in the flesh, and when he was imitating Thy humility [as Saviour], and was writing unto the believers, *Not as Peter or Paul do I define* (*order*) *for you orders;* [*for*] *they were* [*chosen*] *apostles, but I am* [*a man*] *condemned.* By [means of] his prayers, Lord, [we beg,] give us a contrite [and humble] heart, and that burneth with the [ardent] zeal of faith.

* As ὀρθόδοξος is rendered by ܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ, it appears that ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ = ὀρθοδοξία.

Brit. Mus. Add. 17134 has been already described (p. 91), as containing Hymns of Severus translated by Paul of Callinicus, among which is one (fol. 48 a) in honour of Ignatius. It is also found in another MS, *Add.* 18816 (see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 339 sq.). The former MS contains two notes omitted in the latter, which only gives references. The first note gives the passages of Exodus and S. Luke to which the text refers; the second gathers together passages from Ignatius to the *Romans*, which illustrate the hymn. These passages are printed below, II. p. 686. The notes were presumably added by Jacob of Edessa, whose autograph this MS may perhaps be. The scribe has distinguished carefully between the words of the author (Severus) and those which were added by the translator for the sake of the rhythm, writing the former with black ink, the latter with red paint. These latter are marked in the transcript here given with an upper line. Wherever the translator deviates at all from the original, likewise for the sake of the rhythm, a more literal rendering is inserted in smaller characters between the lines. In the English version here given the additions of the translator are placed between [ ], and the interlinear literal renderings between ( ).

This hymn is here printed for the first time. Assemani however (*Bibl. Apost. Vat. Catal.* II. p. 505) gives an extract containing the quotation from the epistle to the Romans from a Vatican MS. The text was transcribed and the hymn translated for me by Prof. W. Wright.

34.

Anonymous Syriac Writers [after A.D. 500].

The Syriac quotations which follow are very miscellaneous. They occur for the most part in volumes of extracts, chiefly Monophysite. These extracts have not necessarily been taken in all cases directly from the authors by the compiler himself, but are often derived at second-hand through some previous writer who quoted them. This being so, as the works of Timotheus and Severus had been already translated into Syriac, we may expect to find the Ignatian extracts which they give reproduced in these later compilations. This consideration will account for the fact that, even in the same volume, we meet with quotations which closely resemble the Syriac Version of the Ignatian Epistles side by side with others which have much nearer affinities to the same passages as they appear in the Syriac translations of the Greek Monophysite fathers. The dates of these collections of extracts are uncertain. But as they belong chiefly to the period during which the Monophysite controversy was at its height, they may be conveniently placed here.

(i) *Demonstrationes Patrum* [Anon. Syr.$_1$].

(*a*)

(*b*)

(*c*) ܡܢ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܠܓܒܝ ܐܓܓܪܬܗ ܕܐܦܣܣ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܬܦ ܒܗ ܒܕܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܨܠܒܐ ܘܒܩܝܡܬܗ ܐܦ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܥܒܕ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܬܐ ܘܒܬܪ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܦ ܐܝܣܘܣ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܐܚܝܕ ܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܒܟܠ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܒܟܠ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

(*a*) Of the holy Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and martyr, from the Epistle to the city of Philadelphia.

Do not err, my brethren: he who cleaveth to him that rendeth the church doth not inherit the kingdom of God (*Philad.* 3).

(*b*) Of the holy Ignatius Theophorus, from the epistle which he wrote to the church which is in Asia.

Let no man err: even heavenly beings and the glory of the angels and principalities visible and invisible, unless they believe in the blood of Christ who is God, there is judgment even for them (*Smyrn.* 6).

Again of the same, from the Epistle to the Ephesians.

For there is one physician, carnal and spiritual, made and not made, in man God, in death true life, from Mary and from God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord (*Ephes.* 7).

(*c*) Of the holy Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and martyr, from his Epistle to the Smyrneans.

I warn you of evil men, who are beasts and possess only the form of men, that not only is it not right that you should receive them, but if it be possible ye should not even meet them, but only pray for them, that they may repent, which is difficult, but Jesus Christ hath the power over this (*Smyrn.* 4).

Brit. Mus. Add. 12155, 'A volume of Demonstrations from the holy Fathers against various heresies'; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 921 sq., Cureton *C. I.* p. 358. The probable date of this MS according to Wright (p. 954) is A. Gr. 1058=A.D. 747.

The Ignatian quotations occur as follows. (1) *Philad.* 3, on fol. 111 a (Wright p. 937). This must have been taken from the Syriac Version, for it closely resembles S_1,

e.g. in rendering *σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ* by 'adhaeret ei qui scindit ecclesiam.' (2) *Smyrn.* 6, on fol. 168 b (Wright p. 946). This is obviously taken from the quotation of Timotheus (see above p. 166), with which it agrees almost *verbatim*. (3) *Ephes.* 7, also on fol. 168 b. This strongly resembles the quotation in Severus; but, as the translation is strictly literal, the coincidence is not conclusive. (4) *Smyrn.* 4, on fol. 262 a (Wright p. 954), a somewhat paraphrastic rendering which has no affinities with the Syriac Version as represented by the Armenian. Besides these, there is on fol. 56 a (Wright p. 929) the passage of Severus containing the quotations from *Magnesians*, which are given above p. 182 sq.

(ii) *Adv. Nestorianos* [Anon. Syr.$_2$].

(*a*)

(*b*)

(*c*)

(*a*) And again the blessed Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, who was the second after Peter the Apostle, he also spake thus in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Ignatius:

But there deceived the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary and her child-birth, and in the same manner also the death of our Lord (*Ephes.* 19).

(*b*) Of the holy Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, who was the second after the Apostles, from the Epistle to the Romans.

Permit ye me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God (*Rom.* 6).

And again he said,

My spirit boweth down to thy cross, which is an offence to those who do not believe, but to us for salvation and for eternal life (*Ephes.* 18).

(*c*) For the holy Ignatius, the disciple of the holy Apostles, said;
He who honoureth the priest honoureth Christ.

Brit. Mus. Add. 14535. This volume begins with a treatise against the Nestorians by some Monophysite writer; see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 796 sq., Cureton *C. I.* p. 359. Wright assigns this MS to the earlier part of the ninth century. For the Ignatian quotations see Cureton *C. I.* pp. 219, 250, Wright p. 797. They seem to be derived from various sources. *Ephes.* 19 has points of resemblance with Timotheus, but these may be accidental. On the other hand it is not taken from the Syriac Version (represented by ΣΑ). *Rom.* 6 is too short to admit of any inference. *Ephes.* 18 is closely connected with the Syriac Version, for it renders περίψημα τοῦ σταυροῦ by *adorat crucem;* but on the other hand it has one or two striking divergences, e.g. ἡμῖν with the Greek for ὑμῖν with the Syriac. The last passage which the compiler quotes, as from Ignatius, is not found verbatim in any extant Ignatian Epistle, but it may be a loose reminiscence of *Smyrn.* 9 ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τιμᾶται.

(iii) *Plerophoria* [Anon. Syr.$_3$].

ܡܪܝ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ
ܠ ܐܡܪ . ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ . ܒܪܝܫ ܓܠܝܬܐ
ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܠܘܬ ܩܘܪܝܢܬܘܣ ܘܠܘܬ ܓܠܐܛܝܐ ܘܠܘܬ .

The holy Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and martyr, from the Epistle to the Romans.

Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God (*Rom.* 6).

Brit. Mus. Add. 12154 a volume of miscellaneous contents, which Wright (*Catal.* p. 976) ascribes to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. The first treatise, which contains the Ignatian quotation (fol. 13 a), is a Plerophoria in defence of Monophysite doctrine. The quotation does not agree exactly with the passage as quoted anywhere else. See Cureton *C. I.* pp. 220, 250, 359.

(iv) *Catena Patrum* [Anon. Syr.$_4$].

ܡܪܝ . ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ
. ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ

ܢܦܫ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦ̈ܣ̈ܩܘܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܓܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܠ ܛܪܣܘܣ.

ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ̈ܝܢ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܣܛܢܐ ܕܨܒ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܛܪܕ ܒܟ. ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܣܒܪܐ ܘܐܬܨܠܒ ܒܣܒܪܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܗ ܕܒܪܝܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܬܘ̈ܒ.

Of the holy Ignatius, archbishop and martyr, from the Epistle to those at Tarsus.

I have learned that some, ministers of Satan, have desired to trouble you; there being some of them who say that Jesus was born in imagination, and was crucified in imagination; but others, that He is not the Son of the Creator; and others, that He is God the Father who is over all; and others, that He is a mere man; and others, that this flesh will not rise again (*Tars.* 2).

Brit. Mus. Add. 17191, fol. 58 a; see Cureton *C. I.* p. 363 sq,. Wright's *Catalogue* p. 1012. This MS is a palimpsest; and the later hand, which contains a collection from the fathers, is ascribed by Wright (p. 1008) to the 9th or 10th century (see also Cureton p. 363). The same fragment is contained also in *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17214, fol. 74 a (see Wright p. 917), where the opening words of the epistle, § 1 Ἀπὸ Συρίας *μέχρι* Ῥώμης *θηριομαχῶ*, also are quoted. This MS is ascribed by Wright to the 7th century, and must be the same which Cureton (p. 364 sq.) mentions, without however giving the number, and assigns to the 6th century; see also my notes on Clem. Rom. ii. § 1. This same fragment from the Epistle to the Tarsians is given also in *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14538, fol. 148 a (see Wright p. 1007), but in a different form and somewhat mutilated owing to the condition of the MS.

The above is printed from *Add.* 17191. The only variations of Add. 17214 are that it reads ܗܠܝܢ for the first word and inserts ܕ before ܐܝܬ̈ܝܢ. This quotation has no very decisive coincidence with the Syriac version (as represented by the Armenian), but may have been derived thence.

(v) *Excerpta Patrum* [Anon. Syr.$_4$].

ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܐܦ̈ܣ̈ܩܘܦܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܓܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܠ ܛܪܣܘܣ.

ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ̈ܝܢ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܣܛܢܐ ܕܨܒ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܛܪܕ ܒܟ. ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܣܒܪܐ ܘܐܬܨܠܒ ܒܣܒܪܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܗ ܕܒܪܝܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ ܬܘ̈ܒ.

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܡ. ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ : ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ
ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ [or ܒܪܝܬܐ] ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ
ܒܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ [*sic*] ܐܠܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܛܒܝܥܬܐ
ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܐܬܥܡܕ
ܒܝܘܚܢܢ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܫܒܝܠܢ ܕܚܝܘܬܢ ܐܬܠܒܫ ܘܩܡ ܡܢ ܡܝܬܐ. ܘܣܠܩ
ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܥܡ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܘܥܡ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܘ
ܘܚܙܘ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܟܠ ܘܫܬܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܒܣܪܐ ܗܘ ... ܘܒܡܙܓ
ܥܡ ܗܘܢ (*Smyrn.* 1, 2, 3).[1] ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ ....[2] ܐܡܪܝܢ ܥܠ
ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܗܘ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܛܠܝܐ

[1] Neither ܒܪܝܬܐ nor ܒܪܝܬܐ gives any sense. Probably we should read ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ, *and in the spirit mingled with the Father.*

[2] The meaning of the letters ... in this heading is not apparent.

Ignatius Nurono, the disciple of John the Evangelist. *I glorify Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of the house of David according to the flesh, but the Son of God according to nature and the power of God; who was truly born of the Virgin Mary, and was baptized by John, and truly suffered, and was nailed to the cross for our sake that He might give us life; and He arose from the dead, and came to those who were with Peter and John, and said to them, Feel and see that it is I; and He ate and drank with them as being in the flesh and .... and mingling with them* (*Smyrn.* 1, 2, 3).[1] The holy Ignatius ....[2] They say of the holy one that he was the disciple of John. And he was the child

whom our Lord took up in his arms and said, *Except ye turn yourselves and become as this child, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of God.* Peter was the first bishop in Antioch, and after him was Euodius, and after this one, third, behold Ignatius was upon the throne about eighty years, until the ninth year of the reign of Trajan. Straightway Trajan commanded, and they brought him to Rome, and he was devoured by beasts on the tenth of the Latter Teshrīn in the year 419 of the Greeks, in the year 111 after the advent of our Lord. Ignatius is interpreted to mean God-clad. May his prayer be with us, Amen.

Bodl. Marsh 101 fol. 16: see the *Catal. Cod. MSS Bodl. Syr.* p. 461, no. 142. The extract from *Smyrn.* 1—3 is much abridged. It is overlooked by Cureton and has never (to my knowledge) been printed before. The collection of extracts in which it occurs follows immediately after a letter of Jacob of Edessa, but it does not appear from the Catalogue who made the collection. Nothing is said of the date of the MS. Dr Neubauer has kindly recollated the transcript which I made from it some years ago, and Prof. Wright has added a translation.

On the confusion between the Former and the Latter Teshri (October and November), as regards the date of Ignatius' martyrdom, see below, II. p. 418. Here also a further error is committed. A letter has fallen out, and thus the 10th is substituted for the 17th, the correct day. Again the year 419 of the Greeks does not correspond with 111 of our Lord according to the common reckoning.

As regards the Syriac fragments, the conclusions at which Merx arrives are peculiarly unfortunate: see *Meletem. Ignat.* pp. 64 sq., 79 sq., *Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* 1867, X. p. 91 sq. He supposes that there were *three* Syriac versions of these epistles. (1) The *Curetonian* Syriac, which contained the seven epistles of the Middle Form, and from which the three epistles of the Short Form first published by Cureton are merely extracts or abridgements. This was the oldest translation of all. The translator followed the usage of the Peshito Version of the N. T. in his rendering of words. From this Syriac text the Armenian Version of the epistles was made. (2) The *Severian* Syriac, so designated because the quotations in Severus were taken from it. It was made 'before the times of the Arians,' apparently in the 3rd century. This translation again contained the seven epistles of the Middle Recension, but was more literal than the other. (3) A *third* Syriac Version, containing the additional epistles (to Mary, Hero, the Antiochenes, Tarsians, and Philippians; Merx does not say anything of the Epistle from Mary to Ignatius). To this belonged the fragments, *Hero* 1 (see II. p. 686), and *Tars.* 2 (see above, p. 189 sq.). And from it the Armenian translator got the additional epistles. In his *Meletemata* Merx did not say whether this version was confined to these five additional epistles or contained the seven also. But on the appearance of Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, containing some hitherto unpublished fragments (see above p. 182 sq.), he was convinced that these also belonged to his third version (*Zeitschr. für Wiss. Theol.* l. c.). Thus he supposes three distinct translations of the seven epistles into Syriac.

We are constrained to ask whether the demand for the Ignatian letters among native Syrians was likely to have been so great as this hypothesis requires. But, independently of the *a priori* improbability, this theory of a second and third

translation involves strange difficulties of which Merx takes no account. (1) The hypothesis of a Severian Syriac is based on the fact that the quotations in Severus do not agree with the 'Curetonian.' Yet as Severus wrote in Greek, and not in Syriac, it would be most improbable that they should agree. The translator or translators of the works of Severus would be much more likely to have translated the Ignatian quotations bodily with the text of Severus than to have hunted them out in an existing Syriac Version. At all events, if they do not agree with the only Syriac Version of which we have any knowledge, it is a safe inference that they did so translate them. Merx again lays some stress on the fact ('gravissimum est') that the quotations of Severus agree with those of Timotheus (p. 55). If they had agreed to any remarkable extent, this would be a solid argument in favour of their having been taken from a common source, i.e. from a Syriac Version accessible to the translators of both. But even then we should have to remember: (α) That the agreement might arise from the fact that both followed the Greek closely; (β) That, as these translations were apparently made in the Monophysite interests and probably under the same influences and about the same time, the very expressions in the more striking quotations might be transmitted from the one translation to the other. But in fact the only quotations which the two have in common are *Rom.* 6 and *Magn.* 8. (i) The first of these extends only to nine words, *ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου*. It is twice quoted in Timotheus and three times in Severus: see pp. 165 sq., 169 sq. The two quotations of Timotheus do not exactly agree between themselves, nor do those of Severus among themselves. But one of Timotheus which is *a strictly literal rendering of the Greek* agrees exactly with one of Severus. Why should they not so agree? This is essentially one of those stock quotations of which I spoke, where agreement was probable. Indeed the only words in which there was room for any real difference are *ἐπιτρέπειν* and *μιμητής*, of which the former is translated by its common equivalent in the Peshito, and the latter by the substantive derived from the verb which represents *μιμεῖσθαι, μιμητὴν γίνεσθαι*, in that version. (ii) The second quotation, *Magn.* 8, is somewhat longer, though it does not extend beyond a few lines. Here however Timotheus and Severus by no means agree. Being literally translated, the passages could not but coincide in many respects; yet in points of Syriac idiom there are several differences, and in one part there is a wide divergence, attributable to various readings in the Greek text of the Ignatian Epistles. Timotheus read *λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών*, whereas the text of Severus omitted *ἀΐδιος οὐκ*. This difference is reproduced in the Syriac. Merx indeed would insert a negative in Severus by reading ܠܐ ܡܢ for ܡܢ, but there are evidences of a much wider diffusion of the reading adopted by Severus (see the notes on *Magn.* 8), and even after this violent change the word *ἀΐδιος* remains unrepresented. (2) The third version according to Merx supplied the text of the additional epistles to the Armenian translator. But, if this was so, and if (as Merx maintains) it comprised the seven epistles as well, why should the Armenian translator have deserted it in part of his work and have had recourse (as Merx supposes) to another Syriac Version—the 'Curetonian'—for these seven epistles? Moreover it is now ascertained (see above p. 183 sq.) that the very quotations, *Trall.* 5, *Magn.* 8, 9 (in Land's *Anecd. Syr.* p. 32 sq.), which Merx assigned to this third version, *because they did not agree with the quotations of Severus*, and which convinced him that this version must have comprised the seven epistles also (*Zeitsch. f. Wissensch. Theol.* l. c.), are taken from a work of this very Severus himself.

Thus of the three translations, which Merx supposes, the first alone remains.

Whether it originally included the spurious epistles (in addition to the seven Vossian letters) or whether these were a later addition, may be a matter of question.

I have dealt with this theory at some length, because I wished to dispose of it once for all and to prevent the necessity of referring to it again. The question of the Ignatian writings is so intricate in itself that unless pains are taken to disengage it from artificial entanglements which critics have created, it will become hopelessly involved. Moreover it seemed necessary to protest against the vicious principle—which underlies so much recent criticism—of multiplying documents to account for accidental differences of language in quotations. [This note was written some time before the appearance of Zahn's *Ignatius v. Antiochien*, in which he has discussed (p. 174 sq.) the theory of Merx to the same effect.]

35.

Ephraem of Antioch [† c. A.D. 545].

(i) *Epist. ad Zenobium*, Photii *Bibliotheca* 228 (p. 246).

Ὅπερ οὖν εἴρηται, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον κεφάλαιον ἔκ τε τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν φωνῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου καὶ Ἰουλίου καὶ Ἀθανασίου καὶ Γρηγορίων καὶ Βασιλείου, διελέγχει τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς, ὡς ἡ τῶν ἄρθρων χρῆσις (πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι τούτοις ἐχρήσαντο) οὐδεμίαν τομὴν ἢ διαίρεσιν ἐπινοεῖ τῆς ἑνώσεως.

(ii) *De Sacris Antiochiae Legibus*, Ib. 229 (p. 258).

Καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος δὲ Ἰγνάτιος, Σμυρναίοις ἐπιστέλλων, ὁμοίως κέχρηται τῷ ἄρθρῳ· καὶ ὁ Ῥώμης Ἰούλιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δόκιον ἐπιστολῇ φησιν· Ὥστε ἀνάθεμα ἔστω πᾶς ὁ τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπον οὐχ ὁμολογῶν εἶναι ἔνσαρκον Θεόν.

Ephraem is here represented as quoting Ignatius in illustration of the use of the definite article in the expressions ὁ Θεός and ὁ ἄνθρωπος, when applied to our Lord. The reference therefore is probably to *Smyrn.* 1 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν οὕτως σοφίσαντα κ.τ.λ. (see the note, II. p. 289). Another possible, but less probable, reference would be *Smyrn.* 4 τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου.

36.

Jovius the Monk [c. A.D. 530].

Oeconomica Tractatio vii. 31, Photii *Bibliotheca* 222 (p. 195).

Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος, τρία λαθεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, τὴν παρθενίαν Μαρίας, τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὴν σταύρωσιν (*Ephes.* 19).

37.

JOHN MALALAS [c. A.D. 570?].

(i) *Chronogr.* x. p. 252 (ed. Bonn.).

Ἐν τῷ δὲ ἀνίεναι αὐτὸν [τὸν Πέτρον] ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, διερχομένου αὐτοῦ δι' Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης συνέβη τελευτῆσαι Εὔοδον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην Ἀντιοχείας· καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης Ἰγνάτιος, τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου χειροτονήσαντος.

(ii) *Ib.* xi. p. 276. Quoted above, p. 63.

For the probable date of this writer, and for his untrustworthiness, see below, II. p. 435 sq.

38.

GREGORY OF TOURS [c. A.D. 577].

Historia Francorum i. 25.

Tertius post Neronem persecutionem in Christianos Trajanus movet sub quo...Ignatius Antiochensis episcopus Romam ductus bestiis deputatur.

39.

EVAGRIUS [c. A.D. 594].

Historia Ecclesiastica i. 16.

The passage is quoted at length below, II. p. 386, where also it is discussed.

40.

STEPHANUS GOBARUS [c. A.D. 575—600?].

Photii *Bibliotheca* 232 (p. 291).

Ἰγνάτιος μέντοι ὁ Θεοφόρος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεὺς καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου καὶ Θεοδώρητος ὁ Κύρου τὴν μὲν Νικολαϊτῶν καταγινώσκουσιν αἵρεσιν, τὸν δὲ Νικόλαον μὴ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶναι ἀποφαίνονται.

The reference is to *Ps-Trall.* 11; comp. *Ps-Philad.* 6. This is the earliest distinct reference to the spurious or interpolated epistles.

On this writer, who seems to have lived in the latter part of the 6th century, see Walch *Hist. d. Ketzer* VIII. p. 883. The latest writer whom he quotes is Severus of Antioch.

41.

Anastasius I of Antioch [† A.D. 598 or 599].

De Rectis Veritatis Dogmatibus.

(i) Μορφὴν δούλου ἠμφιεσμένον, ἵνα λάθῃ Θεὸς ὢν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (*Ephes.* 19).

This extract was taken by Pearson from a MS in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (*Vind. Ign.* p. 81, ed. Churton). I have made enquiries of the Librarian, who has searched for this MS in vain.

(ii) Ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τάρσῳ.

Εἰ γὰρ ἤδεις ὅτι Θεοῦ γιὸς ἦν, ἐγίνωσκες ὅτι, τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἀνενδεὲς ποιήσας τὸ φθαρτὸν σῶμα, καὶ εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἠύνατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· διὰ τί οὖν πεινᾷ; ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀνέλαβε σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἀνθρώποις· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρώτου ἔδειξεν ὅτι Θεός, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος (*Philipp.* 9).

This extract is given in Mai *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* VII. i. p. 22 (comp. Ussher p. cxxix). Anastasius has wrongly named the epistle quoted. There is some doubt to which of the many persons bearing the name Anastasius these extracts should be assigned; but on the whole the first Anastasius Patriarch of Antioch seems the most probable author: see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* X. p. 595 sq., ed. Harles; Lequien *Oriens Christ.* II. p. 736. For a further reference in this Anastasius to the Ignatian letters see the next extract.

42.

Gregory the Great [A.D. 594 or 595].

Epist. V. 39, *ad Anastasium Antiochenum, Op.* VII. p. 520 (*Venet.* 1770).

Amen Gratia. Quae videlicet verba de scriptis vestris accepta, idcirco in meis epistolis pono, ut de sancto Ignatio vestra beatitudo cognoscat quia non solum vester est, sed etiam noster. Sicut enim magistrum ejus apostolorum principem habemus communem, ita quoque ejusdem principis discipulum nullus nostrum habeat privatum.

The words, Ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις, appear now only in *Ps-Polyc.* 8 and *Ps-Ephes.* 21; but there are reasons for thinking that they may at one time have been found in the text of the genuine Ignatius (see II. p. 850). If however this Anastasius was the writer of the work quoted just above, he must have been acquainted with the spurious epistles. On Gregory's quotation see above, I. p. 117 sq.

43.

LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM [after A.D. 610].

De Sectis Actio iii. 1 (Galland. *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* XII. p. 633).

Ἐγένοντο δὲ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου διδάσκαλοι καὶ πατέρες οἵδε· Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Θεοφόρος, Εἰρηναῖος, Ἰουστῖνος φιλόσοφος καὶ μάρτυς, Κλήμης καὶ Ἱππόλυτος ἐπίσκοποι Ῥώμης, Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης, Μεθόδιος ἐπίσκοπος Πατάρων, Γρηγόριος ὁ θαυματουργός, Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. τούτους ἅπαντας αἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς γενόμεναι αἱρέσεις δέχονται.

On this writer see Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* VIII. p. 309 sq. (ed. Harles).

44.

ANTIOCHUS THE MONK [c. A.D. 620].

Homiliae (*Patrol. Graec.* LXXXIX. p. 1421 sq., ed. Migne).

(1) *Hom.* I, p. 1432.

Ὁ τέλειος πιστὸς λίθος ναοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχει ἡτοιμασμένος εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρός, ἀναφερόμενος εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅ ἐστι σταυρός, σχοίνῳ χρώμενος τῷ πνεύματι· ἡ δὲ πίστις ἀνθρώπου ἀγωγεύς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς τὸν Θεόν. καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος γίνεται θεοφόρος, ἤγουν χριστοφόρος, καὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ἁγιοδρόμος, καὶ τὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένος ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ἀρχὴ ζωῆς ἡ διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης εἰς [l. ἧς] οὐδὲν προκέκριται (*Ephes.* 9, 14, *Magn.* 1).

(2) *Ib.*, p. 1436.

Λαβόντες οὖν Θεοῦ γνῶσιν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, μὴ ἀγνοήσωμεν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν χάριν, ὑπὲρ ἧς πέπονθεν ἀληθῶς ὁ Κύριος. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. μηδεὶς οὖν ἀλειφέσθω δυσωδίαν ἀπιστίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος (*Ephes.* 17).

(3) *Hom.* 21, p. 1500.

Μέγα οὖν ἐστιν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ· ἐὰν γὰρ καυχήσηται, ἀπώλετο (*Polyc.* 5).

(4) *Hom.* 22, p. 1501.

Ἄμεινον οὖν ἐστιν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλοῦντας μὴ εἶναι. καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ. εἷς οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος· ὡς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἃ σιγῶν δὲ πεποίηκεν, ἄξια τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν. ὁ λόγον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κεκτημένος ἀληθῶς δύναται καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ἵνα ᾖ τέλειος· ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ, πράσσῃ, καὶ δι' ὧν σιγᾷ, γινώσκηται. οὐδὲν γὰρ λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ εἰσιν (*Ephes.* 15).

(5) *Hom.* 29, p. 1532.

Καλὸν οὖν ἐστιν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν καὶ ἐνοξύσασαν κ.τ.λ. (*Magn.* 10).

(6) *Hom.* 57, p. 1605.

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην ἔχων μισεῖ. φανερὸν γὰρ τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ γίνεται. ὁ οὖν ἐπαγγελλόμενος Χριστοῦ εἶναι, δι' ὧν πράσσει, ὀφθήσεται (*Ephes.* 14).

(7) *Hom.* 80, p. 1673.

Εὐαπόδεκτον Θεῷ τῆς ἑνώσεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας φροντίζειν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἐν ἀνθρώποις· καὶ τὸ πάντας βαστάζειν, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος, καὶ πάντων ἀνέχεσθαι ἐν ἀγάπῃ. καὶ οὐ χρὴ εὐλόγῳ δῆθεν προφάσει, ἵνα μὴ εἴπω καὶ λίαν ἀλόγῳ, ἀποσπᾶν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἰδιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία ἔλπις ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὗ οὐδὲν θυμηδέστερον. πάντες οὖν ὀφείλομεν συντρέχειν ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, μία ψυχὴ κἂν ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς μέλεσιν, μία γνώμη ἐνὶ θελήματι, ὡς ἓν σῶμα ὑπάρχοντες (*Polyc.* 1, *Magn.* 7).

(8) *Hom.* 85, p. 1693.

Σὺ οὖν ἔνδυσαι τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἰσχυράν. στῶμεν οὖν ἑδραῖοι, ὡς ἀκμών, τυπτόμενοι. μεγάλου ἀθλητοῦ ἐστιν δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν. μάλιστα δὲ Θεοῦ ἕνεκεν πάντα ὑπομένωμεν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ. σπουδαῖοι γενώμεθα, τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάθωμεν, τὸν ὑπὲρ χρόνον προσδοκοῦντες, τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀόρατον, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ὁρατόν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ψηλαφηθέντα, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ παθόντα, τὸν ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ πάντα δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα (*Polyc.* 3).

(9) *Hom.* 92, p. 1713.

Τὸ συμπάσχειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συναλγεῖν συντρέχειν τε καὶ συγκοπιᾶν εὐάρεστόν ἐστιν τῷ Θεῷ. καὶ γὰρ χρεωστοῦμεν τοῦτο πράττειν, ὡς δοῦλοι καὶ πάρεδροι καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου· ἵνα εὐαρέστωμεν ᾧ ἐστρατεύθημεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια κομισόμεθα...ἀγωνισώμεθα οὖν ἵνα ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη καὶ ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς περικεφαλαία καὶ ὡς δόρυ καὶ πανοπλία ἡμῖν ἔστωσαν, μακροθυμοῦντες μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν πραότητι διάγοντες, ὡς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν (*Polyc.* 6).

(10) *Hom.* 106, p. 1756.

Τὸ σχολάζειν τῇ ἀδιαλείπτῳ προσευχῇ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐπωφελὲς ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει (*Polyc.* 1).

(11) *Hom.* 111, p. 1780.

Ὠφελείας διόρθωσις γινέσθω παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐκδικεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ πνευματικῇ, φροντίζειν τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν μελῶν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον, πάντων ἀνέχεσθαι ἐν ἀγάπῃ, πάντας βαστάζειν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος. προσευχέσθω ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀδιαλείπτως, αἰτεῖν σύνεσιν πνευματικὴν εἰς τὸ διακρίνειν αὐτὸν τὰ συμφέροντα, γρηγορεῖν, μεριμνᾶν περὶ πάντων, τὰ ἐλαττώματα πάντων καὶ τὰς νόσους βαστάζειν, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητής· ὅπου γὰρ πλείων κόπος, πολὺ καὶ τὸ κέρδος. τοὺς καλοὺς μαθητὰς ἐὰν φιλῇ, χάρις αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀπειθεστέρους ἐν πραότητι ὑποτάσσειν. οὐ πᾶν τραῦμα

τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται. τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς ἐν βροχαῖς δεῖ παύειν. ἔστω φρόνιμος ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡς αἱ περιστεραί· ἵνα τὰ μὲν φαινόμενα αὐτῶν εἰς πρόσωπον κολακεύῃ, τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἰτῇ φανερωθῆναι αὐτῷ· ἵνα μηδενὸς λείπηται ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι περισσεύῃ. ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἀπαιτεῖ αὐτόν, ὡς κυβερνήτην πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέμους καὶ τὰς τρικυμίας καὶ ζάλας τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πορνείας στῆναι γενναίως, καὶ ὁδηγεῖν τοὺς χειμαζομένους ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Polyc.* 1, 2).

(12) *Hom.* 112, p. 1784.

Ὁ μοναχὸς οὐκ ἔχει ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν...οἱ γὰρ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά. χρὴ οὖν τὸν βουλόμενον τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ταύτην τοῦ μονήρους βίου ἀσκῆσαι πολιτείαν, κτήσασθαι τὴν φρόνησιν τοῦ ὄφεως καὶ τὸ ἀκέραιον τῆς περιστερᾶς (*Polyc.* 7, *Ephes.* 8, *Polyc.* 2).

(13) *Hom.* 116, p. 1793.

Ὁ ὄντως μαθητὴς θέλει ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, καὶ διὰ ταπεινώσεως νικῆσαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν πραὺς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸ μεγαλορρῆμον αὐτῶν ταπεινόφρων, πρὸς τὸ ἄγριον ἥμερος, καὶ μὴ ὁμοιοῦσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐν μηδενί, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ, ὡς μιμητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, σπουδάζων μᾶλλον ἀδικηθῆναι ἤπερ ἀδικῆσαί τινα (*Ephes.* 10).

(14) *Hom.* 124, p. 1820.

Ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος ἐπιστέλλει λέγων· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῷ ὑποτασσομένῳ ἐπισκόπῳ πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ διακόνοις· μετ' αὐτῶν μοι γένοιτο τὸ μέρος ἔχειν ἐν Θεῷ· καὶ αὖθις· Μάρτυς μοι, ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. χρὴ οὖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ἡμᾶς· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν φανῇ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ, ὅπουπερ ἂν ὀνομασθῇ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἐπισυνάγεται....οὐκ ἐξὸν οὖν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ

ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον. ὁ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τιμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμᾶται· ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν. οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ πομάτων εἰσὶν διάκονοι ἀλλὰ ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται. δέον οὖν ἐστιν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ. ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς τὸν πατέρα, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς δεσμὸν ἀποστόλων. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται (*Polyc.* 6, *Philad.* 7, *Smyrn.* 8, 9, *Trall.* 2, 3).

Some of the passages which are here given have been overlooked by previous editors. As the references to Ignatius in this writer (with the exception of two in the last extract) are all indirect, they are not printed here as quotations.

45.

Chronicon Paschale [c. A.D. 630].

(i) p. 416 (ed. Bonn.).

Ὅτι δὲ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τὸν ἑκούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν ἦλθε σταυρόν, διδάσκει καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεοφόρος καὶ μάρτυς, ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου γνήσιος μαθητὴς γεγονώς, τῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθείς. ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τραλλιανοὺς τοίνυν ἐπιστολῇ γέγραφεν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως·

Ἀληθῶς τοίνυν ἐγέννησε Μαρία τὸ σῶμα Θεὸν ἔχον ἔνοικον, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας, σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἡμῖν ἡμφιεσμένος· ἀληθῶς γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ διαπλάττων, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τῆς παρθένου σπερμάτων, πλὴν ὅσον ὁμιλίας ἀνδρὸς ἄνευ· ἀληθῶς ἐκυοφορήθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς, χρόνων περιόδοις, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐτέχθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη καὶ τροφῆς κοινῆς καὶ

ποτοῦ μετέσχεν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ δοκήσει· καὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ποιήσας σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, ὑπὸ τῶν ψευδοϊουδαίων καὶ Πιλάτου ἡγεμόνος ὁ κριτὴς ἐκρίθη, ἐμαστιγώθη, ὑπὸ δούλων ἐπὶ κόρρης ἐρραπίσθη, ἐνεπτύσθη, ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον ἐφόρεσεν, κατεκρίθη, ἐσταυρώθη ἀληθῶς, οὐ δοκήσει, οὐ φαντασίᾳ, οὐκ ἀπάτῃ. ἀπέθανεν ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἠγέρθη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν (*Ps-Trall.* 10).

ἰδοὺ φανερῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τηλικοῦτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρῦξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸν σωτῆρα λέγει.

(ii) p. 471. The passage is quoted above, p. 65 sq.

46.

Theodorus the Presbyter [c. A.D. 650?].

De Authenticitate Libri Dionysii, Photii *Bibliotheca* 1.

Πῶς μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ θεοφόρου Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῆς ἡ βίβλος; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος τοῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐνήκμασε χρόνοις, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ τὸν διὰ μαρτυρίου ἤθλησεν ἀγῶνα, ὃς καὶ πρὸ βραχὺ τῆς τελευτῆς ταύτην ἐπιστολήν, ἧς ἡ βίβλος μνημονεύει, γράφει.

47.

Maximus the Confessor [† A.D. 662].

(i) *Schol. in* Dionys. *de Div. Nom.* iv. 12 (*Op.* i. p. 613, Corder.).

Ὁ θειος Ἰγνατιος· καὶ ἐκ τούτου τινὲς οἴονται διαβάλλειν εὐκαίρως τὸ παρὸν σύνταγμα, ὡς μὴ ὂν τοῦ θείου Διονυσίου, ἐπειδὴ Ἰγνάτιον λέγουσι μεταγενέστερον αὐτοῦ εἶναι· πῶς δὲ δύναταί τις τῶν μεταγενεστέρων μεμνῆσθαι; πλάσμα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς· ὁ γὰρ ἅγιος Παῦλος ὁ φωτίσας Διονύσιον μεταγενέστερος ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου, μεθ' ὃν ὁ Ἰγνάτιος ἐπίσκοπος γίνεται Ἀντιοχείας, μετατεθέντος Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ· ἐπέζησε δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος χρόνον πολύν, [ὁ] φωτίσας Διονύσιον, καὶ Διονύσιος μετ' αὐτὸν ἔζησεν.

ὁ δὲ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ ἐξορίζεται εἰς Πάτμον· ᾧ ἀντιγράφει Διονύσιος· Ἰγνάτιος δὲ πρὸ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρεῖ· ὥστε προγενέστερος Διονυσίου. Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως· ζητητέον πῶς ἐπὶ Ὀνησίμου τοῦ μετὰ Τιμόθεον Ἰγνατίου διαλεγομένου καὶ γράφοντος τὸ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται, Διονύσιος νῦν Τιμοθέῳ γράφων τούτου μέμνηται, ὡς Ἰγνατίου ἤδη γράψαντος...ἢ τάχα σύνηθες αὐτῷ εἶναι ἀπόφθεγμα, ὡς καὶ τὸ θεοφόρος πολλάκις αὐτῷ λεγόμενόν τε καὶ γραφόμενον. τεκμήριον δὲ τὸ μὴ προσκεῖσθαι, Γράφει δέ τισι, τουτέστι Ῥωμαίοις· ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς, Γράφει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰγνάτιος.

(ii) *Loci Communes, Op.* II. pp. 534, 638, ed. Combefis.

Sermo 2. Ἰγνατίου.

Τέλειοι ὄντες, τέλεια φρονεῖτε· θέλουσι γὰρ ὑμῖν εὖ πράττειν θεὸς ἕτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρέχειν (*Smyrn.* 11).

Sermo 43. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου.

Κἂν ἐρρωμένος ὦ τὰ κατὰ Θεόν, πλέον με δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς εἰκῇ φυσιοῦσί με· ἐπαινοῦντες γάρ με μαστιγοῦσι (*Ps-Trall.* 4).

48.

Anastasius of Sinai [c. A.D. 680].

Hodegus 2 (*Patrol. Graec.* LXXXIX. p. 196, ed. Migne).

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας. Εἴσατε μιμητὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου (*Rom.* 6).

On this writer see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* X. p. 571, ed Harles.

49.

Andreas of Crete [c. A.D. 680].

Hom. II *in Nativitatem B. Virginis* (Pearson *Vind. Ign.* p. 87).

Ὡς φησί που ἅγιος ἀνήρ, Ἰγνάτιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· Καὶ ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τόκος αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τρία μυστήρια φρικτά, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη (*Ephes.* 19).

50.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS [before A.D. 754].

Sacra Parallela (*Op.* II. p. 274 sq., ed. Lequien).

(A) *Parallela Vaticana.*

a. ix. p. 314.

Θέλουσιν ὑμῖν εὖ πράττειν Θεὸς ἕτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρέχειν (*Smyrn.* 11).

a. xviii. p. 354.

Οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται (*Ephes.* 13).

a. xxi. p. 358.

Τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή (*Antioch.* 11).

a. xvii. p. 514 sq.

Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν διακονοῦντας. μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὖσα. ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἦτω, ὥσπερ, ὅπου ἂν ὁ Χριστός, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ [ἡ] ἐκκλησία. οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τετίμηται· ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει (*Smyrn.* 8, 9).

Πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καί σε ὁ Κύριος· πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ· προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτοις· αἰτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ἧς ἔχεις· γρηγόρει, ἀκοίμητον ὄμμα κεκτημένος (*Polyc.* 1).

Πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε, ὡς τέλειος ὁ ἀθλητής. ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος. καλοὺς μαθητὰς ἐὰν φιλῇς, χάρις σοι οὐκ ἔσται· μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀπειθεστέρους ἐν πραότητι ὑπότασσε. οὐ πᾶν τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται· τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε. διὰ τοῦτο σαρκικὸς εἶ καὶ πνευματικός, ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά σοι εἰς πρόσωπον κολα-

κεύης, τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἴτει ἵνα σοι φανερωθῇ, ἵνα μηδενὸς λείπῃ (*Polyc.* 1, 2).

c. xxviii. p. 522.

Κἂν ἐρρωμένος ὦ κατὰ τὸν Θεόν, πλεῖόν με δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς εἰκῇ φυσῶσίν με· ἐπαινοῦντες γάρ με μαστιγοῦσιν (*Ps-Trall.* 4).

π. x. p. 642.

Παρθενίας ζυγὸν μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει· ἐπισφαλὲς γὰρ τὸ κτῆμα καὶ ἀσφύλακτον, ὅταν κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνηται.

Τοῖς νέοις ἐπίτρεπε γαμεῖν, πρὶν διαφθαρῶσιν εἰς ἑτέρας.

π. xiii. p. 650.

Χρῄζω πραότητος, ἐν ᾧ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διάβολος (*Ps-Trall.* 4).

σ. xi. p. 687.

Οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά (*Ephes.* 8).

υ. ix. p. 702.

Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐχέτω τι· μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἄφρονας τὸ ἔνθεον πλῆθος βλασφημῆται (*Trall.* 8).

χ. iv. p. 724.

Χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ σχολάζει (*Polyc.* 7).

(B) *Parallela Rupefucaldina.*

α. ii. p. 747. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου.

Τέλειοι ὄντες, τέλεια φρονεῖτε· θέλουσι γὰρ ὑμῖν εὖ πράττειν θεὸς ἕτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρέχειν (*Smyrn.* 11).

α. xviii. p. 750. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Πάντα, ὃν ἂν πέμψῃ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὑποδέχασθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα (*Ephes.* 6).

α. lxxvi. p. 772. Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου.

Τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. εἰώθασί τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πρά-

cοντεc ἀνάξια Θεοῦ· οὓc δεῖ ὑμᾶc ὡc θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· εἰcὶ γὰρ κύνες λυccῶντεc λαθροδήκται· οὓc δεῖ ὑμᾶc φυλάccεcθαι ὄντας δυcθεραπεύτους (*Smyrn.* 8, *Ephes.* 7).

Μηδεὶc πλανάcθω. ἐὰν μή τιc ᾖ ἐντὸc τοῦ θυcιαcτηρίου, ὑcτερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸc καὶ δευτέρου προcευχὴ τοcαύτην ἰcχὺν ἔχει, πόcῳ μᾶλλον ἥ τε τοῦ ἐπιcκόπου καὶ πάcηc τῆc ἐκκληcίαc· ὁ οὖν μὴ ἐρχόμενοc ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, οὗτοc ἤδη ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἑαυτὸν διακρίνει· γέγραπται δὲ Ὑπερηφάνοιc ὁ Θεὸc ἀντιτάccεται (*Ephes.* 5).

Μὴ πλανᾶcθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἰκοφθόροι βαcιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήcουcιν. εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ cάρκα ταῦτα πάcχοντεc ἀπέθνηcκον, πόcῳ μᾶλλον ἐὰν πίcτιν ἐν κακοδιδαcκαλίᾳ φθορεῖ, ὑπὲρ ἣc Ἰηcοῦc Χριcτὸc ἐcταυρώθη. ὅτι οὗτοc ῥυπαρὸc γενόμενοc εἰc τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄcβεcτον χωρήcει, ὁμοίωc καὶ ὁ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ (*Ephes.* 16).

Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Τραλλαεῖς ἐπιστολῆς.

Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶc, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ χάριc τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰηcοῦ Χριcτοῦ, μόνῃ τῇ χριcτιανικῇ τροφῇ χρῆcθαι· ἀλλοτρίαc δὲ βοτάνηc ἀπέχεcθαι, ἥτιc ἐcτὶν αἵρεcιc· καὶ παρεμπλέκουcιν Ἰηcοῦν Χριcτὸν καταξιοπιcτευόμενοι, ὥcπερ θανάcιμον φάρμακον διδόντεc μετ' οἰνομέλιτοc, ὅπερ ὁ ἀγνοῶν ἡδέωc λαμβάνει ἐν ἡδονῇ κακῇ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν· φυλάccεcθε οὖν τοὺc τοιούτουc (*Trall.* 6, 7).

Ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.

Φεύγετε τὰc κακὰc παραφυάδαc τὰc γεννώcαc καρπὸν θανατηφόρον, οὗ ἐὰν γεύcηταί τιc, παραυτίκα ἀποθνήcκει. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰcὶ φυτεία τοῦ πνεύματοc (*Trall.* 11).

Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Φιλαδελφίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Ἀπέχεcθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ὧν Χριcτὸc Ἰηcοῦc γεωργεῖ, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺc φυτείαν τοῦ πατρόc. μὴ πλανᾶcθε, ἀδελφοί μου· εἴ τιc cχίzοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, βαcιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ (*Philad.* 3).

β. i. p. 775. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεcίουc ἐπιστολῆς.

Οὐδέν ἐcτιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνηc, ἐν ᾗ πᾶc πόλεμοc καταργεῖται (*Ephes.* 13).

γ. xvii. p. 777. *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου.*

Μόνους ἄνδρας τοὺς ὁμοζύγους εἶναι νομιστέον ταῖς γυναιξίν, οἷς καὶ ἡνώθησαν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ (*Antioch.* 9).

δ. xii. p. 778. *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς.*

Ἔσχατοι καιροί, ἀδελφοί· λοιπὸν αἰσχυνθῶμεν. φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἡμῖν γένηται· ἢ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν, ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὑρεθῶμεν (*Ephes.* 11).

δ. xxxi. p. 778. *Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.*

Ὅταν πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, λύεται ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως (*Ephes.* 13).

δ. xxxiv. p. 778. *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πολύκαρπον ἐπιστολῆς.*

Οἱ δοῦλοι μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πλεῖον δουλευέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τύχωσιν (*Polyc.* 4).

ε. xlviii. p. 779. *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Σμυρναίους ἐπιστολῆς.*

Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν. μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσεται. εὔλογόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἀνανῆψαι ἡμᾶς, ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς Θεὸν μετανοεῖν. καλῶς ἔχει Θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τετίμηται, ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει (*Smyrn.* 8, 9).

Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πολύκαρπον.

Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ Θεός. ἐγὼ ἀντί-

ψγχον τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ, διακόνοις· μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο ἐν Θεῷ (*Polyc.* 6).

Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.

Σπουδάσωμεν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν Θεῷ ὑποτασσόμενοι. καὶ ὅσον βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, πλέον αὐτὸν φοβείσθω· πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμποντα. τὸν γοῦν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν (*Ephes.* 5, 6).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Μαγνησίους.

Εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ τοῦ θελήσαντος ἡμᾶς πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν· ἐπεὶ οὐχὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται Θεόν. τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα. πρέπον οὖν ἐστι, μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι· ὥσπερ καί τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν καλοῦσι, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα πράσσουσιν. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοί μοι φαίνονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι (*Magn.* 3, 4).

Ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.

Μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι, ἀλλ' ἑνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις εἰς τόπον καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσετε, μηδὲ πειράσητε εὔλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν (*Magn.* 6, 7).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ὅταν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσησθε, φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα (*Trall.* 2).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Τέκνα φωτὸς ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας. ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμήν ἐστι, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε (*Philad.* 2).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Μάρτυς μου ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσε τάδε· Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν

ποιεῖτε· την σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε· τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε· τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (*Philad.* 7).

π. xxv. p. 785. Τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου Θεοφόρου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆς.

Οὐδεν λανθάνει ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος· ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡ πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη· τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γινόμενα Θεός ἐστι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά εἰσιν. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἔχειν ἁμαρτάνει· οὐδεὶς ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ. φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ· οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι, δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται. οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει πίστεως ἐάν τις εὑρεθῇ εἰς τέλος (*Ephes.* 14).

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεύς ὑμῶν, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἄνω φέρουσα πρὸς Θεόν (*Ephes.* 9).

Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Μαγνησίους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆς.

Μάθωμεν κατὰ χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν· ὅστις γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλεῖον τούτου, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Magn.* 10).

υ. xvii. p. 788. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πολύκαρπον ἐπιστολῆς.

Στῆκε ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος· μεγάλου ἀθλητοῦ ἐστι δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν· μάλιστα δὲ ἕνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑμᾶς ὑπομένειν δεῖ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ (*Polyc.* 3).

Ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.

Μακροθυμεῖτε μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραΰτητι, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν διὰ παντός (*Polyc.* 6).

χ. xxi. p. 789. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῆς.

Πρέπον ἐστὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκούειν χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι (*Magn.* 4).

φ. xix (given by Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* II. p. 18, ed. Leclerc, 1724).

Πάντες ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λαβόντες ἀλλήλους ἐντρέπεσθε, καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους διὰ παντὸς ἀγαπᾶτε (*Magn.* 6).

The chronology of the life of S. John Damascene is very uncertain. The two definite facts are that he was living A.D. 730 and that he died before A.D. 754 (see Langen *Johannes v. Damaskus* p. 21).

The *Parallela Sacra*, which bear his name, appear in forms more or less different in different MSS. Two very distinct forms are published by Lequien, the one from a Vatican, the other from a Rochefoucauld MS. The former might well have been compiled by John of Damascus, though some critics assign it to a later date. The latter appears to have been the work of a person who lived a century earlier than S. John Damascene. This Rochefoucauld collection seems to have been made after the capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes (A.D. 614) but during the reign of Heraclius (†A.D. 641): see Lequien Joann. Damasc. *Op.* II. p. 274 sq. (comp. I. p. xi), Langen l. c. p. 204 sq. An investigation of the work of Leontius and John (*Sacr. Rer. Libr.*), from which Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* VII) has published extracts, might perhaps throw some light on these collections ascribed to John of Damascus.

The above extracts are taken from Lequien, with the exception of the last, which is given by Cotelier from *Claromontanus*, a MS which seems closely to resemble the *Rupefucaldinus*. One or two extracts given by Lequien have been overlooked by previous editors of Ignatius.

In the *Vatican* extracts use is made of the Long Recension (e.g. *Ps-Trall.* 4), as well as of the Middle Form (the genuine Ignatius). In the *Rochefoucauld* extracts on the other hand, though the collector quotes the spurious Epistle to the Antiochenes, there is no distinct example of the use of the interpolated epistles. In some cases indeed his quotations coincide with the text of the Long Recension (e.g. *Ephes.* 11 ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ, see II. p. 61; *Polyc.* 6 πρεσβυτερίῳ); but these are questions of reading, not of recension. The collector of these *Rochefoucauld* extracts therefore would appear to have used a MS, in which the spurious epistles are attached to the seven genuine letters of Ignatius in their uninterpolated form. The extracts, π. x. p. 642, do not belong to any Ignatian epistle, and the ascription therefore is an error. They are however so quoted again by Antonius Melissa.

51.

THEODORE OF STUDIUM [A.D. 759—826].

(1) *Catechesis* 3.

Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται Χριστός (*Rom.* 7).

Quoted by Cotelier on *Rom.* 6, and by Grabe in *Spicil.* II. p. 229: by the latter from the Oxford MS, *Barocc.* 130.

(2) *Catechesis* 127.

Συνέπεται δὲ καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος, τάδε λέγων· Προφυλάσσω ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων αἱρετικῶν· οὓς οὐ μόνον οὐ δεῖ ὑμᾶς παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν, μηδὲ συναντᾶν (*Smyrn.* 4).

Quoted in the Greek by Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* II. p. 4. The corresponding passage in the Latin translation will be found in Migne's edition, *Patrol. Graec.* XCIX. p. 677.

(3) *Epist.* ii. 155, *ad Theophilum* (p. 1485, ed. Migne).

Λέγει τοίνυν καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος· Τοὺς μισοῦντας οὖν τὸν Θεὸν μισεῖν χρή, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκτετηκέναι, οὐ μὴν δὲ διώκειν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τύπτειν, καθάπερ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Θεόν (*Ps-Philad.* 3).

(4) *Iambi* lxx (p. 1797, ed. Migne). Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰγνάτιον τὸν Θεοφόρον.

Ἔχων ἔρωτα Χριστὸν ἐν σῇ καρδίᾳ,
ἀποστόλων σύσκηνος ὤφθης, τρισμάκαρ·
ἄθλοις δὲ θερμοῖς ἐκφλογίζων τὴν πλάνην
ἐπιστολαῖς σου Παῦλος ἄλλος τις πέλεις.

(5) *Menaea* Decemb. 20, pp. 138, 146.

Ὦ τῆς στερρᾶς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνου σου ψυχῆς, ἀξιομακάριστε Ἰγνάτιε. σὺ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ὄντως σὸν ἐραστὴν ἀνένδοτον ἔχων τὴν ἄφεσιν ἔλεγες· Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόϋλον, ὕδωρ δὲ μᾶλλον ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ἔνδοθέν μοι λέγον, Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα (*Rom.* 7).

Στήλη ἔμψυχος καὶ ἔμπνους εἰκών, ἡ ἐτήσιός σου ἐπέστη ἑορτή, θεοφόρε Ἰγνάτιε, τὰς μυσταγωγίας σου καὶ τὰς ἀριστείας σου κηρύττουσα, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως μέχρις αἵματος ἀντικατάστασιν, τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀοίδιμον φωνὴν τὴν ὅτι σῖτος εἰμὶ Θεοῦ λέγουσαν, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι (*Rom.* 4). διὸ μιμητὴς τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Rom.* 6) σὺ γεγονὼς πρέσβευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

These are headed τοῦ Στουδίτου. I presume that Theodorus Studites is meant.

(6) *Anal. Sacr. Spicil. Solesm.* I. p. 571 sq., ed. Pitra (1876).

Two anonymous hymns to Ignatius, which the editor (p. 445) assigns to Theodore. In the first are the following expressions;

Χριστοῦ δὲ τυχών, τοῦ σοῦ ἔρωτος, χαίρεις...σὲ ἠγκαλίσατο Κύριος παιδίον ὄντα...μέγας ἀνέτειλας ἥλιος ταῖς

ἐκκλησίαις, ὥσπερ ἀκτῖνας [ ] ἐπιστολάς σου ἐκπέμπων πανταχοῦ.

This writer uses both forms of the Ignatian letters. The quotation in (3) is from the interpolated epistles; that in (2) from the genuine text.

52.

Joseph the Hymnographer [c. A.D. 820?].

Hymn. 5 (de S. Ignatio) *Anal. Sacr. Spicil. Solesm.* I. p. 388.

The following are the passages in this hymn which recal the language of Ignatius himself:

Τραϊανὸς γὰρ ταῦτα ὡς ἤσθετο, ὁ θὴρ ὁ ἀνήμερος, θηρίοις βρῶμα δόλῳ θεσπίζει σε ἔσεσθαι, σπουδῇ τὴν Ῥώμην φθάσαντα, καὶ λεοπάρδοις πικροῖς συνδήσας ἐκ τῆς ἑῴας πρὸς δυσμὰς τρέχειν προτρέπεται (*Rom.* 2, 4, 5).

Συμπαθεῖς ἐν ἐμοὶ, φίλοι, μηδ' ὅλως γίνεσθε, πρὸ τοῦ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν, μάκαρ, Ῥωμαίοις ἔγραφες. Θηρῶν με γενέσθαι ἐάσατε βρῶμα. τί μοι συμφέρει καλῶς ἐπίσταμαι, σαρκός μου μὴ φείσασθαι· σῖτός εἰμι γὰρ Θεοῦ, καὶ βούλομαι ὅλως ἀλεσθεὶς λεόντων στόμασιν γενέσθαι ἄρτος ἡδὺς τῷ λόγῳ τῷ σταυρωθέντι δι' ἐμὲ καὶ λογχευθέντι τὴν πλευράν· τοῦτον φέρω ἐν στέρνοις, τούτου φλέγομαι τῷ πόθῳ (see esp. *Rom.* 4, 5).

This Joseph also was a Studite and apparently a contemporary of Theodore. There is however some confusion about the verse-writers bearing this name; see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* x. p. 79, ed. Harles.

53.

Michael Syncellus [c. A.D. 820].

Encom. in Dionys. Areopag., Dionys. *Op.* II. p. 233 (ed. Corder.).

Γράφει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰγνάτιος· Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ῥητὸν ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος, μέλλων ἐν Ῥώμῃ μαρτυρικῶς ἀθλήσειν καὶ τοῖς λέουσι βορὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου Τραϊανοῦ πρόσταξιν παραβληθήσεσθαι, περὶ τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τυραννείας ἔννατον ἔτος κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων

χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν ἐγείραντος, Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστέλλων γέγραφεν.

Michael Syncellus also was a contemporary of Theodorus Studites.

54.

NICEPHORUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE [† A.D. 828].

(i) *Chronographia Brevis* p. 1001 sq. (*Patrol. Graec.* c, ed. Migne).

p. 1012. Τραϊανὸς ἔτη ιθ', μῆνας ϛ'.

Ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Θεοφόρος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐμαρτύρησε, θηρίοις βορὰ παραδοθείς.

p. 1053. Καὶ ὅσοι ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐπεσκόπευσαν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

α'.	Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος	ἔτη ια'.
β'.	Εὐόδιος	ἔτη κδ'.
γ'.	Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Θεοφόρος ὁ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ μαρτυρήσας	ἔτη δ'.
δ'.	Ἥρων	ἔτη κ'.

p. 1060. Καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκρυφα.

α'.	Περίοδος Πέτρου	στίχοι ,βψν'.
β'.	Περίοδος Ἰωάννου	στίχοι ,βχ'.
γ'.	Περίοδος Θωμᾶ	στίχοι ,αψ'.
δ'.	Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν	στίχοι ,ατ'.
ε'.	Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων	στίχοι σ'.
ϛ'.	Κλήμεντος α', β'	στίχοι ,βχ'.
ζ'.	Ἰγνατίου, Πολυκάρπου, Ποιμένος καὶ Ἑρμᾶ.	

The numbers of verses differ in the different authorities for the text; but we are not concerned here with these differences.

(ii) *Antirrhetica* (*Spicil. Solesm.* I. p. 356, ed. Pitra).

Τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Φιλιππησίους·

Εἷς ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας, οὗτε ὁ πατὴρ.....ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν (*Philipp.* 3).

Pitra does not write out the extract in full; neither does Cotelier, who in his note on the Ignatian passage mentions its being quoted by Nicephorus, as also by Theodorus Graptus in an unedited work *Adv. Iconomachos*.

55.

GEORGIUS HAMARTOLUS [c. A.D. 850].

Chronicon iii. 135 (*Patrol. Graec.* CX. p. 525, ed. Migne).

Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ] Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλεόπα ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Θεοφόρος ἐμαρτύρησαν. καὶ Βασιλείδης καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Κήρινθος καὶ Νικόλαος εἷς τῶν ζ' διακόνων, οἱ αἱρεσιάρχαι, ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγνωρίζοντο.

The mention of these heretics suggests that this writer derived his information directly or indirectly from the Long Recension of the Ignatian epistles; *Ps-Trall.* 11.

56.

ADO OF VIENNE [† A.D. 874].

Libell. de Festiv. SS. Apost. (*Patrol. Lat.* CXXIII. p. 181 sq., ed. Migne).

(i) p. 189.

XIV Kal. Martii. Natalis sancti Onesimi, de quo beatus apostolus Philemoni familiares litteras mittit.....quem beatus idem apostolus episcopum ordinans praedicationisque verbum ei committens, apud Ephesiorum civitatem reliquit, cui episcopus post beatum Timotheum et ipse resedit; de quo et beatus Ignatius, Ephesiis mittens epistulam, ita dicit; *Quoniam ergo suscepi multitudinem vestram in nomine Domini in Onesimo, dilecto praeceptore nostro, vestro autem episcopo, obsecro eum secundum Iesum Christum diligere vos, et vos omnes in concordia eius in ipso esse. Benedictus enim Dominus, qui vobis talibus talem episcopum donavit habere in Christo.* Hic, Romam perductus atque ibi pro fide Christi lapidatus, sepultus est Christi martyr primum ibi; inde ad loca, ubi fuerat ordinatus episcopus, corpus eius est delatum.

(ii) p. 191 sq.

Pridie Nonas Maii. Natalis sancti Euodii, qui ab apostolis Antiochiae episcopus ordinatus est, de quo beatus Ignatius ad Antiochenam ecclesiam; *Pauli et Petri facti estis discipuli; nolite perdere depositum quod vobis commendaverunt. Mementote digne beatissimi Euodii, pastoris vestri, qui primus vobis ab apostolis antistes ordinatus est. Non confundamus*

patrem, sed efficiamur certi filii et non adulterini. Hic martyr apud Antiochiam urbem, cui praefuit, sepultus est.

For the account of Ignatius himself in this writer see below, p. 221.

57.

Antonius Melissa [c. A.D. 900 ?].

Loci Communes (*Patrol. Graec.* cxxxvi. p. 765 sq., ed. Migne).

(1) i. 14, p. 809.

Εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἁγνείᾳ μένειν, εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω· καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Θεὸν καὶ μὴ κατὰ αἰσχρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν (*Polyc.* 5).

Παρθενίας ζυγὸν μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει· ἐπισφαλὲς γὰρ τὸ κτῆμα καὶ δυσφύλακτον, ὅταν κατ' ἀνάγκην γένηται.

Τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐπίτρεπε γαμεῖν, πρὶν διαφθαρῶσιν εἰς ἑταίρας.

(2) i. 26, p. 857.

Οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης ἐν ᾗ πᾶς ὁ πόλεμος καταλύεται (*Ephes.* 13).

(3) ii. 3, p. 1016.

Σπουδάσατε μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ἦτε Θεῷ ὑποτασσόμενοι· καὶ ὅσον βλέπετε σιγῶντα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, πλέον αὐτὸν φοβεῖσθε· πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμποντα. τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν (*Ephes.* 5, 6).

(4) ii. 4, p. 1020.

Πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς σε ὁ Κύριος· πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ· αἰτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ἧς ἔχεις. πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε· ὅπου γαρ πλείων κόπος, πολὺ τὸ κέρδος (*Polyc.* 1).

(5) ii. 19, p. 1060.

Ὁ Σαμουὴλ παιδάριον ὢν ὁ βλέπων ἐκλήθη, καὶ τῷ χορῷ τῶν προφητῶν ἐγκατελέχθη. Δανιὴλ νέος ὢν ἔκρινεν ὁμογέ-

ροντάς τινας, δείξας ἐξώλεις αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι. Ἱερεμίας διὰ τὸ νέον παραιτούμενος τὴν ἐγχειριζομένην αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ προφητείαν ἀκούει· Μὴ λέγε νεώτερός εἰμι· διότι πρὸς πάντας οὓς ἐὰν ἐξαποστελῶ σε πορεύσῃ. Σολομὼν δὲ ὁ σοφὸς δυοκαίδεκα τυγχάνων ἐτῶν συνῆκε τὸ μέγα τῆς ἀγνωσίας τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις τέκνοις ζήτημα. Δαγὶδ ὁ προφήτης ὅμοῦ καὶ βασιλεὺς μειράκιον χρίεται ὑπὸ Σαμουὴλ εἰς βασιλέα (*Mar. Ign.* 2, 3).

(6) ii. 23, p. 1066.

Οἱ δοῦλοι μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι· αλλ εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλέον δουλευέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τύχωσιν (*Polyc.* 4).

(7) ii. 43, p. 1112.

Καλοὺς μαθητὰς ἐὰν φιλῇς, χάρις σοι οὐκ ἔστι· μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀπειθεστέρους ἐν πραΰτητι ὑπότασσε. ου πᾶν τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται· τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε (*Polyc.* 2).

(8) ii. 67, p. 1162.

Οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς ὁ πόλεμος καταλύεται (*Ephes.* 13).

(9) ii. 84, p. 1204.

Χρήζω πραΰτητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διάβολος (*Ps-Trall.* 4).

(10) ii. 89, p. 1216.

Στῆκε ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος· μεγάλου ἀθλητοῦ ἐστι δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν· μάλιστα δὲ ἕνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν δεῖ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ (*Polyc.* 3).

Μακροθυμεῖτε μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραΰτητι, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν διὰ παντός (*Polyc.* 6).

The date of this writer is variously given from the 8th to the 12th century. Cave (*Hist. Lit.* II. p. 219) adopts the later epoch on the ground that he quotes Theophylact; but Fabricius (*Bibl. Graec.* IX. p. 744 sq., ed. Harles) asserts the writer quoted to be not, as Cave assumes, Theophylact of Bulgaria († c. A.D. 1112), but Theophylact of Simocatta († c. A.D. 628). They refer, I suppose, to the passage, p. 1170, Migne. Photius the patriarch is several times quoted. Antonius therefore cannot well be placed much before the close of the 9th century.

It is evident from the quotations, Παρθενίας ζυγὸν κ.τ.λ. and Τοῖς νεωτέροις κ.τ.λ. (i. 14), that this collection is not independent of the extracts in the *Parallela Vaticana* of John of Damascus. This is not the only instance in which the close connexion between these two works appears; see *Philippians* p. 252. The two passages here are not directly ascribed to Ignatius, but follow on the one correctly so ascribed, without any fresh ascription.

58.

Severus of Ashmunin [c. A.D. 975].

De Conciliis etc. iv.

الباب الرابع من الكتاب ، تعاليم الاباء المتقدّمين في الرياسة قبل افتراق الامانة ويسير ممّا جري بعد الافتراق المذكور[1] ، قال اغناطيوس بطريرك انطاكية الثالث بعد بطرس الرسول[2] في رسالته الي اهل اسمرنا[3] قال وانتم ايضا كونوا كاملين بربّنا يسوع المسيح الذي من زرع داود النبيّ[4] بالجسد وابن[5] الله بالحقيقة[6] ولد من مريم العذري واعتمد من يوحنّا وصلب من اجلنا علي عهد بيلاطس البنطيّ وقال في رسالته الي انطاكية من اعترف الآن بالمسيح ولم يقرّ بانّه[7] ابن الله خالق العالم ويقول ان هناك ابن آخر[8] ويعدل عمّا تنبّؤا به[9] الانبياء وبشّروا به التلاميذ فهو هيكل لابليس ،

[1] B om. المذكور. [2] B om. الرسول. [3] A اسمرما.
[4] B has only داوود. [5] B ابن. [6] B om. بالحقيقة.
[7] B انه. [8] B adds غيره. [9] A له.

The fourth chapter of the book. The teachings of the ancient Fathers regarding the Headship before the breaking up of the faith, and a little of what happened after the (said) breaking up. Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, the third after Peter (the Apostle), has said in his Epistle to the people of Smyrna: *And ye too, be ye perfect in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is of the seed of David (the prophet) according to the body, (and) the Son of God (in reality); He was born of the Virgin Mary,*

and was baptized by John, and was crucified for our sake in the time of Pontius Pilate (*Smyrn.* 1). And he has said in his Epistle to Antioch: *Whosoever acknowledges now the Christ, and does not confess that He is the Son of God, the Creator of the world, and says that here there is another son* (*besides Him*), *and turns away from what the prophets have prophesied and the disciples have announced, he is a temple unto Satan* (*Ant.* 5).

The words omitted in B are placed within brackets ( ).

The MS *Arabe Suppl.* 79, fol. 45 sq., has substantially the same text, but with the addition of these words after "Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch":

وهذا اغناطيوس هو الذي جعل السيّد يده علي راسه وقال لتلاميذه من اراد ان يكون كبير [كبيراً read] فيكون مثل هذا الطفل وكان في ذلك الوقت طفلا وصار بطرك انطاكية الثالث الخ.

And this Ignatius it was on whose head the Lord placed His hand, and said to His disciples: *Whosoever wishes to become great, he must become like this child.* And he was at this time a child, and he became patriarch of Antioch, the third *etc.*

Severus ibn al-Mukaffa was bishop of Ashmunin, or Hermopolis Magna, in the Thebaid. His best known work is a history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, to which Renaudot was chiefly indebted in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. Jacobit.* (Paris 1713). The following facts fixing the date of Severus have been supplied to me by Dr Rieu from a British Museum MS of his history, *Add.* 26101. (1) Speaking of a chapel of S. Mark built by the patriarch Sanutius I, who was ordained A.D. 859, he says that it had now been standing 115 years (fol. 32 b; comp. Renaudot p. 323). This therefore could not have been written before A.D. 974. (2) It is stated (fol. 43 b; comp. Renaudot p. 367) that Severus was bishop of Ashmunin under Ephrem Syrus, who was patriarch for three years about A.D. 975, and that he took a prominent part in a disputation against the Jews before the Khalif al Moezz, who died A.D. 975. (3) Severus is mentioned (fol. 52 b; comp. Renaudot p. 377) as the intimate friend of Wadih ibn Raja, a convert from Islamism who died under the Khalif al Hakim (A.D. 996—1020). For references to this Severus see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. pp. 70 sq., 143, III. p. 543, Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* X. p. 623, Lequien *Oriens Christ.* II. p. 596, Cave *Hist. Lit.* II. p. 106, as also in the several Catalogues of the Arabic and Ethiopic MSS in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Paris Libraries.

The work from which the above extract is taken is a treatise 'On the First Four Councils and the Causes of Schisms' in refutation of Eutychius ibn al-Batrik (see Zotenberg *Catal. des MSS Syriaques de la Bibl. Nation.* p. 190; comp. Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* III. p. 543). It is preserved in four Paris MSS, three Arabic (*Ancien Fonds* 90, *Supplément* 55, 79) and one Carshunic (*Ancien Fonds* 154; see Zotenberg l. c.). The extract here given belongs to the beginning of the fourth book, and is taken from

the MSS, *Ancien Fonds* 90 fol. 19 sq., and *Suppl.* 55 fol. 94, designated A, B, respectively in the collation.

Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 90, ed. Churton), after speaking of Ignatian quotations in Greek and Latin authors, continues; 'Est et aliud [testimonium] ex Arabico depromptum; cujus cum nec auctor satis certo nec aetas mihi hactenus innotuit, illud postremo loco adjungendum putavi, quemadmodum a viro docto Bernardo Oxoniensi e codice MS D. Thevenoti, qui numero octavus est in Catalogo Verlanii, exscriptum mihique communicatum est. Ita igitur Ibn Zorha Jacobita (si bene meminit amicus noster) libri sui adversus Eutychen cap. quarto; *Dicit Ignatius* etc.': after which Pearson gives in Latin the Ignatian extracts which I have printed above in the Arabic. Through the kindness of M. Zotenberg, who has investigated the matter for me, I have been able to trace the quotation to its proper source. The Paris MS *Ancien Fonds* 90 (mentioned above), which wants some leaves at the beginning, contains a number of miscellaneous theological treatises by Ibn Zorha, Johannes Saba, Abul-Farag, and others. Among these is the above-mentioned work 'On the Councils,' which contains the extract. This Isa ibn Zorha was a famous Jacobite writer (Ann. Heg. 331—398), but he is not the author of the work in question. In a title however added by a later hand the treatises in the volume generally are ascribed to him; and in this way Pearson's informant was misled.

This extract has been edited for me from M. Zotenberg's transcript and collations by Dr Wright, to whom also I am indebted for the translation.

59.

SOLOMON OF BASSORA [C. A.D. 1220].

Liber Apis.

(i) 'John the son of Zebedee, he also was from Bethsaida of the tribe of Zabulon. He preached in Asia at first, and afterwards he was sent into banishment to the island of Patmos by Tiberius Cæsar, and then he went up to Ephesus and built a church there. Now there went up with him three disciples; Ignatius who was afterwards bishop of Antioch and was thrown to beasts at Rome, and Polycarp who was bishop in Syria [Smyrna] and received the crown [of martyrdom] by fire, and that John on whom he conferred the priesthood and the seat of the bishopric after him.'

(ii) 'The child whom our Lord called and set up and said, *Unless ye be converted, and become like a child, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven*, was Ignatius, the same that was patriarch of Antioch. And he saw the angels ministering in two bands, and instituted that they should minister in the church in the same manner: and after a time this institution was abolished: and when Diodorus went with his father in the embassy to the country of Persia, and saw them ministering in two bands, he came to his own country Antioch, and renewed the practice of ministering in two bands.'

For this Syrian writer see Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* III. p. 309. This book called 'the Bee' is preserved in a Vatican MS (see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 576) and in *Brit. Mus. Add.* 25875 (see Wright's *Catalogue* p. 1067). From this latter Cureton published and translated the extracts which are here given (*C. I.* p. 220 sq., 251 sq.). The latter of the two passages is also quoted by Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* III. p. 321). The whole work has been translated into Latin by Schönfelder (Bamberg, 1866).

For the introduction of antiphonal singing, and for the reference to Diodorus, see above, p. 31.

60.

Gregory Barhebraeus [c. A.D. 1285].

Chronicon Ecclesiasticum (ed. Abbeloos et Lamy).

(i) I. p. 42. 'After Euodius Ignatius Nurono. He was bound at Antioch and sent to Rome. And on the journey he confirmed all the faithful that came in his way; and he said *I am the wheat of God who am ready to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be pure bread on the heavenly table.* And he saw angels singing in two bands and he taught the Church to do so. And when he arrived in Rome, Trajan commanded that he should be cast to wild-beasts; and he was devoured as he had before prophesied.'

'After Ignatius Nurono Eron in the time of Plinius Secundus. He condemned many Christians to death and deposed them from their rank, etc.' (comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 33).

(ii) II. p. 34.

'And he [Simeon Barsaboë] ordered that they should sing in two bands in the Churches of the East, just as in the west it had been ordered from the time of Ignatius Nurono the disciple of John the Evangelist the son of Zebedee.'

In the preceding pages those quotations and references are omitted which fall under the following heads;

(1) All testimonies later than the close of the ninth century. To this rule exceptions are made in the case of the three last, which are given for their intrinsic interest as showing the tradition of Oriental Churches. References to later testimonies will be found scattered up and down these volumes; e.g. for the English writers who quote the Anglo-Latin Version see above, I. p. 77.

(2) All the Acts of Martyrdom of S. Ignatius. These will be found in their proper place, II. p. 363 sq.

(3) All Martyrologies and Calendars, with the exception of the very early Syriac Martyrology (see above, p. 141), whose great anti-

quity claimed for it a special mention. Notices will be found in II. p. 416 sq. of several of the Martyrologies and Calendars thus omitted.

(4) All Service Books. Thus the Greek Menæa (Dec. 20) give a considerable space to Ignatius. Some notices relating to the Menæa will be found in different parts of these volumes, e.g. I. p. 211, II. pp. 202, 207, 223, 420). For the rest, it may be said generally that the prayers, invocations, etc., in the Menæa are founded on the Acts of Martyrdom (including the incorporated Epistle to the Romans) and the panegyric of S. Chrysostom.

(5) All secondary Latin authorities. The notices in such writers are made up of (1) the notice in the *Viri Illustres* of Jerome (see above, p. 147); (2) the version of Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 36 by Rufinus (see above, p. 160); and sometimes also (3) the Bollandist Latin Acts of Ignatius (see II. p. 370). Thus the passage in Gildas (*de Excid. Britann.* iii. 7, p. 373, ed. Migne) is taken from Rufinus; the account in Freculph of Lexovium (*Chron.* ii. 2. 11, *Magn. Bibl. Vet. Patr.* IX. i. p. 509) is copied almost word for word from Jerome; while the narrative in Ado (*Libell. de Festiv. Apost.* p. 191, Migne) and in the *Martyrology* of the so-called Bede (*Op.* v. p. 1112, Migne) is derived chiefly from the Bollandist Acts, with a slight intermingling of Jerome.

A most important testimony to the Ignatian letters is found in the different versions, recensions, and spurious imitations. These however have been considered in the previous chapter, and therefore all mention of them is omitted here.

Eusebius	1. Short Form	2. Middle Form			3. Long Form
	Syriac	*Greek & Latin*	*Armenian*	*Coptic*	*Greek & Latin*
(i) From Smyrna;					
1. Ephesians	1. Polycarp	1. Smyrnæans	1. Smyrnæans	1. *Hero*	1. *Mar. Ign.*
2. Magnesians	2. Ephesians	2. Polycarp	2. Polycarp	2. Smyrnæans	2. *Ign. Mar.*
3. Trallians		3. Ephesians	3. Ephesians	* *	3. Trallians
4. Romans		4. Magnesians	4. Magnesians		4. Magnesians
(ii) From Troas;	3. Romans [Trallians]	5. Philadelphians	5. Trallians		5. *Tarsians*
5. Philadelphians		6. Trallians	6. Philadelphians		6. *Philippians*
6. Smyrnæans		7. *Mar. Ign.*	7. Romans		7. Philadelphians
7. Polycarp		8. *Ign. Mar.*	8. *Antiochenes*		8. Smyrnæans
		9. *Tarsians*	9. *Mar. Ign.*		9. Polycarp
		10. *Antiochenes*	10. *Ign. Mar.*		10. *Antiochenes*
		11. *Hero*	11. *Tarsians*		11. *Hero*
		Martyrdom with	12. *Hero*		12. Ephesians
		12. Romans	13. *Philippians*		13. Romans
See I. p. 138 sq., II. p. 1 sq. The order is chronological.	See I. p. 70 sq., II. p. 657 sq. A fragment of Trallians is embedded in Romans.	See I. p. 73 sq., II. p. 589. The extant Greek MS is imperfect.	See I. p. 84 sq.	See I. p. 101 sq., II. p. 859 sq.	See I. p. 102 sq., II. p. 711 sq. The first, *Mar. Ign.*, is wanting in the Latin.

4

SPURIOUS AND INTERPOLATED EPISTLES.

THE history of the Ignatian Epistles in Western Europe, before and after the revival of letters, is full of interest. In the middle ages the spurious and interpolated letters alone have any wide circulation. Gradually, as the light advances, the forgeries recede into the background. Each successive stage diminishes the bulk of the Ignatian literature which the educated mind accepts as genuine; till at length the true Ignatius alone remains, divested of the accretions which perverted ingenuity has gathered about him.

Mention has been made more than once already of the CORRESPONDENCE WITH S. JOHN AND THE VIRGIN, bearing the name of Ignatius. This consists of four brief letters: (1) A letter from Ignatius to S. John, describing the interest aroused in himself and others by the accounts which they have received concerning the marvellous devotion and love of the Virgin; (2) Another from the same to the same, expressing his earnest desire to visit Jerusalem for the sake of seeing the Virgin together with James the Lord's brother and other saints; (3) A letter from Ignatius to the Virgin, asking her to send him a word of assurance and exhortation; (4) A reply from the Virgin to Ignatius, confirming the truth of all that John has taught him, and urging him to be stedfast in the faith[1].

It can hardly be doubted that the forger took the existing Ignatian

[1] This seems to be the correct order of the letters, as it preserves a proper climax. It is found in *Magdal.* 76, *Caiens.* 395. On the other hand in *Lincoln.* 101, *Laud. Misc.* 141, the order is (3), (4), (1), (2), the correspondence with the Virgin preceding the letters to S. John. For the letters themselves see II. p. 653 sq.

Epistles as his starting-point. Among these there is a letter to one Mary of Cassobola, who is addressed as χριστοφόρος θυγατὴρ Μαρία, '*Christifera* filia Maria.' A careless reader might assume that the Virgin was meant thereby[1], for the epithet would seem to be singularly applicable to her; and thus he would be tempted to enlarge the correspondence. In the letter to the Virgin at all events the forger uses this very same epithet, 'Christiferae Mariae suus Ignatius,' and speaks of having written to her before, 'Scripsi tibi et alias.'

These letters are found only in Latin, and internal evidence seems to show that this was their original language[2]. As the motive is obviously the desire to do honour to the Virgin, we are naturally led to connect this forgery with the outburst of Mariolatry, which marked the eleventh and following centuries. The workmanship is coarse and clumsy, and could only have escaped detection in an uncritical age.

Certainly the writer succeeded in his aim. The manuscripts of this correspondence far exceed even those of the Long Recension in number, and the quotations are decidedly more frequent. In some quarters indeed S. Ignatius was only known through them, the other letters not possessing sufficient interest for the age, and therefore gradually passing out of mind.

It is even alleged that the great S. Bernard himself vouches for their genuineness, and his supposed authority swayed the judgment of critics for some time after the revival of letters; but this view, though commonly held, seems to rest on a misreading or a misinter-

[1] The instance given above (p. 119, note 2), where this same mistake has actually been made in the second half of this 19th century, will show that a misapprehension was far from improbable in the 11th.

The persistence of this error is illustrated by some curious facts. In the opening salutation of the epistle, χριστοφόρῳ θυγατρὶ Μαρίᾳ, 'Christiferae filiae Mariae,' the word 'filiae' is left out in several MSS of the old Latin Version. The omission is evidently due to the feeling that this mode of address was not suited to the Lord's mother, to whom the epistle was supposed to have been written. Again, in a modern Latin translation by J. Brunner, which is attached to Gesner's edition of these epistles in Greek (A. D. 1560), the difficulty is met in another way. The words χριστοφόρῳ θυγατρὶ Μαρίᾳ are rendered 'Christi filiae ac matri Mariae.'

[2] Cotelier (on *Philipp.* 14) states that he read in a catalogue of MSS belonging to the Church of S. Peter at Beauvais the entry 'Epistolae duae aut tres B. Ignatii martyris ad B. Mariam Virginem et ad S. Johannem Evangelistam, quae inventae sunt Lugduni, tempore concilii Innocentii Papae IV, et de Graeco in Latinum conversae.' What foundation in fact this statement may have, I am unable to say. This Council of Lyons was held in A. D. 1245. Some special honours were conferred on the Virgin by it; see Labb. *Conc.* XIV. 42.

pretation of his meaning. In one of his sermons this father writes as follows[1]:

'Therefore, dearly beloved, give ye glory, and bear Christ meanwhile in your body, a delightful load, a pleasant weight, a wholesome burden... That great Ignatius, the scholar of the disciple whom Jesus loved, our martyr with whose precious reliques our poverty hath been enriched, saluteth a certain[2] Mary in several epistles[3] which he wrote to her, as *Christ-bearer*. Truly an exceptional title of dignity and a commendation of exceeding honour. For the carrying of Him, to be whose slave is to be a king, is not onerous, but honorable... Happy the man who shall have so borne Christ as to deserve to be introduced into the holy city by the Holy One of all'.

[1] *In Psalm* XC *Serm.* vii. § 3, 4 (II. p. 124, Venet. 1726) 'Glorificate itaque, dilectissimi, et portate interim Christum in corpore vestro, onus delectabile, suave pondus, sarcinam salutarem.... Magnus ille Ignatius, discipuli quem diligebat Jesus auditor, martyr noster, cujus pretiosis reliquiis nostra ditata est paupertas, Mariam *quandam* in pluribus quas ad eam scripsit epistolis, Christiferam consalutat. Egregius plane titulus dignitatis et commendatio honoris immensi. Nempe cui servire regnare est, gestare hunc, non onerari est, sed honorari.... Felix qui sic tulerit Christum, ut a sancto sanctorum in sanctam civitatem mereatur induci.'

[2] The word *quandam* was doubtless omitted by transcribers acquainted with the letter to the Virgin, but ignorant of the letter to Mary of Cassobola. To such the expression would appear out of place. In some instances *quidem* is substituted for *quandam* with the same view, as in *Laur.* xxiii. 20. Internal probability and external evidence alike show that *quandam* is correct. The passage of S. Bernard sometimes accompanies the Correspondence in the MSS, for the purpose of recommending it to the reader; e.g. *Magd.* 76, *Laur.* xxiii. 20.

[3] The expression 'pluribus literis' must be set down to an error on S. Bernard's part. He may have got the idea of 'several letters' in either of two ways—from a lapse of memory which substituted a second letter from Ignatius to Mary of Cassobola for the letter from Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius, or from a confusion which combined the two letters to the two Maries, each designated 'Christifera,' and supposed them both addressed to Mary of Cassobola. This latter hypothesis however supposes him to have had a superficial acquaintance with the letter to the Virgin, which seems improbable; and the former therefore is to be preferred. The extant *Clairvaux* MS (see above p. 119), though early, does not contain the correspondence with the Virgin and S. John. Can it be that the 'pretiosae reliquiae,' to which S. Bernard refers, were the *literary* remains of Ignatius with which the library had recently been enriched?

If any one doubts whether such a mistake as I attribute to S. Bernard be possible, he may be convinced by finding that it is actually made by the editor of a standard edition of S. Bernard's works (Venet. 1726), who maintains that his author is not speaking of the Virgin, 'sed de alia quadam, nempe Cassabolita seu Castabolita, ad quam *duae extant epistolae* sancto Ignatio martyri adscriptae, in quibus Christifera salutatur.'

Here it is clear from *quandam* that some comparatively unknown person bearing the name Mary is intended. But the omission of the word in some texts has given occasion to the belief that S. Bernard is speaking of the Virgin. Of its genuineness however there can be no reasonable doubt. The whole context shows that S. Bernard regards Ignatius as using the epithet 'Christ-bearing' in the same sense in which it might be applied to his own hearers. The allusion therefore is to Mary of Cassobola.

At the first streak of intellectual dawn this Ignatian spectre vanished into its kindred darkness. In vain feeble attempts were made to arrest its departure. The mention in the Chronicle of the so-called Dexter was alleged, but this was found to be a coarse forgery. The authority of the great Bernard was pleaded, but this proves to be a case of mistaken identity. So it was held a sufficient condemnation of this correspondence in an age when internal characteristics were not over narrowly scrutinized, that it is never quoted by the ancients, and accordingly it was consigned at once and for ever to the limbo of foolish and forgotten things[1].

After this stupid pretender's claims had been set aside, S. Ignatius was represented, less unworthily indeed, but still very inadequately, in Western Europe by the epistles of the LONG RECENSION. The Latin MSS of this recension are, as we have seen, by no means uncommon. The Latin text was printed early (A.D. 1498) and reprinted several times. The publication of the Greek text succeeded after an interval of nearly sixty years (A.D. 1557). At first no doubt seems to have been entertained respecting its genuineness. Ignatius was certainly cited by the ancients, and this was the only Ignatius known. Moreover the epistles quoted in early times bore the same names; and the quotations themselves, though they did not coincide, had a rough resemblance to passages in these extant letters. There seemed therefore to be no alternative left, but to accept them as genuine.

Yet the very suspicious character of the epistles caused uneasiness to the critical spirit. The divergence of the text from the quotations in early Christian writers, such as Eusebius and Theodoret, were in some instances so great that in Ussher's language (p. xvii) it was difficult for one to imagine 'eundem legere se Ignatium qui veterum aetate legebatur.' It appeared clear moreover that Eusebius was only ac-

[1] Yet Halloix (*Illustr. Script. Vitae* I. p. 300), writing as late as A.D. 1633, can still say of its genuineness, 'non est improbabile.'

quainted with seven epistles, and that none besides the seven mentioned by him were quoted for many generations after his time. Lastly, when early Christian history came to be more carefully studied, these epistles were found to contain gross anachronisms and other blunders. The writer for instance condemns the heresies of Basilides and Theodotus among others (*Trall.* 11), though the opinions of the former were not promulgated during the lifetime of Ignatius, and the latter cannot have flourished till considerably more than half a century after his death. He also supposes a heresiarch Ebion (*Philad.* 6), as Tertullian and later writers have done, but it is now acknowledged that no such individual existed and that the name was a designation adopted by the members of a sect or community generally. These are among the more prominent historic absurdities in which the epistles of the Long Recension abound.

Besides these difficulties and misgivings which the critical faculty suggested, there were others due to a less honourable motive. Theological and ecclesiastical prejudice entered largely into the views of the combatants. These epistles contained certain passages which favoured, or seemed to favour, the Roman supremacy (*Rom.* inscr., comp. *Ign. Mar.* 4). Protestant controversialists were offended at these. Again the writer appears throughout as a staunch advocate of episcopacy. To Reformers, like Calvin, who had adopted presbyterianism on principle, this was an unpardonable crime. It is a noteworthy circumstance that Romanist writers for the most part maintained the authenticity and integrity of the twelve epistles of the Long Recension. One noble exception is the Jesuit Petavius who, remarking on the quotations in early writers, recognized distinctly the fact that these epistles were interpolated. On the other hand Protestant writers, as a rule, did not deny a genuine nucleus, though they ruthlessly excised everything which conflicted with their theological and ecclesiastical prepossessions. Thus the Magdeburg Centuriators[1] did not go beyond expressing their doubts concerning these epistles, and even Calvin is defended by later Protestant writers against the imputation of condemning the letters altogether, though he had declared in his *Institutes* that 'nothing was more foul than those nursery stories (nihil naeniis illis...putidius), which were published under the name of Ignatius', and had denounced 'the insufferable impudence of those who

[1] The references to writers quoted in this paragraph will be found in Pearson *Vind. Ign.* procem., Cureton *C. I.* p. xvii sq., *Vind. Ign.* Appx. i sq., Jacobson *Patr. Apost.* I. p. 27 sq., and other collections of authorities.

equip themselves with ghosts like these (talibus larvis...se instruunt) for the purpose of deceiving.' A type of the more moderate opponent is Abr. Scultetus (A. D. 1598), who, pointing out some real and other imaginary blots in these letters, acquiesced in the verdict 'esse quidem epistolas hasce Ignatii, sed adulteratas, sed interpolatas.' Even later (A. D. 1641), on the very eve of Ussher's great discovery, Saumaise did not go beyond the assertion 'Omnes illas Ignatii epistolas suppositicias esse vel certe multis locis interpolatas', while he expressed his own view of their origin in the words 'Epistolae illae natae et suppositae videntur *circa initium aut medium secundi saeculi*, quo tempore primus singularis episcopatus supra presbyteratum introductus fuit.' Little or nothing was gained, even from the writer's own point of view, by a theory which shifted the authorship but hardly touched the date.

One serious and sober attempt, which was made during this pre-Usserian epoch, to separate the spurious from the genuine Ignatian literature, deserves special notice. An edition of the Ignatian letters was published A.D. 1623 by Vedelius, a Genevan Professor. He divided the epistles into two classes, printing the seven named by Eusebius by themselves as genuine, and throwing the remaining five into a second volume or appendix as spurious (*τὰ ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ τὰ νόθα*). As regards the Seven Epistles, he maintained that they were corrupted, and he pointed especially to the interpolations from the *Apostolic Constitutions*. For the rest, he proceeded with great moderation. Though an ardent controversialist against Bellarmin and other Romanists, he betrays no excessive eagerness to get rid of passages which seem to make against him. Thus he allows the opening words of the Epistle to the Romans to stand. If he is frequently wrong in his attempts to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious, his failure in this respect was inevitable. The problem was insoluble without the aid of external testimony.

While continental opinion was thus vague and divided, Anglican writers seem generally, though not universally, to have accepted the twelve Epistles without hesitation. This was the case for instance with Whitgift and Hooker and Andrewes[1]. The opponents of their genuineness were for the most part men of inferior note, and (so far as they argued the case) derived their arguments from foreign scholars.

[1] Whitgift's *Works* II. pp. 171, 304, 428 (Parker Society's ed.); Hooker's *Works* III. pp. 4, 173 sq., 185, etc. (ed. Keble); Andrewes' *Works* I. pp. 392, 394 (Oxon. 1841).

In England, as on the Continent, the question can hardly be said to have been considered on its own merits. Episcopacy was the burning question of the day; and the sides of the combatants in the Ignatian controversy were already predetermined for them by their attitude towards this question. Every allowance should be made for their following their prepossessions, where the evidence seemed so evenly balanced. On the one hand external testimony was strongly in favour of the genuineness of certain Ignatian letters; on the other hand the only Ignatian letters known were burdened with difficulties. At the very eve of Ussher's revelation a fierce literary war broke out on this very subject of episcopacy—evoked by the religious and political troubles of the times. In the year 1639, Hall then Bishop of Exeter, instigated by the primate Laud, wrote a work entitled *Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted* (*Works* IX. p. 505 sq, ed. Pratt, 1808). He confines his quotations to those confessedly 'genuine epistles...seven in number' (p. 571), which Eusebius knew and which Vedelius acknowledged; but in these seven he quotes and defends passages (e.g. *Philad.* 4) which Vedelius had justly condemned as interpolations. Two years later (A.D. 1641) he published *An Humble Remonstrance* (IX. p. 628 sq.) on behalf of Liturgy and Episcopacy. This was attacked in *An Answer to the Book entituled an Humble Remonstrance* (London, 1641), by five Presbyterian ministers, under the name Smectymnuus, a word composed of the initial letters of their names. To this Hall replied in *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance* (IX. p. 643). In this work also he quotes Ignatius (p. 672); but here the passage quoted (*Smyrn.* 8) is the same in the interpolated recension as in the original. We may conjecture that he had received a hint meanwhile from Ussher, and so abstained from quoting the interpolated text. A collection of tracts also was published at Oxford this same year in defence of episcopacy; and in this collection was included one written by Ussher himself at the earnest importunity of Bishop Hall (see Ussher's *Life and Works* I. p. 225) and entitled *The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans* (*ib.* VII. p. 41 sq.). In this tract Ussher significantly confines his quotations from Ignatius to two or three passages in which the interpolated recension agrees with the original text, but he does not breathe a word about his discovery, though the sheets of his great work on Ignatius were passing through his hands at the time[1]. A storm of writings followed on both sides of the ques-

[1] The leading facts relating to Ussher's labours on Ignatius, as collected from his remains, are as follows. (1) In his *Answer to a Jesuit*, published in 1625, he

tion. Among the champions of episcopacy in this melée the most notable was Jeremy Taylor, then a young man, whose elaborate work *Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy* (*Works* VII. p. 3 sq., ed. Heber, 1822) appeared in 1642, and who quotes the Ignatian letters freely (VII. pp. 37, 47, 52, 72, 89, 102, 103, etc.) as authoritative,

quotes the Long Recension without any expression of misgiving (*Life and Works* III. pp. 428, 354). (2) On Aug. 27, 1628, Dr Prideaux refers to Ussher's intention of 'printing Ignatius' at Oxford (XV. p. 419), and on March 15, 1629, Ussher himself writes to Dr Ward, 'I have written a large censure of the Epistles of Ignatius, which I forward to publish before I have received the transcript of the Latin Ignatius which you have in Caius College' (XV. p. 482). This 'censure' was never published. Probably it set forth Ussher's theory, founded on the quotations in English writers but not yet confirmed by the authority of any MS. He seems to have been desirous of giving it to the world at once, because it would be the more telling if confirmed afterwards (as he anticipated) by manuscript authority. Doubtless its substance was incorporated afterwards in his published work. (3) From the letter last quoted it appears that he had already taken steps to procure a transcript of the Caius MS (see above, p. 81). On May 25, 1630 Dr Ward writes to Ussher that he was 'in good hope that this had been the same with an old printed translation which he had; but comparing them together he found them differ much' (XV. p. 504). He had applied first to Dr Whalley and then to Mr Forster (see above p. 81) to make a transcript, but had not succeeded. He promises however to see to it 'at the return of our students', i.e. after the end of the Long Vacation. On July 28, 1631, the transcript is actually in the hands of Ussher's agent (XV. p. 542), and on Aug. 9, 1632, Ussher speaks of it with approbation (XV. p. 559); see above, p. 81 note. (4) On March 10, 1637, Ussher, after mentioning some characteristics of the Caius MS as contrasted with the common texts, adds 'I intend before long to publish Ignatius myself' (XVI. p. 34). (5) In the years 1639, 1640, he is making enquiries about Oriental translations (XVI. pp. 58, 64). (6) On Sept. 30, 1640, he writes that 'the printer is following him hard' with the sheets of Polycarp and Ignatius (XV. p. 64). (7) On May 31, 1644, he sends a presentation copy to Saumaise (XVI. p. 72). There does not appear to be in the extant correspondence any notice of the other Latin MS, *Montacutianus* (see above p. 82); from which it may be inferred that this latter did not come into his hands till a comparatively late date. Possibly he first learnt of its existence from Mountague's notice of it in his *Origines Ecclesiasticae* published A.D. 1640 (see above, l.c.), which would naturally attract his attention as in the passage quoted it differs from the vulgar Latin Version. The long delay in Ussher's publication of his Ignatian work is probably due partly to the political and ecclesiastical troubles of the times, partly to his being engaged on other important literary work, notably his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* which appeared Aug. 10, 1639. He seems to have set to work on his Ignatius in earnest as soon as this last-mentioned book was off his hands. I do not know the date of the letter to Dr Twiss '*Of the Sabbath*', in which he mentions the Caius MS, as being free from the interpolations of the vulgar text in *Magn.* 9 and as agreeing elsewhere with the quotations in the ancient fathers (XII. p. 584 sq.).

though in one passage (VII. p. 155 sq.) he confines himself to the seven letters mentioned by Eusebius that he may give his adversaries every advantage. In the ranks of the opponents a still more famous name appears. Milton's short treatise *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (*Works* III. p. 72 sq., Pickering, 1851) was published in 1641 and is chiefly directed against Ussher. Like all his theological tracts at this time, it is brimfull of fiery eloquence and reckless invective. He fiercely attacks the Ignatian Epistles, deceived by Ussher's reticence and little suspecting the strength of his adversary's position. It is however creditable to his critical discernment that he lays his finger on real blots in these letters as then read, passing over the passages which had been quoted by Ussher[1]. Those places, which he himself quotes, 'must' he says 'either be adulterate, or else Ignatius was not Ignatius, not a martyr, but most adulterate and corrupt himself.' 'To what end then,' he adds pertinently, 'should they cite him as authentic for episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic of him?.....Had God ever intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless He would not have so ill provided for our knowledge as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if He intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic manna by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments from an unknown table, and searching among the verminous and polluted rags dropt overworn from the toiling shoulders of Time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of Truth' (pp. 80, 81). So he denounces as impiety the 'confronting and paralleling the sacred verity of Saint Paul with the offals and sweepings of antiquity that met as accidentally and absurdly as Epicurus his atoms to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius.....' (p. 92).

Out of his own mouth he was convicted. The better 'provision for our knowledge' came full soon. To the critical genius of Ussher belongs the honour of restoring the true Ignatius. As I have already

[1] The one exception is *Smyrn.* 8, 'wherein is written that they should follow their bishop as Christ did His Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles' (p. 80). This had been quoted by Ussher. Milton remarks that, 'not to speak of the insulse and ill-laid comparison,' it 'lies on the very brim of a noted corruption' and thus is discredited by its environments. Here again he showed his critical sagacity. The mention of the bishop sacrificing, and the assertion of the superiority of the bishop to the king, which justly offend him in the context, disappear in the Vossian letters. The charge of insulseness remains, but why should Ignatius not have been 'insulse'?

stated (see above, p. 76 sq.), he observed that the quotations of this father in certain English writers from the thirteenth century onward agreed with those of the ancients, and he divined that in England, if anywhere, copies of the original form of these epistles would be found. He made search accordingly, and his search was successful. He discovered two Latin MSS, containing a text of which the Long Recension was obviously an expansion, and agreeing exactly with the quotations in Eusebius, Theodoret, and others. There could be no doubt then, that this Latin translation represented the Ignatius known to the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. But the Greek text was still unknown; and Ussher could only restore it from the Long Recension with the aid of his newly discovered Latin version, by lopping off the excrescences and otherwise altering to bring it into conformity thereto.

Ussher's book appeared in the year 1644. Altogether it showed not only marvellous erudition, but also the highest critical genius. It was however marred by one blot. Though Eusebius mentions seven epistles of S. Ignatius, Ussher would only receive six. The exception was the Epistle to Polycarp, which he condemned as spurious (*Polyc. et Ign. Ep.* pp. viii sq., cxxviii, *App. Ign.* p. 85 sq.). He was led into this error chiefly by the authority of S. Jerome, who, as I have already pointed out (p. 148), misunderstood the language of his predecessor Eusebius and confounded the Epistle to the Smyrnæans with the Epistle to Polycarp[1]. He failed to perceive that Jerome, having no direct

[1] Pearson, in refuting Ussher's objections (*Vind. Ign.* p. 50 sq.), justly remarks, 'Neque enim Hieronymum hic imprimis spectandum esse puto, neque Eusebium ex Hieronymo interpretor, sed, uti par est, Hieronymum ex Eusebio ex quo sua transtulit.' He shows conclusively that Eusebius speaks of seven epistles; but he is less happy in his attempt to impose the same meaning on Jerome. This he does by means of a parenthesis—a solution which Casaubon had suggested—'Scripsit...ad Smyrnaeos (et proprie ad Polycarpum commendans illi Antiochensem ecclesiam) in qua et de evangelio etc.' Ussher had laid some stress on the fact that Honorius of Augustodunum (*de Script. Eccl.* 17, Migne's *Patrol.* CLXXII. p. 199) omits all mention of the Epistle to Polycarp. To this Pearson replies that Honorius is no independent or trustworthy authority, as he derives all his information from Jerome and very frequently perverts or misunderstands him (p. 54). On the other hand he quotes Nicephorus (*H. E.* iii. 19), who rightly interprets Eusebius, καὶ Σμυρναίοις ἄλλην διαχαράττει, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῷ προέδρῳ ταύτης Πολυκάρπῳ ἑτέραν ἐπέστελλε. The fact that the Latin version of this epistle in the Long Recension ends abruptly (§ 3 'propter nos ut hominem'; see above, p. 124) was also drawn into this controversy: and Ussher and Pearson each endeavoured in accordance with his own theory to find some reason in the intrinsic contents of the epistle why the end should

knowledge of the Ignatian Epistles, went wrong from sheer ignorance. The objections from the internal character of the epistle, which Ussher quotes from Vedelius (*App. Ign.* l. c.), have no force; and indeed the Epistle to Polycarp, being substantially the same in all the three recensions, is the best standard and the safest test of the style of S. Ignatius. This part of Ussher's theory was almost universally rejected, as it deserved to be; but his main argument was irrefragable, and those who have since attempted to reinstate the Long Recension have beaten their heads against a stone wall.

As yet however the original Greek of the Middle Recension was not forthcoming. Ussher had heard of a MS in the Medicean Library at Florence, which promised to supply the deficiency (*Polyc. et Ign. Ep.* p. xxvi, *App. Ign.* praef.), but had not succeeded in getting a transcript. The discovery however was not long delayed. Two years after the appearance of Ussher's work, Isaac Voss (Amstel. 1646) published six out of the seven epistles of the Middle Recension from this Florentine MS; while the absence of the seventh—the Epistle to the Romans—was easily accounted for by the fact that the MS was imperfect at the end, so that this epistle (as in the corresponding Latin) must have been incorporated in the Acts of Martyrdom of the saint, with which the volume would close, and both together must have disappeared with the missing sheets. About half a century later the missing Greek Acts of Ignatius with the incorporated Epistle to the Romans were discovered in a MS belonging to the Colbert collection (see above, p. 75), and published by Ruinart (Paris A.D. 1689) in his *Acta Martyrum Sincera*. Thus the Greek text of the seven epistles of the Middle Recension was completed.

By Ussher's labours the question between the Long and the Middle Recension was—or ought to have been—set at rest for ever[1]. Yet

be omitted (Ussher p. cxxviii, Pearson p. 59). The simple solution seems to be that the Greek MS which the translator used was defective here, probably by the loss of a leaf. The Latin Version elsewhere (e.g. in the superscription of this Epistle to Polycarp) exhibits traces of indistinctness or mutilation in the copy from which it was made. Thus the fact has no bearing on this controversy.

[1] It took some little time however before the results of Ussher's labours were generally accepted. Thus Jeremy Taylor in his *Doctrine and Practice of Repentance* (*Works* IX. p. 94), published ten years after the appearance of Ussher's edition, still quotes the Epistle to the Magnesians from the Long Recension. As he was not a professional critic however, there is no reason to suppose that he did so from deliberate preference. About the same time Morinus (*Comment. de Sacr. Eccl. Ordin.* Par. iii. p. 45 sq., Paris 1655, quoted by Cureton *C. I.* p. xiv) defends the Long Recension. In Suicer's *The-*

notwithstanding the cogency of the evidence critics have boldly stepped forward from time to time and endeavoured to reinstate the shattered idol. Whiston early in the last century (A.D. 1711), Meier[1] towards the middle of the present (A.D. 1836), have led this more than forlorn hope, and probably the succession will be kept up at long intervals till the end of time. Such critical eccentricities form a curious study in literary history, but do not need any serious refutation.

But before we finally dismiss the Long Recension two points deserve consideration. *First.* The question has been treated hitherto almost entirely in reference to the Seven Epistles which occur in both the Long and the Middle Recension. Little has been said, except incidentally, of the five or (including the letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius) the six Ignatian Epistles which occur only in one form and which I have tacitly assumed to belong to the Long Recension. Is this assumption justifiable or not? *Secondly.* Having thus ascertained how many epistles belong to the Long Recension, we shall be in a position to answer another and a more important question, to which the previous one forms a preliminary step. At what date and with what object was this Recension compiled?

1. In considering the relation of the Additional Epistles to the Seven of the Long Recension, I shall reserve for the moment the Epistle to the Philippians, because the external evidence is slightly deficient, and for this and other reasons a separate authorship has been claimed for it by some able critics. With this reservation the Additional Epistles are five in number; the letter of Mary with the reply of Ignatius, the letter to Hero, and the letters to the Tarsians and Antiochenes. The points of investigation then are twofold: *First*, Is the resemblance of these letters to the Seven of the Long Recension sufficiently close to justify us in assigning them to the same author: and *Secondly*, Does the external evidence—the phenomena of MSS and the catena of quotations—lead to the same or to an opposite conclusion?

(i) If we had only internal testimony to guide us, the evidence would even then be overwhelming. In the investigation which follows I shall content myself with indicating the lines of search without following them out in detail. Any one who will read carefully through in succession the interpolated portions of the Seven Epistles in the Long Recension and then the Additional Epistles, may easily satisfy himself as to the strength of the position. We find in the Additional Epistles (a)

saurus (ed. 1, 1682; ed. 2, 1728) it is still quoted as if authentic.

[1] *Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken* 1836, p. 340.

the same employment of scriptural texts and scriptural examples, (b) the same doctrinal complexion and nomenclature, (c) the same literary plagiarisms, and (d) the same general style and phraseology, which characterize the Long Recension—these being just the points which differentiate the Long Recension from the Middle.

(a) While the Middle Recension is very sparing of *Biblical quotations*, so that the whole number throughout the Seven Epistles may be counted on the fingers, and even these (except in one or two instances) are not formally cited, the Long Recension abounds in them. Even in the passages otherwise copied bodily from the Middle Recension they are interpolated at every possible opportunity; and the portions which are peculiar to the Long Recension—more especially the doctrinal portions—frequently consist of a string of Scriptural passages threaded together by explanatory remarks from the author himself (see esp. *Ephes.* 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, *Rom.* 3, 8, *Magn.* 1, 8, 9, 10, 12, *Trall.* 7, 8, 10, *Philad.* 3, 4, 9, *Smyrn.* 2, 3, 6, 9). This feature is reproduced in the additional letters, more especially in the Epistles to the Tarsians and Antiochenes, which not being letters to private individuals contain more direct doctrinal teaching (see esp. *Tars.* 2—7, *Ant.* 2—5, 10, *Hero* 1, 5).

Allied to this feature is the frequent reference to *Scriptural characters*, which distinguishes the epistles of the Long Recension. When the writer breaks loose from the restraints of the Middle Recension, on which his work is founded, he very frequently exercises his freedom in this way (*Ephes.* 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, *Magn.* 3, 12, *Trall.* 7, *Philad.* 1, 4, 9, *Smyrn.* 7). This feature again is faithfully reproduced in the Additional Epistles (*Mar. Ign.* 2—4, *Tars.* 2, 3, *Ant.* 10, *Hero* 3, 5). Of the New Testament worthies who are mentioned both in the Long Recension and in the Additional Epistles, a prominence is given to Stephen as the model deacon (*Trall.* 7, *Tars.* 3, *Hero* 3). There is also a special fondness for coordinating the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, for which the genuine Ignatius had furnished the precedent (*Rom.* 4), and which this later interpolator uses on every possible occasion (*Ign. Mar.* 4, *Trall.* 5, 7, *Magn.* 10, *Tars.* 3, *Philad.* 4, *Ant.* 7), connecting the joint names not only with Rome (*Ign. Mar.* 4, *Trall.* 7) as the genuine Ignatius had done, but also with Antioch (*Magn.* 10, *Ant.* 7). Even beyond the limits of the New Testament examples are sought; the early bishops of Rome and Antioch—Linus, Anacletus, Clemens, Euodius—are brought forward in the Additional Epistles not less than in the Seven, as occasion serves (*Ign. Mar.* 4, *Trall.* 7, *Philad.* 4, *Ant.* 7). If the three private letters do not afford such

numerous instances of Scriptural quotations as the other two, they do not fall at all behind them in the production of Scriptural characters. The letter from Mary to Ignatius—a singularly clumsy and inartistic work—is from beginning to end a mere expansion of a section in the Epistle to the Magnesians (§ 3), where the supposed Ignatius defends the youth of a certain bishop and ransacks the Bible for instances of youthful piety and wisdom—such as Samuel, Daniel, Jeremiah, Solomon, Josiah—in defence of his position. The self-consciousness of the writer, as he thus reproduces his own work, betrays itself curiously, when he makes this Mary apologize to Ignatius for reminding him of what he must well know and for thus appearing to make a superfluous display of learning (§ 5 *περιττὸς εἶναι δόξω καὶ φανητιῶσα*).

(b) Of the *doctrinal features* nothing need be said here. When the proper time comes for the discussion of this subject, it will appear that throughout the thirteen letters the same doctrines are maintained, the same heresies assailed, and the same theological terms employed. In this respect no difference can be traced between the two sets of epistles.

(c) The same is true likewise of these *literary obligations*. This is the case with the plagiarisms from the genuine Ignatius (e.g. the use of the characteristic Ignatian *ὀναίμην*; *Ign. Mar.* 2, *Tars.* 8, 10, *Ant.* 12, 14, *Hero* 6, 8, *Trall.* 13, *Philad.* 4, besides *Magn.* 2, 12, *Ephes.* 2, *Polyc.* 1, 6, *Rom.* 5, in which latter passages it is taken from the pre-existing text), though naturally these plagiarisms are more frequent and more obvious in the Additional Epistles, where the forger was left to himself and an Ignatian colouring was wanted, than in the interpolations of the Seven, where the Ignatian substratum was ready to hand. Still more decisive are the passages taken from the *Apostolic Constitutions*. If the reader will follow out the references given below (p. 250), he will find that they extend throughout these Ignatian Epistles, and that the use made of this work differs in no wise in the two sets of letters. The same also may be said of the obligations to Eusebius (*Ign. Mar.* 4, *Trall.* 9, *Magn.* 6, 8, 9, *Philad.* 1, 6, *Ant.* 1, 7), though these are much scantier.

(d) In *style and expression* also the Additional Letters are closely linked with the interpolated portions of the Seven. Thus we find in both sets of epistles the same terms applied to false teachers. They are 'dumb dogs' (*Ant.* 6, *Ephes.* 7; see the note on the former passage); they are 'foxes' or 'fox-like' (*ἀλώπηξ, ἀλωπός, Philad.* 3, *Ant.* 6); they are 'serpents' (*Philad.* 6, *Ant.* 6); they are 'wolves in sheep's skins' (*λύκος ἐν προβάτου δορᾷ, Hero* 2, *Ephes.* 5, comp. *Philad.* 2). Again the same words are met with in the two sets of letters: such as

ἄγνωστος (*Trall.* 6, *Smyrn.* 6, *Ant.* 5); ἀλογεῖν (*Mar. Ign.* 2, *Smyrn.* 6); ἀπόλαυσις, ἀπολαυστικός (*Smyrn.* 6, *Tars.* 2); ἀξίωμα (of 'office,' *Ant.* 8, *Hero* 1, *Smyrn.* 6); ἐλάχιστος (applied to himself, *Hero* 6, *Ephes.* 12, *Rom.* 4); ἐνσωμάτωσις (*Philad.* 6, *Ant.* 4); ἐπέχειν (*Ign. Mar.* 4, *Philad.* 4); κυριοκτόνος (*Trall.* 11, *Tars.* 3; comp. χριστοκτόνος *Magn.* 11, *Hero* 2, χριστοφόνος *Philad.* 6); λαοπλάνος (*Mar. Ign.* 4, *Philad.* 5, *Ephes.* 9); περιττός ('superfluous,' 'officious,' *Mar. Ign.* 5, *Trall.* 10, *Ant.* 11); πιστότατος (*Ephes.* 6, 11, *Ign. Mar.* inscr.); πολιά (*Mar. Ign.* 2, *Magn.* 3); ῥεμβός (*Philad.* 4, *Ant.* 11); χριστοφόρος (*Ign. Mar.* inscr., *Magn.* 3, *Smyrn.* 12, *Hero* inscr., *Ephes.* 6; comp. χριστόληπτος, *Ant.* 12). So again the word λειτουργικὸς occurs in both in the same connexion (*Philad.* 9 αἱ λειτουργικαὶ...δυνάμεις, *Hero* 7 τὰ λειτουργικὰ τάγματα); and generally there is great fondness for adjectives in -ικός (e.g. ἀγγελικός *Trall.* 7, γενστικός *Trall.* 6, γραφικός *Ign. Mar.* 3, διδασκαλικός *Philad.* 5, ἡγεμονικός *Philad.* 5, θεϊκός *Magn.* 8, κοσμικός *Ephes.* 19, *Rom.* 4, λοιμικός *Trall.* 8, τλητικός *Ant.* 10, φιλικός *Ign. Mar.* 1). Again there is a recurrence of the same phrases, such as ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ of the prophetic utterances (*Trall.* 8, *Ant.* 3); φωτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος or τῷ πνεύματι (*Philad.* 4, *Ant.* 4); ὁ χορὸς τῶν προφητῶν (*Mar. Ign.* 1, *Philad.* 9; comp. *Ign. Mar.* 1); σπέρμα Δανεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ (*Mar. Ign.* 1, *Rom.* 7). Again there is a partiality for certain other words, familiar in themselves, such as μακάριος, παντοκράτωρ, πειθαρχεῖν, ποιμαίνειν, φθορεύς, etc.

(ii) With these results obtained from the examination of the letters themselves *external evidence* entirely accords.

It is true that these Additional Epistles are found attached likewise to the seven letters of the Middle Form, both in the Greek MSS of this recension and in the Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic translations[1]. It is true also that some of these spurious letters are quoted by fathers who certainly had before them the Middle Form of the Seven Epistles. Thus externally they are connected with the Middle Recension, as well as with the Long. These facts have been adduced by some, to show that they were the product of a different hand from the interpolations of the Seven Epistles in the Long Recension, on the ground that, being found in connexion with both forms alike, they must in their origin

[1] The main facts will be seen from the table on p. 222. The details are given in the accounts of the respective authorities, p. 73 sq. The statement with regard to the Syriac is an inference from its relation to the Armenian version, combined with extant Syriac quotations and fragments, but it is not open to any reasonable doubt; see above p. 89 sq., II. p. 686. The case with regard to the Coptic will be seen on p. 101. How many epistles it contained, we are unable to say, as only a fragment remains.

have been distinct from either[1]; by others, to discredit the Seven of the Middle Form by suggesting that external evidence is decidedly more favourable to the genuineness of these six obviously spurious epistles than to that of the Seven in any form, because a double testimony, as it were, is thus borne to them[2].

The fallacy underlying such inferences is transparent. Though at a later date the six obviously spurious epistles were attached to the Seven of the Middle Form, there can be no reasonable doubt that in the first half of the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote, this was not the case. He gives a more than usually full account of the career of Ignatius (see above, p. 138), whom he describes as still widely renowned (*παρὰ πλείστοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος*). His account of the letters is obviously meant to be exhaustive. He even quotes references to them in writers of the succeeding generations. Elsewhere (as for instance in the case of the Roman Clement), when he is acquainted with any spurious or doubtful works ascribed to the same author, he is careful to mention the fact. Here there is nothing of the kind. He enumerates the Seven Epistles alone; and of these he speaks without a shadow of misgiving[3].

[1] This seems to have been the view of Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 58, ed. Churton); but I do not remember that he has anywhere explicitly stated his opinion.

[2] Thus Cureton *Corp. Ign.* p. 338 sq. 'So far therefore as the evidence of all the existing copies, Latin as well as Greek, of both the recensions is to be considered, it is certainly in favour of the rejected epistles rather than of those which have been retained', with the context; see also p. lxxvii sq. These passages are highly instructive in their honest perversity.

[3] Cureton's views respecting the testimony of Eusebius are too extravagant to find general acceptance; but as they seem to have confused some of his readers, it may be worth while once for all to examine them.

(i) He maintains very positively that Eusebius hesitates as to the genuineness of the Seven Epistles (pp. lxxi, 337). His two arguments are: (*α*) The historian throws doubt on their genuineness by using 'the guarded expression' *λόγος ἔχει*. But in the *first* place this expression (see above, p. 138) refers not to the letters of Ignatius, which he quotes categorically without any shadow of misgiving, nor to any facts related in those letters, but solely to the incident of his martyrdom, to which the letters, from the nature of the case, could not bear direct testimony; and *secondly*, the examples of *λόγος ἔχει* elsewhere in Eusebius show that the expression in itself does not throw any doubt on the facts recorded but signifies neither more nor less than 'it is related'; *H. E.* ii. 17, 22, iii. 37, iv. 28, v. 5 bis, vii. 32, viii. 17 appendix; see also the note to *κατέχει λόγος* on p. 58, above. (*β*) Cureton considers it 'to be quite evident from the following passages that he [Eusebius] did not esteem the genuineness and authenticity of the Epistles of S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp to be equally established with that of the First Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, which was usually acknowledged'; *καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ* (iii. 36), *ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοῦ Ἰγνατίου*

The testimony of Theodoret (see p. 161 sq.), who wrote about the middle of the fifth century, if not so decisive, tends in the same direction. Though quoting somewhat largely from the Ignatian letters, he does

ἐν αἷς κατελέξαμεν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογημένῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἣν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο (c. 37), ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη γραφὴ πρόδηλος· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰγνατίου καὶ Πολυκάρπου (c. 38). By this juxtaposition of separate passages Cureton would make it appear as though the antithesis in Eusebius were between the φερομένη on the one side, and the ἀνωμολογημένη, ὁμολογουμένη, on the other. But (1) Taken in connexion with their several contexts, the expressions do not suggest anything of the kind. The genuine Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is called 'acknowledged' to distinguish it from another Epistle to the Corinthians also bearing his name, but not universally received. It has no reference whatever to the writings of Ignatius or Polycarp. (2) The expression φερομένη is only used of Polycarp's letter, and there is no ground for extending it to those of Ignatius. (3) It is highly improbable that Eusebius should have entertained a doubt of the genuineness of Polycarp's letter, which he knew to be quoted by Polycarp's disciple Irenæus and which he himself uses as bearing testimony to the Epistles of Ignatius. (4) The word φέρεσθαι does not suggest any such doubt. Eusebius uses it of the First Epistle of S. John (iii. 25 τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν), which in this same passage he classes among the ὁμολογούμενα, and of which he has said just before παρά τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔτ' ἀρχαίοις ἀναμφίλεκτος ὡμολόγηται (iii. 24): he even applies it to this very Epistle of Clement, iii. 16 τούτου δὴ οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη μία φέρεται: and in short it is frequently employed by him to denote a writing in general circulation; e.g. of S. Mark's Gospel (ii. 16), of works of Philo and Josephus (ii. 18, iii. 10), of Gaius the Roman presbyter (iii. 28), of Papias (iii. 39), of Quadratus (iv. 3), of Musanus (iv. 28), and so commonly (e.g. iii. 25, iv. 15, 18, 23, 29, v. 5, 13, 23, 24, vi. 31, 32, 35, etc.), so that it implies not much more nor less than 'extant.' As applied to the Epistle of Polycarp, its meaning will appear from another passage which Cureton has not quoted, iv. 14 ὁ γέ τοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ φερομένῃ εἰς δεῦρο κέχρηταί τισι μαρτυρίαις κ.τ.λ., 'circulated to the present time.'

(ii) Cureton considers the silence of Eusebius about other epistles besides the Seven to be far from conclusive that they 'either did not exist at the time when he wrote or were rejected by him as spurious (p. 337).' He says, 'One obvious reason why he should have omitted to mention them is the fact that they contain no information respecting the episcopal succession, which, as I have remarked, was one of the chief objects of his history (p. lxxviii).' But (α) There is not the faintest indication that he valued the Seven Epistles because they served this purpose. If he had done so, it is at least strange that he should lay the chief stress on the Epistle to the Romans, which is wholly silent about the episcopate. (β) Setting aside the Epistle to Polycarp (which by the way Eusebius does not quote), the Additional Epistles bear at least as directly on episcopal succession as the Seven, and the letters to the Antiochenes and to Hero would be especially valuable, for they contain a list of bishops (*Ant.* 13, *Hero* 8). Indeed this attempt to raise a prejudice against the Seven Epistles quoted by Eusebius through the manifestly spurious epistles is so perverse as to carry with it its own condemnation.

not quote beyond the limits of the Seven. The same is true of Timotheus of Alexandria (p. 165 sq.), who wrote a few years later, and of Severus of Antioch (p. 169 sq.), whose literary activity belongs to the earlier decades of the sixth century. The silence of this last-mentioned writer is the more significant, as he quotes largely and widely from the letters of Ignatius. In fact the tenour of external evidence will be sufficiently plain when it is stated that, whereas the Seven Epistles are quoted by a fairly continuous series of Greek, Latin, and Syriac writers, beginning with Irenæus and Origen in the second and third centuries, not a single quotation from the Additional Letters has been discovered prior to the last decade of the sixth century at the very earliest (see above, p. 196).

Moreover a comparison of the positions which the six Additional letters occupy with reference to the Seven in the collections of the Long and Middle Forms, as exhibited in the table on p. 222, reveals plainly the history of their connexion with the two recensions respectively. Of the Seven Epistles four are dated from Smyrna and three from Troas. Of the six Additional Epistles two—the letter from Mary and the answer of Ignatius—are represented as belonging to the time when he is still peacefully ruling at Antioch; three—Tarsians, Antiochenes, Hero—are dated from Philippi; and the remaining one—Philippians—professes to have been written after he had already reached Italy (see II. p. 712). Now in the Long Recension these six epistles are artfully intermingled with the Seven, so that attention may not be attracted to their spuriousness by their isolation. Yet there is some sort of symmetry, as they are interposed two and two, thus showing that the order was not the result of pure accident. Again, though the proper sequence of time and place is not strictly observed in the arrangement (as indeed it was not in the seven original Ignatian Epistles which the forger had before him), yet the letter from Mary and the answer of Ignatius are placed first, as dating from a time anterior to the journey to Rome. With the Middle Form the case is different. Here we have two different arrangements with the Additional Epistles included, the one of the Greek and Latin copies, the other of the Armenian. The differences of order seem to show that the two collections were made independently; and, if so, it is the more remarkable that they agree in the one essential point of keeping the Additional Epistles distinct from the others and appending them as a sort of supplement to the rest[1]. In

[1] Cureton argues that 'no prejudice can result to the Epistles to the Tarsians, to the Antiochenes, and to Hero, from the circumstance of their being placed after the others in the collection [he is speaking of the Latin and Greek, for he

the Greek and Latin copies the Additional Epistles stand in the same order in which they occur in the Long Recension, if picked out from the rest, the Epistle to the Philippians however being omitted by an accident of which an explanation will be offered presently (p. 242). In this collection the position of the Additional Letters, as an appendix, is slightly obscured by the fact that the Epistle to the Romans is removed from its proper place as one of the seven original letters. This was a natural consequence of the addition of the Acts of Martyrdom at the end of all the epistles; for, as the Epistle to the Romans was already incorporated in these Acts, its removal from an earlier place in the collection followed as a matter of course. Whether the addition of these Acts and the consequent displacement of the Epistle to the Romans took place simultaneously with the attachment of the Additional Epistles or not, may be an open question. In the Armenian collection the Epistle to the Romans has not been displaced—the Acts of Martyrdom not having been attached to this collection; and the Additional Epistles therefore stand by themselves, as an appendix. On the other hand they do not, as in the Greek and Latin collection, occur in the same order as in the Long Recension. A principle however is discernible in the arrangement. The Epistle to the Antiochenes, as being addressed to Ignatius' own church, stands first; and the five remaining letters are arranged in a chronological sequence. But the main inference from both collections is the same. In each case a person, possessing the Seven Epistles of the Middle Form, comes across a copy of the Long Recension which contains thirteen epistles, and he sets himself to supply the apparent defect in his own collection. This he does by picking out the missing epistles from the recension which had thus accidentally fallen into his hands and adding them to his own copy.

Thus the evidence of the MSS confirms the result of the examination of the Additional Epistles themselves and assigns them to the same pen which interpolated the Seven Epistles, or in other words to the author of the Long Recension. Of five out of the six this seems to be absolutely certain. But respecting the remaining one—the *Epistle to the Philippians*—some doubt has been entertained. It is wanting in the

was not acquainted with the Armenian]; for they are evidently arranged in chronological order and rank after the rest, as having been written from Philippi' etc. (p. 338). The answer is twofold; (1) The order is not chronological in the earlier part, where the epistles dated from Smyrna are mixed up with those dated from Troas; (2) He has omitted all mention of the letter of Mary and the answer of Ignatius. Professing to have been written while Ignatius is still at Antioch, they come after the seven letters dated from Smyrna and Troas.

Latin and Greek[1] copies of the Middle Recension, and it stands last in the Armenian collection of the same. Again it is thought to be deficient in external evidence as compared with the other Additional Letters. For these reasons there is at least a presumption that it was written later than the other five and by a different hand. This suspicion moreover has been thought to be confirmed by the style of the epistle, in which distinctive peculiarities have been discerned[2].

With this opinion I am unable to agree. The position in the Armenian collection is the most natural position; for though, as already explained, the chronological arrangement is not observed throughout, still it cannot be a surprise, if the epistle which professes to have been written some time after the others should be placed last. On the other hand the mere fact that it is included in the Armenian collection is a strong argument for the identity of authorship. For like the others this epistle was certainly translated into Armenian from the Syriac, and therefore must have formed part of the Syriac collection[3]. If therefore the opinion which competent judges pronounce respecting the comparatively early date of the Armenian Version be correct or nearly correct (see above, p. 85), we have hardly any alternative but to suppose this epistle to have been forged simultaneously with the others; for on the opposite supposition there will be no time to spare for all the vicissitudes through which it must have passed. Moreover its absence from the Latin and Greek copies may be easily explained. In its original position in the Long Recension *πρὸς Φιλιππησίους* stands immediately before *πρὸς Φιλαδελφεῖς*, and a collector, cursorily turning over the pages and supplying the lacking epistles in his copy of the Middle Form in the manner which I have supposed, might easily be deceived by the similar beginning, and notice only one epistle—the Epistle to the Philadel-

[1] Though the existing Greek MS (the Medicean) of this collection is imperfect at the end, so that the part which ought to contain the Epistle to Philippians is wanting, yet the close resemblance of this MS to the MSS of the Latin Version in all the main features enables us with fair confidence to say that they agreed in omitting this epistle.

[2] The Epistle to the Philippians was assigned to a different author from the other forged epistles by Ussher (pp. lxxix, cxxviii); and this view is apparently Cureton's, *C. I.* pp. 338, 341.

[3] It may be regarded as quite certain that this epistle passed through the medium of a Syriac Version; e. g. § 4 *κάλων* is translated 'corruption' [ܫܚܬܐ when differently vocalized, signifying either 'corruption' or 'a rope']; § 5 *τὸν θάνατον* 'form' [ܕܡܘܬܐ 'likeness' for ܡܘܬܐ death]; *αἰσχρά, αἰσχρόν*, 'good' [ܛܒ *καλόν* for ܒܝܫ *αἰσχρόν*]; with several other instances scattered through Petermann's notes.

phians, which was already in his copy[1]. On the other hand the collection from which the Armenian Version is descended was made in a less perfunctory way. Nor again, as regards quotations, can it justly be said that the external evidence for this epistle, as compared with the other Additional Letters, is defective. It so happens that the passage in Anastasius given above (p. 196) is the earliest quotation from any of these six letters, if the Anastasius in question was the first patriarch of Antioch bearing the name, as seems most probable; and the fact that he inadvertently misquotes it as from the Epistle to the Tarsians is not unimportant, as showing that the two formed part of the same collection.

Thus the external evidence, taken as a whole, favours the identity of authorship. And the same conclusion follows from the style and character of the epistle itself. It is true that the strange expedient of addressing Satan in a long monologue gives to this epistle a uniqueness, which distinguishes it from the other five; and altogether the writer has aimed at producing a more complete and systematic exposition of his theological views here than in the other letters. But these special features do not affect either the complexion of the theology or the characteristics of style. In these respects I can only see such a strong resemblance as points to the same mind and the same pen. There is a recurrence of the same favourite theological terms as in the other epistles; ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὅλων (§ 1; comp. *Trall.* 3, *Philad.* 9, *Smyrn.* 9, *Ant.* 3, *Hero* 7, *Ephes.* 7) and ὁ μόνος ἀληθινός (§ 2; see below, p. 256) applied to the Father; λόγος Θεὸς or ὁ Θεὸς λόγος (§§ 2, 3; comp. *Mar. Ign.* 1, *Trall.* 10, *Magn.* 6, *Tars.* 4, 6, *Philad.* 6, *Smyrn.* 1) and μονογενής (§ 2; comp. *Magn.* 6, *Tars.* 6, *Philad.* 4, 6, *Smyrn.* 1, *Hero* inscr. 7, 9, *Ephes.* 7, 16, 20, *Rom.* inscr.) to the Son; παράκλητος (§ 2, 3, several times; comp. *Philad.* 4, 5, 9, *Ephes.* 20) to the Holy Spirit; ἐνανθρωπεῖν, ἐνανθρώπησις (§§ 2, 3, 5; comp. *Mar. Ign.* 1, *Ant.* 3, 4) to the Incarnation. There is the same jealous maintenance of the ὑπεροχή of the Father (§ 12; comp. *Smyrn.* 7), and the same anxiety to vindicate the epithet ἀγέννητος to Him while denying it to the Son (§ 7), which are leading characteristics of the other epistles (*Trall.* 6, 9, *Magn.* 6, 7, 8, 11, *Philad.* 4, *Ant.* 14, *Hero* 6, *Ephes.* 7, 18). The same heretics are denounced, and in the same terms; e.g. those who say that Christ suffered only in appearance, δοκήσει or φαντασίᾳ not ἀληθείᾳ (§ 3, 4; comp. *Trall.* 9, 10, *Tars.* 2, 3, *Smyrn.* 2, 3), and who therefore are 'ashamed of the passion,' τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεσθαι (§ 4; comp. *Trall.* 6, *Philad.* 6,

[1] This very obvious explanation is likewise offered by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 114) whose book had not appeared when the above was written.

Smyrn. 7, *Ant.* 4, 5, *Hero* 2); those who maintain that the Son is a mere man, ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος (§ 5, 6; comp. *Trall.* 6, *Tars.* 2, 5, 6, *Philad.* 6, *Ant.* 2, *Hero* 2, *Ephes.* 19); those who identify Christ with ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός (§ 7; comp. *Tars.* 2, 5). The doctrine of the Trinity is indeed stated much more fully in this epistle (§ 2) than in the others; but it is definitely declared elsewhere (*Trall.* 6, *Philad.* 4, 5, 6), and the anxiety which is evinced to bring together the names of the Three Persons, frequently by inserting the mention of the Holy Spirit where the Middle Recension speaks only of the Father and the Son, shows how prominent a place it held in the writer's convictions (*Philad.* 9, 11, *Trall.* 1, 5, *Smyrn.* 13, *Ant.* 14, *Hero* 7, *Ephes.* 9, 15, 20, 21, *Rom.* 1, 8). Above all, he puts forward the same strange Christology which appears in the other epistles, denying that Christ has a human soul as well as body and maintaining that the Divine Logos takes the place of the former (§ 5; comp. *Philad.* 7, and see below, p. 258). This one coincidence would have been conclusive in itself, if the other resemblances had left the matter at all doubtful. Again the Christian observance of certain festivals is directed (§ 13; comp. *Trall.* 9, *Magn.* 9), and the Jewish observance of fasts and sabbaths denounced (*ib.*; comp. *Magn.* 9), in similar terms. Those who offend in these respects are Christ-murderers, like the Jews, χριστοκτόνοι (§ 14; see also § 3 οὐχ ἧττον τῶν τὸν Κύριον σταυρωσάντων, comp. *Trall.* 10; § 15 κοινωνός ἐστι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν Κύριον), a very favourite mode of expression in the other epistles (κυριοκτόνος *Trall.* 11, *Tars.* 3; χριστοκτόνος *Hero* 2, *Magn.* 11; χριστοφόνος *Philad.* 6; comp. χριστομάχος *Smyrn.* 2). Again the injunctions respecting marriage and virginity are conceived in the same spirit and expressed in similar language (§ 13; comp. *Hero* 2). The similarity extends even to the use of individual words and expressions which have no direct theological bearing. The employment of such very common Ignatian expressions as ἀντίψυχος (§ 14) or ὀναίμην (§ 15) would be an obvious expedient, and no stress can be laid on these. But the case is different with γαλακτοτροφία (§ 8, 9; comp. γαλακτοτροφεῖν *Trall.* 10), σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθές (§ 9; comp. *Trall.* 10), συνάφεια (§ 12 applied to marriage, as in *Philad.* 4; comp. *Ephes.* 4), παραπληξία (§ 11; comp. *Mar. Ign.* 2 παραπλήξ), σύστημα (§ 15 τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων; comp. *Trall.* 7 τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερόν), νοητὰ καὶ αἰσθητά (§ 11, and see § 5; comp. *Philad.* 5), ὁ παράδοξος τοκετός (§ 8, of the incarnation; comp. *Hero* 4), τὸ ἐνεργῆσαν ἐν Μωσῇ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις (§ 1; exactly the same expression which is used of the Spirit in *Philad.* 5), τέλεια φρονεῖν (§ 15; comp. *Smyrn.* 11), πιστότατος (§ 15; see above, p. 237), πρωτόπλαστος (§ 11 of Adam and Eve; comp.

Hero 4). Other parallels again are the expressions applied to Satan, ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρισθείς, ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀλλοτριωθείς (§ 11; comp. *Philad.* 6 τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην, and *ib.* τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κενὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀλλότριος); or the form of salutation ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου (§ 15; repeated word for word *Hero* 8, *Ant.* 12); or the parting benediction ἔρρωσθε σαρκὶ ψυχῇ πνεύματι (§ 15; comp. *Tars.* 10 ἔρρωσθε σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ πνεύματι ἑνί). Again the unusual desiderative form ἐπιδεικτιᾶν (§ 10) has a parallel in φανητιᾶν (*Mar. Ign.* 5). And doubtless this list of coincidences of language is very far from exhaustive. Lastly—to complete the case—we find in this epistle the same stock quotations from and allusions to the Scriptures, as in the others: e.g. 1 Tim. iv. 10 (inscr.; comp. *Ephes.* 9, *Magn.* 1); 1 Cor. i. 10, Phil. ii. 2 (§ 1; comp. *Ephes.* 2, 6, *Trall.* 6, *Philad.* 6); Ephes. iv. 4, 5, 6 (§ 1, 2; comp. *Ephes.* 6, *Philad.* 4); Deut. vi. 4 (§ 2; comp. *Ant.* 2); 1 Cor. viii. 6 (§ 1, 2; comp. *Tars.* 4); John i. 14 (§ 3, 5; comp. *Ephes.* 7, *Trall.* 9, *Smyrn.* 2, *Ant.* 4); Prov. ix. 1 (§ 3; comp. *Smyrn.* 2); Is. vii. 14 (§ 3; comp. *Ephes.* 18, *Ant.* 3); Eph. ii. 2 (§ 4; comp. *Smyrn.* 7, *Philad.* 6); 1 Cor. ii. 8 (§§ 5, 9; comp. *Trall.* 11); Eph. v. 28 (§ 13; comp. *Philad.* 4, *Tars.* 9, *Ant.* 9); Matt. iv. 23, etc. (§ 5; comp. *Magn.* 11); Matt. xxviii. 19 (§ 2; *Philad.* 9). So also, when describing the attacks of Satan on the saints of old, he employs the same instances from the Old Testament, describing them in very similar language (§ 12; comp. *Smyrn.* 7).

2. Having thus shown that all the six Additional Letters—including the Epistle to the Philippians—proceeded from the same hand which interpolated the Seven, we are in a position to enquire next, at what time and with what purpose this collection of thirteen letters was produced. And here again the subject naturally divides itself into an investigation of the external and internal evidence respectively.

(i) The direct external evidence is not very early. The first Greek writers who distinctly refer to the Long Recension are Anastasius of Antioch (see p. 196) and Stephanus Gobarus (p. 195), towards the close of the sixth century. But a long interval might elapse before this recension superseded the other, more especially as the frequent quotations from the earlier letters in Monophysite writers secured to them a vitality and a prominence which barred the way to this later pretender.

On the other hand the indirect evidence afforded by the presence of the six Additional Epistles in the Armenian Version indicates a higher antiquity than these Greek quotations might suggest. I have already pointed out that the history of this version obliges us to assume a very

considerable lapse of time after the first appearance of the Greek text, before the translation was made (p. 85 sq.). And, if Armenian scholars are only approximately right in assigning this version to the fifth century, we can hardly place the date of the six Additional Letters, and therefore of the Long Recension generally, much later than the end of the fourth.

(ii) But, if the external testimony is somewhat vague and indecisive, the epistles themselves contain indications which narrow the limits more closely.

(α) The *ecclesiastical status*, as it appears in these letters, points to a time not earlier than the middle of the fourth century, while on the other hand there is nothing in the notices which suggests a date later than the end of the same century.

A passage in the Epistle to the Philadelphians (§4) would hardly have been written before the conversion of Constantine, for it supposes that *the State* had become Christian. The governors are enjoined to render obedience to the emperor; the soldiers to the rulers; the deacons to the presbyters; the presbyters and the deacons and the whole clergy together with the laity and the soldiers and the governors and the emperor to the bishop[1].

Again the multiplication of the lower ranks of *the clergy* points to a mature state of organization. Besides the three higher orders, there are already subdeacons, readers, singers, door-keepers, labourers, exorcists, (ἐπορκισταί), confessors (*Ant.* 12; comp. *Philipp.* 15). The fact that the writer can put such language into the mouth of S. Ignatius without any consciousness of a flagrant anachronism would seem to show that these offices were not very new when he wrote. Now of these lower orders, the subdeacons, readers, doorkeepers, and exorcists, are mentioned in the celebrated letter of Cornelius bishop of Rome (A.D. 251) preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 43), and the readers existed at least half a century earlier (Tertull. *de Praescr.* 41). In the Eastern Church however, if we except the *Apostolic Constitutions*, of which the date and country are uncertain, the first reference to such offices is found in a canon of the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, where readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, are mentioned—this being apparently intended as an exhaustive enumeration of the ecclesiastical orders below the diaconate; and for the first mention of doorkeepers in the East we must go to the still later Council of Laodicea, about A.D. 363[2] (see II. p. 824 for the references,

[1] The application of Prov. xxii. 29 ὁρατικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὀξὺν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦσιν δεῖ παρεστάναι to a wise and active bishop (*Ephes.* 6) perhaps suggests the same inference.

[2] On the date of this Council see

where also fuller information is given). But while most of these lower orders certainly existed in the West, and probably in the East, as early as the middle of the third century, the case is different with the 'singers' (ψάλται) and the 'labourers' (κοπιᾶται). Setting aside the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the first notice of the 'singers' occurs in the canons of the above mentioned Council of Laodicea[1]. This however may be accidental. The history of the word *copiatae* affords a more precise and conclusive indication of date. The term first occurs in a rescript of Constantius (A.D. 357) 'clerici qui copiatae appellantur,' and a little later (A.D. 361) the same emperor speaks of them as 'hi quos copiatas *recens usus* instituit nuncupari.' Moreover it is worthy of notice that our Ignatian writer in describing this office avoids the substantive κοπιάτας and employs instead the corresponding verb τοὺς κοπιῶντας, betraying, as I suppose, the consciousness of treading on dangerous ground and desiring to disguise an anachronism under the veil of a less distinctive expression[2] (see II. p. 825, for the references and for additional information on this subject)[3].

Again the notices of *fasts and festivals* (see especially *Philipp.* 13, 14) tend in the same direction. From the observance of Wednesdays and Fridays indeed no definite result is obtained; for these days are known to have been kept as fasts at least as early as the age of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 12, p. 877) and Tertullian (*de Jejun.* 14). Of the quadragesimal Lenten fast again, which is also mentioned in these epistles, Augustine (*Epist.* lv. § 32, *Op.* II. p. 141) says that 'the custom of the Church has confirmed' its observance, and the 'forty days' are mentioned as early as a canon of the Council of Nicæa (Labb. *Conc.* II. 36; comp. Athan. *Ep. Encycl. ad Episc.* 4, *Op.* I. p. 91), though in the middle of the third century, when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote (Labb. *Conc.* I. 857), the fast seems not to have extended beyond the Paschal

Westcott *History of the Canon* p. 428, ed. 4.

[1] In the 15th canon they are styled οἱ κανονικοὶ ψάλται: in the 24th canon all the orders below the diaconate are enumerated thus; ὑπηρέται [i. e. ὑποδιάκονοι] ἢ ἀναγνῶσται ἢ ψάλται ἢ ἐπορκισταὶ ἢ θυρωροὶ ἢ τὸ τάγμα τῶν ἀσκητῶν.

[2] The sentence in the text (together with the greater part of the present chapter) was written before Zahn's work *Ignatius von Antiochien* appeared. Zahn expresses himself in precisely the same way, *I. v. A.* p. 129.

[3] Perhaps the absence of any mention of the *parabolani* in these Ignatian Epistles is also significant. They are first mentioned in a law of the younger Theodosius (A.D. 416), *Cod. Theod.* Lib. xvi. Tit. ii. Leg. xlii. It would appear from the language there used, that the office, though already firmly established and powerful, was comparatively recent; 'eorum qui parabolani nuncupantur,' 'eos qui parabolani vocantur.' If the office existed when our Ignatian author wrote, it must have been so recent that the anachronism would have betrayed itself.

week. Moreover it is thought that our Ignatian writer, when condemning in strong terms those who 'celebrate the passover with the Jews,' refers to the Quartodecimans (see Ussher p. xcv sq.). If so, he ventures on a bold anachronism which would hardly be possible before the middle of the fourth century; for the Church of Antioch, which Ignatius himself represented, and the Churches of Asia Minor, with which he was on terms of the closest intimacy, observed the Quartodeciman practice from the earliest times, until the Council of Nicaea decided against this practice and established uniformity throughout Christendom (Athan. *de Synod. Ar. et Sel.* 5, *Op.* I. p. 574; *Ep. ad Afr. Episc.* 2, *Op.* I. p. 713; Chrysost. *cum Jud. Jejun.* iii. 3, *Op.* I. p. 608 sq.). He has however been careful to disguise his meaning under an ambiguous expression, that the anachronism might not be too apparent. But, whether this be the true reference of the words or not, the language of the warning against Jewish practices (*Philipp.* 14) has its closest parallels in the decrees of councils and synods about the middle of the fourth century.

(*β*) The rough date which is thus suggested for this forgery accords likewise with the *names of persons and places* which are introduced to give colour to the fiction. The name Maris or Marinus (*Mar. Ign.* 1, *Hero* 9) becomes prominent in conciliar lists and elsewhere in the fourth century (see below, II. p. 721). It is worthy of notice also that the Maris of the Ignatian letters is represented as bishop of Neapolis on the Zarbus, meaning thereby apparently the city of Anazarbus (see II. p. 722). But among the victims of the persecution under Diocletian, one Marinus of Anazarbus is commemorated in the Martyrologies[1] on Aug. 8. Indeed the mention of Anazarbus itself suggests as late a date as the fourth century, for it is only then that this place takes any position in ecclesiastical history. The name Eulogius again (*Mar. Ign.* 1), like Marinus, appears in conciliar lists at this epoch (see below, II. p. 724). One Eulogius became bishop of Edessa A.D. 379 (Lequien *Oriens Christ.* II. 958). So likewise the name Vitalis[2] (*Philipp.* 14) points in the same direction. One Vitalis was bishop of Antioch early in the fourth century, A.D. 318 or 319; another, a friend of Apollinaris, was bishop of

[1] *Martyrol. Roman.* vi Id. Aug. 'Anazarbi in Cilicia S. Marini senis qui sub Diocletiano etc.' In the *Martyrol. Hieron.* xi Kal. Sept. is the notice 'In Antiochia natalis S. Marini'; and in the early *Syriac Martyrology* published by Wright, under Aug. 24, a Marinus is mentioned without any indication of the place.

[2] The Vitalis (Βιτάλιος) of *Philipp.* 14 is called Vitus (Βίτος) in *Hero* 8. A Vitus, bishop of Carrhae, was present at the Council of Constantinople (Labb. *Conc.* II. 1134), where he stands next in the list to a Eulogius and not far from a Maris.

the Apollinarian party, apparently also at Antioch, some half-century later (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 102, *Op.* II. pp. 94, 96; Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxvii. 21, 23 sq.; Sozom. *H. E.* vi. 25; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 548, ed. Bonn.; Labb. *Conc.* II. 1014); a third, a bishop of Tyre, seceded with the other Semiarians from Sardica (A.D. 343) and was present at the synod of Philippopolis (Labb. *Conc.* II. 710).

(γ) Another valuable indication of date is found in the *plagiarisms* of this Ignatian forgery from preceding writers. The most obvious of these is the opening sentence of the Epistle to the Antiochenes (Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κοῦφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος πεποίηκεν), which with one insignificant exception (πεποίηκεν for ἐποίησεν) is taken verbatim from the commencement of a letter addressed by Alexander of Jerusalem to this same church early in the third century (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11). It is scarcely less clear again, that the distinction made in *Philipp.* 12 between Matt. iv. 10 ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ and Matt. xvi. 23 ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου is derived from Origen (see II. p. 784), and therefore cannot have been written before the middle of the third century. The obligations to Eusebius again can hardly be overlooked or questioned. The notice of Ebion (*Philad.* 6) is taken from Eus. *H. E.* iii. 27, as the close resemblances of language show (see II. p. 797). A polemical passage relating to the Logos (*Magn.* 8) seems to be suggested by the *Eccl. Theol.* ii. 8, 9 (see II. p. 755), while the preceding context (*Magn.* 6) is apparently borrowed from the companion treatise, *c. Marcell.* ii. 1, 4 (see II. p. 754). The comments on the fall of Satan (*Philipp.* 11) present close resemblances to *Praep. Ev.* vii. 16 (see II. p. 783). The remark on the descent into Hades (*Trall.* 9) is evidently taken from the *Doctrine of Addai*, as quoted in Eus. *H. E.* i. 13 (see II. p. 742); and from Eusebius also, rather than from the letter itself, was doubtless derived the plagiarism from Alexander of Jerusalem of which mention has been made already. Again the comparative chronology of the bishops of Rome and Antioch in *Ign. Mar.* 4 is derived by inference from the sequence of the narrative in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 34, 36, 38, and our Ignatian writer has likewise followed the historian in making Anencletus, instead of Linus, the successor of Clemens, thus deserting in this instance the *Apostolic Constitutions* which (as will be seen presently) he copies servilely elsewhere.

These plagiarisms throw the date of this Ignatian forgery as far forward as the middle of the fourth century at least. The coincidences with later writers than these, though not decisive, are sufficiently close to raise a suspicion. Thus the 'hoar head' of a prematurely wise youth in *Mar. Ign.* 2 is described in language closely resembling that of S. Basil when speaking of Daniel (*Comm. in Esai.* 104), whom our Ignatian

writer also mentions in his context (see II. p. 725 sq.). Again the expression in *Trall.* 6 οὐ χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι appears in Basil *Ep.* 240 χριστέμποροι καὶ οὐ χριστιανοί (see II. p. 737), and this can hardly be accidental, unless indeed it had become a proverbial expression (see II. p. 759). On the whole it appears more probable than not, that the writer was acquainted with S. Basil's works. On the other hand no stress can be laid on the fact that he (*Magn.* 9) in common with Gregory Nazianzen calls Sunday 'the queen of days' (II. p. 758), for this seems to have been a recognized designation. But the resemblance in the opening of *Ign. Mar.* 1 to the opening of one of Chrysostom's letters (*Epist.* 27) is very close (see II. p. 729); and yet perhaps not close enough to establish a plagiarism, if there should be an absence of other indications in these Ignatian letters pointing to so late a date.

The obligations of our Ignatian forger however to another source are far greater than to any of the writers hitherto mentioned. The coincidences with the *Apostolic Constitutions* are frequent and minute, as may be seen by references to the notes in this edition; II. pp. 725, 727, 736, 739, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 750, 751, 752, 756, 758, 760, 761, 766, 771, 777, 784, 785, 786, 787, 789, 790, 791, 792, 794, 796, 797, 800, 801, 802, 807, 808, 809, 823, 824 sq., 826, 828, 830, 831, 832, 846, 848. These resemblances were far too prominent to escape notice, and demanded an explanation from the very first. Those who, like Turrianus, accepted both the Apostolic Constitutions and the pseudo-Ignatian Epistles as genuine, had a very simple and natural solution. Ignatius was supposed to have borrowed from Clement. Writers likewise, such as Vedelius, who condemned the Ignatian Epistles as forged or interpolated, supposed that this false Ignatius was indebted to the Apostolic Constitutions for the passages which they had in common. No one, so far as I know, maintained the converse solution, that the writer of the Apostolic Constitutions borrowed from these Ignatian letters, whether the latter were regarded as genuine or as spurious.

Ussher was not satisfied with this view. The resemblances seemed to him so striking that he could only ascribe the two works to a single hand. Both the Apostolic Constitutions and the Ignatian Epistles of the Long Recension were, he supposed, the work of one and the same author, who lived in the sixth century (*Ign. et Polyc. Ep.* p. lxiii sq.).

Pearson again (*Vind. Ign.* p. 155 sq.) started a theory of his own. He supposed the existing eight books of the Apostolic Constitutions to have been put together subsequently to the age of Epiphanius from pre-

existing διδασκαλίαι or διδαχαί, which bore the names of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, etc. To these works, and not to the epistles of the Apostolic fathers, he believed the reference to be in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus (see above, p. 213), where they are included among apocryphal works. From the διδασκαλία of Ignatius he conjectured that the Ignatian interpolator borrowed the passages which the two documents have in common, unless indeed (which he thought less probable) the διδασκαλία itself was made up from the pseudo-Ignatian epistles.

The hypothesis of Pearson has not found any favour. The solution of Ussher also has commonly been rejected by subsequent writers on the Apostolic Constitutions, though apparently not without one notable exception (Lagarde *Rel. Jur. Eccl. Graec.* p. vii)[1]. Meanwhile the problem has been complicated by new discoveries. Not only have shorter recensions of the Ignatian Epistles come to light, but the Apostolic Constitutions also have been discovered in a briefer form. Such a form of the first six books of the Constitutions in Syriac was published in 1854 by Lagarde (*Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace*), and with the help of the larger document he re-translated them into Greek (Bunsen's *Anal. Antenic.* II. p. 35 sq.). As in the case of the Ignatian Epistles, so here also it is a question of dispute whether the Greek is an enlargement from the short form represented by the Syriac, as maintained by Lagarde (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Graec.* pp. iv, lvi), Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 145 sq.), and others, or whether on the other hand the Syriac is an abridgement of the longer form extant in the Greek, which is the opinion of Bickell (*Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* I. p. 148 sq.) and others. For reasons however which will appear hereafter, we may waive this question, and address ourselves to the investigation whether the Ignatian writer is indebted to the author of the Constitutions or conversely, or whether (according to Ussher's theory) the two are the work of one hand.

The result of such an investigation is to establish the priority of the Apostolic Constitutions. In one passage (*Trall.* 7) the Ignatian writer accidentally betrays the source of his obligations. He enjoins reverence for the bishop 'according as the blessed Apostles ordained (οἱ μακάριοι διετάξαντο ἀπόστολοι) for you'. The reference is to *Apost. Const.* ii. 20 (see below, II. p. 739). If indeed this allusion had stood alone, we might have felt doubtful about the correctness of the inference. But there is no lack of passages showing on which side the indebtedness lies. Thus in *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 it is stated that Josias began his

[1] Bunsen too so far acquiesces in Ussher's opinion as to maintain that the two works issued from the same school, 'if not from one and the same hand' (*Ignatius v. Antiochien etc.* p. 206).

righteous reign when he was eight years old; but in *Magn.* 3, which partly copies the language of *Apost. Const.* ii. 1, he is apparently represented as only eight years old when he extirpated the idolatries, and in *Mar. Ign.* 4 accordingly he is spoken of as 'hardly able to speak' and as 'still lisping with his tongue' at this time, though the Biblical chronology makes him twenty years old. The Ignatian writer has been misled by the passage in the Constitutions and has not referred to his Bible to correct his misapprehension (see II. p. 727). So again in *Magn.* 4 the false Ignatius, after mentioning Absalom, states that Abeddadan lost his head for a like reason. The statement is inexplicable in itself; but turning to *Apost. Const.* vi. 2, we find that the author has by an accidental error ascribed to Abeddadan (Obed-Edom) the words and deeds assigned in the Biblical narrative to Sheba (see II. p. 751). Here also our Ignatian writer has trusted the author of the Constitutions too implicitly. Again, in *Ephes.* 15 we have the statement that Jesus Christ 'first did and then taught (*πρῶτον ἐποίησεν καὶ τότε ἐδίδαξεν*), as Luke beareth witness.' The reference is not apparent till we turn to *Apost. Const.* ii. 6, where the expression is 'began first to do and then to teach' (*ἤρξατο πρῶτον ποιεῖν καὶ τότε διδάσκειν*), whence we see that the passage in question is Acts i. 1 (see II. p. 846). Again in *Antioch.* 9 wives are bidden to honour their husbands and 'not to dare to call them by name'. The meaning of this prohibition is only then explained, when we refer to *Apost. Const.* vi. 29, where the same injunction to obey and honour husbands appears with the added sanction 'as the holy Sarah honoured Abraham, not enduring to call him by name but addressing him as lord' (see II. p. 823). In several other passages also the Ignatian Epistles are elucidated by the Constitutions. Thus in *Ant.* 12 the deaconesses are designated 'the keepers of the sacred doors,' as if it were their main or only business; while in *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 we find this assigned to them as their special function. Again in *Magn.* 9 the statement that the purpose of the sabbath was the study of God's laws (*μελέτη νόμων*) is explained by the fuller treatment of the same topic in *Apost. Const.* ii. 36, vi. 23 (see II. p. 756). In other passages likewise, where there are parallels, the priority of the Constitutions may be inferred from the additions in the Ignatian letters. Thus in the enumeration of church officers, *Ant.* 12, the mention of the *copiatae*, 'the grave-diggers,' which is absent from the corresponding passages of the *Apost. Const.* iii. 11, viii. 12, suggests that the office had been created, or at least that the name here assigned to it had been given, during the interval which elapsed between the composition of the two works (see II. p. 824 sq.).

Thus the priority of the Apostolic Constitutions seems to be decisively established. Moreover the plagiarisms are taken from the work as we have it now. Modern critics are disposed to attribute the 7th and 8th books to a different hand from the earlier six. This is a question into which we need not enter. The obligations to these two last books, more especially to the eighth, are hardly less considerable in comparison with their length than to the earlier and larger part of the work. Of the references given above (p. 250), the following refer to these two books; pp. 736, 742, 743, 751, 752, 760, 761, 766, 777, 786, 800, 802, 826, 828, 830, 831, 832, 848. Though Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 146 sq.) disputes the inference, the strength of the parallels compels us to extend the plagiarisms to these 7th and 8th books[1]. It is true indeed that our Ignatian writer (*Ign. Mar.* 4, *Trall.* 7) has adopted another view from the author of the *Constitutions* (vii. 46) respecting the succession of the early Roman bishops (see II. p. 731), preferring in this instance to follow Eusebius (see above, p. 249). But it is difficult to understand the weight which Zahn assigns to this fact, or to see how it affords any presumption against his free use of the seventh book in other parts.

Nor again (as I have already intimated) will it be necessary for our purpose to consider whether or not the Apostolic Constitutions, as we have them, are a later recension of some earlier work or works—as for instance, whether they are an expansion of the Syriac document which has been mentioned already. If the priority had been assigned to the Ignatian Letters and the author of the Apostolic Constitutions had been proved the plagiarist, the question would have been complicated, and the history of the development of the Apostolic Constitutions would have had a direct bearing on the question before us. As it is, we are spared this trouble. Other clear indications show that our Ignatian letters were forged and interpolated not before the middle of the fourth century. There is nothing in the Apostolic Constitutions, even in their present form, inconsistent with an earlier date than this, while their silence on questions which interested the Church in the middle and latter half of the fourth century is in itself a strong presumption that they were written before that date. But as Zahn has truly said (*I. v. A.*

[1] Zahn's attempts to account for the coincidences in the passages which he notices will not, I think, command assent; and he altogether overlooks several of the most cogent parallels; e.g. viii. 12 in *Trall.* 10; vii. 37, 41, viii. 1, 12, in *Magn.* 11; viii. 46 in *Tars.* 3; vii. 25 in *Philad.* 9. The section, *Hero* 5, is made up of passages from these books of the Constitutions. Bickell (I. p. 58 sq.) in like manner overlooks the closer parallels.

p. 145), the pseudo-Ignatian letters contain far clearer indications of date than the Apostolic Constitutions. They should therefore be taken as the starting point for any investigations respecting the origin of the latter, and not conversely.

(δ) The *doctrinal teaching* of these Ignatian Epistles affords another evidence of date not less decisive than any of the former. There may be some difficulty in fixing the precise position of the writer himself, but we can entertain no doubt about the doctrinal atmosphere in which he lived and moved. The Arian and Semiarian, the Marcellian and Apollinarian controversies of the middle and subsequent decades of the fourth century are his main interest. On the other hand these epistles contain nothing which suggests that the writer was acquainted with the Nestorian and Monophysite disputes of the succeeding ages. This silence is the more significant, when we remember the polemical spirit of our Ignatian writer.

The Catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ is exposed to perversion, or is discredited by extravagant statement, in two opposite directions. On the one side there are the aberrations of Arianism and Nestorianism; on the other of Sabellianism, Apollinarianism, and Monophysitism. On the one side there is a 'dividing of the Substance' in the Godhead, on the other 'a confounding of the Persons,' with their attendant or allied errors in each case. The true Ignatius of the early years of the second century, though orthodox in his doctrinal intentions, yet used language which seemed to transgress the bounds of careful definition on the latter side. He spoke of 'the blood of God' (*Ephes.* 1), and described 'our God Jesus Christ' as 'borne in the womb of Mary' (*Ephes.* 18). Hence he became a favourite authority with Monophysite writers. On the other hand the false Ignatius of the latter half of the fourth century, whether orthodox or not in his doctrinal position (which is a matter of dispute), leaned to the other side; and he altered and interpolated the early father whose name he assumed in accordance with his own leanings. 'The blood of God' becomes 'the blood of Christ' in *Ephes.* 1; and 'our God Jesus Christ' becomes 'the Son of God who was begotten before the ages' in *Ephes.* 18.

His exact doctrinal position has been the subject of much discussion. For the most part he has been regarded as an Arian. This is the view of Leclerc (Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* II. p. 506 sq., *Amstel.* 1724), of Grabe (*Spicil.* II. p. 225 sq.), and of Newman (*Essays Critical and Historical* I. p. 239 sq.); and it has been adopted still more recently by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 132 sq.), who is disposed to identify the author with Acacius of Cæsarea, the scholar and literary heir of

Eusebius. Funk (*Theol. Quartalschr.* LXII. p. 355 sq.) defends him against the charge of Arianism, but sets him down as an Apollinarian. Ussher discovered some affinities with Arianism, others with Apollinarianism (p. lxxxv sq., cviii sq.). On the other hand Bunsen (*Ignatius v. Antiochien etc.* p. 205) is doubtful whether either Arian or Apollinarian language can be traced in him. Cotelier was inclined to maintain his orthodoxy (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. 43).

It is much easier to ascertain this writer's antipathies than his sympathies. His polemic is aimed directly against the teaching of Marcellus and of his pupil Photinus. There can be no reasonable doubt that this is the object of *Magn.* 6 (comp. *Smyrn.* 3), where he maintains the existence of the Logos before and after the present order of things (see II. p. 753). So again in a later passage in the same epistle (*Magn.* 8), where the genuine Ignatius had used an expression almost identical with the language in which Marcellus clothed his doctrine (see II. p. 126 sq.), our Ignatian writer so alters the text before him as to make it a direct refutation of Marcellus, and this refutation is couched in words closely resembling and apparently borrowed from those of Eusebius when dealing with this same heretic (see II. p. 754 sq.).

So far we see clearly. It is only when we try to realise his own position that the difficulty begins.

The main arguments in support of his Arianism are these. (1) He betrays his heretical leanings in the alterations which he introduces into the Christological passages of the genuine Ignatius. Two examples (*Ephes.* 1, 18) have been mentioned already; but inasmuch as in these cases the original text seems to savour of theopaschitism, the alterations might have been introduced in the interests of the strictest orthodoxy. Other examples however occur, where this defence will not hold; e.g. *Smyrn.* 1 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν οὕτως κ.τ.λ., altered into τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ οὕτως κ.τ.λ., and *Ephes.* inscr. τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, altered into Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν (comp. *Rom.* inscr., 3). The force of this argument however is considerably weakened by the fact, which will be noticed hereafter (p. 258), that frequently elsewhere he deliberately assigns to Jesus Christ the name of God, which in these passages he seems to withhold. (2) He is careful to distinguish between the Father as ἀγέννητος and the Son as γεννητός (see above, p. 243). This however proves nothing. If indeed Zahn had been right in supposing that in the age when this Ignatian pretender wrote the terms γεννητός and γενητός, ἀγέννητος and ἀγένητος, were used indiscriminately, there would have been much force in this

argument (*I. v. A.* p. 135 sq.). But it has been shown elsewhere (II. p. 90 sq.) that the distinction between these words was fully recognized at this time; that in accordance with orthodox theology the Son was γεννητός, though not γενητός; and that, though (for reasons which I have explained there) the orthodox fathers of the Nicene age avoided the term γεννητός, they could not deny its correctness (e.g. Greg. Nyss. *Op.* III. p. 35, ed. Morel, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἴδιον τὸ ἀγεννήτως εἶναι ὁμολογεῖται). When therefore our interpolator altered the expression γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος which he found applied to our Lord in the text of the genuine Ignatius (*Ephes.* 7), he acted in the interests of orthodoxy so far as regards the removal of the term ἀγέννητος, which, as applied to the Son in His divine nature, involves a contradiction of terms. (3) He denies that the Son is ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός, confining these terms to the Father (see above, p. 244). This language however is a protest against Sabellianism, and is altogether consistent with the Nicene doctrine. Gregory Nyssen himself uses such language again and again (e.g. *Op.* II. pp. 336, 340, 342, 343, etc., III. pp. 22, 24, 31, etc.). (4) He quotes with emphasis the passages in the Bible which speak of the unity of God (*Ant.* 2, 3, 4, *Philipp.* 2); and on these and other occasions he speaks of the Father as the μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεός (*Smyrn.* 6, *Philad.* 2, *Magn.* 11, *Ephes.* 7, *Ant.* 4, *Philipp.* 2; comp. *Rom.* 6). But this language is not without parallels in the orthodox fathers; the expression ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς is scriptural (John xvii. 3; see *Smyrn.* 6); and in the very passages (*Ant.* 2, 3) where he thus deals with the Scriptures he proceeds to point out that these Scriptures call the Second Person of the Trinity Κύριος and Θεός. (5) He uses such terms as ἀρχιστράτηγος (*Smyrn.* 8) and ἀρχιερεύς (*Magn.* 4, 7, *Smyrn.* 9) of the Son; and their employment is supposed to betoken a desire to withhold higher titles. But this is no necessary inference, and in the case of the latter word he is careful to say that Christ is 'the *only* high-priest (of the Father) *by nature*' (φύσει), *Magn.* 4, *Smyrn.* 9. (6) He never uses the term ὁμοούσιος, though he must have been familiar with it. But, if he had any respect for the verisimilitude of his forgery, he would naturally avoid a word of which the previous history had been carefully investigated, and which was known not to have been used except rarely, and then only in a non-Nicene and heretical sense, as a definition of the Sabellianism of Paul of Samosata. (7) He insists on the preeminence or superiority (ὑπεροχή) of the Father (*Philipp.* 12, *Smyrn.* 7). In the first passage more especially he represents our Lord as addressing Satan on the occasion of the temptation, 'I am cognisant of the One, I know the Only (οἶδα τὸν ἕνα, ἐπίσταμαι τὸν μόνον), from

whom thou hast become an apostate. I do not set myself against God (*οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀντίθεος*), I confess the preeminence. I do not refuse to worship Him whom I know, who is the cause of my generation (*τὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γεννήσεως αἴτιον*)...for *I live by reason of the Father* (*διὰ τὸν πατέρα*)[1].' But in the first place, the *ὑπεροχή* of the Father is maintained by the most orthodox writers (see Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* II. p. 86), and indeed, when rightly understood, is a necessary element of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity (see Bull *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* Sect. iv 'De subordinatione Filii'); and secondly, the worship here mentioned is directly connected with the temptation, and therefore with the humanity of Christ. Nor again is the expression in *Trall.* 5, *τοῦ τε πνεύματος τὴν ὑψηλότητα καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ἀπαράθετον*, incapable of an orthodox interpretation.

On the other hand there are not wanting passages which seem to indicate the writer as an adherent of the Nicene doctrine. (1) If he avoids the word *ὁμοούσιος*, he uses *ὁμότιμος* instead. In *Philipp.* 2, speaking of the baptismal formula (Matt. xxviii. 19), he says that baptism is enjoined 'not into One with three names nor into Three incarnates, but into Three equal in honour (*ὁμοτίμους*).' It is difficult to interpret this otherwise than as a virtual acknowledgment of the Nicene doctrine, especially when we compare it with such passages as Athan. *Expos. Fid.* 1 (*Op.* I. p. 79), where he calls the Son *τὴν ἀληθινὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς ἰσότιμον καὶ ἰσόδοξον*, or Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 31 § 12 (*Op.* I. p. 563), where this father speaks of *τὸ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὁμότιμον τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τῆς θεότητος* (see also other passages quoted by Funk, p. 372 sq.). (2) He repeatedly speaks of the Son as begotten or existing *πρὸ αἰώνων*, etc. (e.g. *Ephes.* 7, 18, *Magn.* 6, 11, *Tars.* 6, *Antioch.* 14). This, so far as it goes, tends in the direction of the Nicene doctrine; but, as the statement was accepted by most Arians, no stress can be laid on it[2]. (3) He speaks of the Son as 'by nature unchangeable,' *τῇ φύσει ἄτρεπτος*. On the other hand Arius in his *Thalia* had designated Him *τῇ φύσει τρεπτός* (Athan. *c. Arian.* i. 5, 9, *Op.* I. pp. 323, 326), and it is difficult to conceive an Arian directly negativing this language of Arius. (4) He not only repeatedly condemns those who regard Christ as a mere man *ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος* (see above, p. 244), denouncing them as 'Christ-slayers' (*Hero* 2), and saying that such persons are condemned by the prophet (Jer. xvii. 5, 6) as trusting not in God but in man (*Ant.* 5); but he also repudiates those who, on the pretext of

[1] This very passage has a parallel in Gregory Nyssen *c. Eunom.* i (*Op.* II. p. 417) *τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν τοῦ εἶναι ἐκεῖθεν ἔχων· Ἐγὼ γάρ, φησι, ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα.*

[2] It is even urged by Newman (*Essays* I. p. 240) as a mark of Arianism.

maintaining the unity of the Godhead, deny that Jesus Christ is God (*Ant.* 1 τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι προφάσει τοῦ ἑνὸς Θεοῦ, *ib.* 5 ἕνα καὶ μόνον καταγγέλλει Θεὸν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος). (5) He himself repeatedly speaks of Christ as God, sometimes retaining this designation where he found it in the text of the genuine Ignatius (*Polyc.* 8, *Rom.* inscr., 6, *Ephes.* 7), sometimes even inserting it *proprio motu* where it does not so occur (*Tars.* 1, 6, *Smyrn.* 5, *Ephes.* 15; and with λόγος or μονογενής, *Smyrn.* 1, *Philad.* 4, 6, *Magn.* 6; comp. *Ant.* 4, 5).

With these facts before us, we should find it difficult to convict him of Arianism. At the most our verdict must be, *Non liquet.* It is obvious indeed that he had a great horror of anything like Sabellianism, and this dread led him to avoid the Nicene term ὁμοούσιος; to emphasize the antithesis of ἀγέννητος and γεννητός, as designating the Father and the Son respectively, though commonly shunned by Nicene writers; and generally to lay stress on the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity not without some risking of appearing to divide the Substance. In short his position is not unlike that of Eusebius of Cæsarea. He leans to the side of Arianism, though without definitely crossing the border.

But on one point he was certainly heretical. If it is highly questionable whether he disputed the perfect Godhead of our Lord, it is certain that he denied the perfect manhood. In *Smyrn.* 4 he instinctively omits the words τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου, though the passage loses greatly by the omission, its point being the perfect sympathy of Christ as flowing from His perfect humanity. In *Philipp.* 5 indeed he is made in the common text to speak of Christ as 'perfect man' (τέλειος ἄνθρωπος), but it is plain from the authorities (see II. p. 777) that this is a scribe's alteration to bring his language into harmony with orthodox doctrine. In two several passages he explains his own creed. In *Philipp.* 5 he states negatively that Christ 'had no human soul' (τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα). In *Philad.* 6 he declares on the positive side that 'God the Word dwelt in a human body,' and again that 'God dwelt in Him and not a human soul,' wherefore it was heretical to say that Jesus Christ was 'a man, consisting of soul and body.' In both passages (see II. pp. 777, 796 sq.) copyists or translators have tampered with the text, altering it so as to remove this blemish of heterodoxy.

Is this Apollinarianism? Not strictly so. Apollinaris himself adopted the tripartite division of man's nature, νοῦς (or πνεῦμα), ψυχή, σῶμα; and accordingly he held that the Divine Logos took the place of the human Nous. It is stated however that certain Apollinarians denied not only the human νοῦς but the human ψυχὴ also (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxvii. 2, 24), apparently adopting a bipartite division. This indeed

seems to have been the earlier position of the school, from which it was driven under pressure of scriptural arguments (see especially Socr. *H. E.* ii. 46). At all events it is the position maintained by our Ignatian writer, whether Apollinarian or not. Against the view that he was an Apollinarian, it is urged that the Arians agreed with the Apollinarians in mutilating the humanity of Christ by denying it a human soul. This Arianism indeed was a common taunt against the Apollinarians (e.g. Athan. *c. Apoll.* ii. 9, *Op.* I. p. 755). To this Funk answers (p. 376) that, though in this respect Apollinarians and Arians were agreed, yet they approached the subject from different sides. While the Arians adopted this view to depreciate God the Logos as compared with God the Father, the Apollinarians on the other hand (Athan. *c. Apoll.* ii. 6, *Op.* I. p. 753; Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 101, *Op.* II. pp. 89, 90; Leont. Byzant. *de Sectis* iv, *Patrol. Graec.* LXXXVI. p. 1220) adopted it that they might guard the sinlessness of Christ, and this latter is the view distinctly put forward by our Ignatian writer (*Philipp.* 5 *τί παράνομον καλεῖς τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, τὸν τῇ φύσει ἄτρεπτον; τί παράνομον λέγεις τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα;*). Again he calls attention to the fact that in *Smyrn.* 5 the Ignatian forger adds *Θεόν* to *σαρκοφόρον*, and this fact he connects with the statement of Gregory Nazianzen (*Epist.* 102, *Op.* II. p. 96) that the favourite Apollinarian dogma was *τὸ δεῖν προσκυνεῖν μὴ ἄνθρωπον θεοφόρον ἀλλὰ Θεὸν σαρκοφόρον*. Yet, notwithstanding these resemblances, the Apollinarian leanings of the writer seem to me more than questionable. The Apollinarians took the *ὁμοούσιος* of the Nicene creed as their starting-point. This is not the position of our spurious Ignatius. Their leading idea again was the maintenance of the 'one nature' (*μία φύσις*) of Christ; and they therefore welcomed such expressions as 'God was born of Mary,' 'God suffered on the Cross.' On the contrary our author betrays no anxiety on this point, and even obliterates in the text of Ignatius the very language (*Ephes.* 1, 18) which would most commend itself to an Apollinarian[1].

On the whole it seems impossible to decide with certainty the position of this Ignatian writer. Notwithstanding the passages which

[1] See Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 103 (*Op.* II. p. 168) *αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν.....θνητὸν εἶναι κατασκευάζει* [*ὁ Ἀπολλινάριος*] *καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ θεότητι πάθος δέξασθαι*, Athan. *c. Apoll.* ii. 5 (*Op.* I. p. 752) *λέγετε Θεὸν γεγεννῆσθαι ἐκ παρθένου*, comp. *ib.* ii. 14 (p. 758). Hence the Apollinarian's preference of the term *σάρκωσις* to *ἐνανθρώπησις*, Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 101, 102 (*Op.* II. pp. 90, 94). Hence also the orthodox, when denounced as *ἀνθρωπολάτρης*, retorts on the Apollinarian that he is *σαρκολάτρης*, Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 101 (*Op.* II. p. 89); comp. Athan. *c. Apoll.* i. 6 (I. p. 739).

savour of Apollinarianism, the general bearing of his language leans to the Arian side. But if Arianism in any sense can be ascribed to him, it is Arianism of very diluted quality. Perhaps we may conceive of him as writing with a conciliatory aim, and with this object propounding in the name of a primitive father of the church, as an eirenicon, a statement of doctrine in which he conceived that reasonable men on all sides might find a meeting-point.

On the other hand the rough *date* of this forgery seems fairly certain. All the indications, as we have seen, point to the latter half of the fourth century; and accordingly in recent years there has been a general convergence of opinion towards this date. This is the view for instance of Düsterdeck (*de Ignat. Epist. Authent.* p. 32 sq., 1843), of Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. für Wiss. Theol.* 1874, p. 211 sq.), of Newman (*Essays* I. p. 238 sq.)[1], and especially of Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 173 sq., *Ign. Ep.* p. vi. sq.), whose investigations have had no little influence on the result. This view was also confidently maintained two centuries and a half ago by Vedelius (1623) who wrote 'ausim asserere *quarto seculo post Christum* jam ad minimum quatuor [ex sex epistolis suppositiis] confictas fuisse' (*Ignat. Epist.* Apol. p. 5). It has been adopted likewise by the most recent Ignatian editor, Funk (*Theolog. Quartalschr.* LXII. p. 355 sq., 1880), though he has since in his subsequent work (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. xii sq., 1881) found passages in these Ignatian letters which seem to him to attack the doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and which therefore oblige him to push the date forward to the earlier decades of the fifth century. The passages in question however do not bear out this view. The references to the 'one Lord' or 'one Mediator' (*Tars.* 4, *Philipp.* 1, 2, 3, *Philad.* 4, *Ant.* 4), which he supposes to have been directed against the doctrine of two Sons of God imputed to Theodore, are mostly quotations of scriptural texts and seem to have no immediate polemical bearing. If any such immediate reference were required, it might be found in the fact that Apollinaris accused the orthodox of believing in 'two Sons,' and that the orthodox fathers repudiate and anathematize this doctrine (Athan. *c. Apoll.* i. 12, 21, ii. 19, *Op.* I. pp. 743, 749, 762; Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 101, 102, *Op.* II. pp. 85, 94; Greg. Nyss. *ad Theoph.*, *Op.* III. p. 262 sq. ed. Morel, a treatise almost wholly taken up with this one point; *Epiphan. Haer.* lxxvii. 4, 13, pp. 999, 1007; Theodoret. *Dial.* 2, *Op.* IV. p. 113). There is no occasion therefore to look so late as Theodore for an explanation. Other passages again, which attack false teachers who hold Christ to

[1] 'Probably,' writes Card. Newman, 'about the year 354' (p. 243).

be 'mere man' (ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον), or who maintain the unreality of the Incarnation and the Passion, are much more applicable to earlier heresies than to any tenets fastened upon Theodore by his enemies.

Hardly less decisive than these tokens of date are the indications of *country*. In a moment of forgetfulness our Ignatian writer betrays his secret. In *Philipp.* 8, referring to the return of Joseph and Mary with the child Jesus from Egypt, he speaks of it as a 'return thence to these parts' (ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε ἐπάνοδος). This would naturally apply to Palestine, but might be extended to Syria. The interest which the writer elsewhere shows in Antioch and cities ecclesiastically dependent on it, such as Laodicea, Tarsus, and Anazarbus, points to the latter country rather than to the former.

But though compiled in the latter half of the fourth century, this recension did not find currency till a much later period. The earliest quotations in the *Greek* fathers, as we have seen, date two centuries later. Nor did it ever displace the Middle Recension in the Greek Church. The two are quoted side by side in the same age and sometimes even by the same writer (e.g. Theodore of Studium, p. 210 sq.). The Vossian Letters still continued to be transcribed, as the existing Medicean MS shows. In the *Latin* Church the Long Recension played a more important part. It was translated into Latin at least as early as the first half of the ninth century, and for some centuries it was without a rival in Western Christendom. Only in the thirteenth century was the Middle Form translated by Grossteste or his fellow-labourers; and even then its circulation was confined to England, perhaps to the Franciscan order to which Grossteste bequeathed his books (see above, p. 76 sq.). Yet, though for several centuries the Long Recension held exclusive possession of the field in the West, and though even afterwards its displacement was only local, we may suspect that its diffusion was never more than partial. It is at least a remarkable fact that nearly all the known MSS, though numerous, are of Burgundian origin (see above, p. 119). In the *Syrian* Church the interpolated letters of this recension seem to have remained unknown to the last. The Additional Epistles, as we have seen, were appended to the seven letters of the Middle Form, and the whole collection was translated into Syriac. Hence the Additional Letters only of the Long Recension are quoted by Syriac writers. The same is the case with *Armenian* and *Arabic* speaking Christians. The Armenian Version, which was translated from the Syriac, speaks for itself. Arabic Christianity, which would likewise derive its knowledge from the Syriac, is represented by Severus of Ashmunin, and he quotes

side by side a passage from the Epistle to the Smyrnæans in the Middle Form and another from the Epistle to the Antiochenes (see above, p. 217). The case of the *Egyptian* speaking Christians again would be the same. The extant Coptic Version (see above, p. 101) is a mere fragment. Whether it was ever complete, we cannot say, but the extant relique exhibits one of the Additional Epistles in connexion with one of the Seven in the Middle Form. The *Ethiopic* Church would be indebted either to the Coptic or to the Arabic, and would thus be in the same case with the rest. Thus the interpolated epistles were unknown to any but Greek and Latin Christians, while the Additional Epistles were probably accessible to all.

Besides the epistles extant in various forms in Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, two quotations are given in Arabic and Ethiopic, which seem at first sight to belong to other letters not included in any of these collections. These are printed in the Arabic (of which the Ethiopic is a translation) below, II. p. 883 sq. The first is prefaced by the words 'The holy Ignatius...says in his epistle.' The passage which follows is not found in any extant Ignatian epistle. The second is headed, 'And this holy Ignatius...says in his thirteenth epistle.' The sentence following hereupon is from *Philipp.* 3 Ἀληθῶς οὖν...ἐνάγης, though not verbatim, the word ἐνάγης being amplified. It will be remembered that the Epistle to the Philippians is the thirteenth in the Armenian (see the table above, p. 222), and therefore in the Syriac collection, from which these Arabic fragments would ultimately be derived. The quotation is followed by an attack on the Diphysites. Though this latter portion is treated as belonging to the quotation, it was evidently not so intended originally, but formed part of the remarks of the writer who quotes Ignatius. This fact suggests a probable explanation with regard to the first passage also. It would seem that in the course of transmission the Ignatian quotation has dropped out, and that in this case we have *only* the comment of the later writer who cites this father. Indeed we may infer what the passage quoted was from words which occur lower down, 'Therefore when thou hearest that God suffered for us...understand,' etc. Can the quotation have been any other than *Rom.* 6 'the suffering of my God,' which we know to have been frequently quoted in a Monophysite interest, and which this writer would rescue from a Monophysite interpretation? If this explanation be accepted, we can no longer with Cureton (*C. I.* p. 363) see in these passages an evidence of extensive forgeries in the name of Ignatius beyond the epistles commonly known.

It has been assumed throughout this chapter that the *Epistle to the Romans* from the beginning formed part of the collection of thirteen letters contained in the Long Recension. In this case it will have undergone interpolation from the same hands which tampered with the rest of the Seven Epistles and forged the six Additional Epistles. The presumption is certainly strong in favour of this view. The Epistle to the Romans is found in all the extant Greek MSS of this recension. It appears also in the Latin Version, which certainly dates as far back as the earlier part of the ninth century and was translated from a Greek text which the corruptions show to have had even then a long history. Zahn however (*I. v. A.* pp. 115, 128, 161 sq., *Ign. Ep.* p. vii. sq.) gives his reasons for supposing that it was only added to the other twelve epistles of this collection at a later date, having been interpolated by some other hand. As this view, if admitted, involves some not altogether unimportant consequences, it is necessary to consider his arguments at length.

(i) In the first place he sees an argument in favour of this view in the fact that in this collection the Epistle to the Romans stands last in the series (see the table, p. 222). But owing to its subject-matter this would be its most natural position. Though actually written before some others, yet as dwelling solely on the closing scene of the saint's life, it forms the proper sequel to the rest. Accordingly in the Armenian collection it is placed last of the Seven Epistles; and in the Greek collection, represented by the Medicean and Colbert MSS and by the Anglo-Latin Version, it is embedded in the Martyrology which closes the series of letters.

(ii) Again he finds his view still further confirmed by the phenomena of the epistle itself as it now appears in the Long Recension, observing that it 'has not undergone the systematic interpolation which characterizes the pre-Eusebian letters in this collection.' To this the answer is twofold.

First. The interpolations, though fewer than in other epistles where the contents suggested or encouraged interpolation, are yet decidedly more considerable than in the Epistle to Polycarp. Zahn indeed (*I. v. A.* p. 165) has endeavoured to dispose of this parallel by anticipation; but his argument is too subtle to command assent. There is certainly more matter provocative of interpolation by way of doctrinal statement in the letter to Polycarp, than in this epistle. Yet the interpolator has escaped the temptation to interpolate largely in the one case, and there is no reason why he should not have escaped it in the other. As regards ecclesiastical organization again, of which the Epistle to Polycarp is full, there is absolutely nothing in our letter which would afford a convenient handle for a digression. Zahn may be right or not in supposing that the interpolator waived the opportunity in the Epistle to Polycarp, because he had already discussed matters of ecclesiastical order in the Epistle to Hero, though in other cases he is far from showing such self-restraint (e.g. the eligibility of young men for the episcopate treated at length alike in *Magn.* 3 and in *Mar. Ign.* 2, 3, 4); but at all events the Epistle to the Romans is untouched by this consideration. The solution of the question respecting identity or difference of authorship must be sought in the character of the changes themselves. But what do we find?

Secondly. The interpolations and alterations are exactly the same in kind as in the other epistles.

(a) There is the same insertion of *scriptural* texts: 2 Cor. iv. 18, John xv. 19, in § 3; Matt. xvi. 26 (Mark viii. 36, Luke ix. 25) in § 6; Gal. ii. 19, Ps. cxvi. 12, in § 8; John x. 11 in § 9. So also, where the language of Ignatius has been influenced by some scriptural passage (e.g. § 7 *ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.* from John vi. 31 sq., or § 9 *ποιμένι* from John x. 11), other words are inserted from the scriptural context, or the

text itself is directly quoted, just as the Ignatian interpolator is in the habit of doing elsewhere (e.g. *Polyc.* 1, *Trall.* 11, *Ephes.* 5, 10, *Magn.* 7, *Philad.* 2, 3, *Smyrn.* 3).

(β) The *literary* and *dictional* changes are of the same character. Thus in § 2 for δῦναι the interpolator substitutes διαλυθῆναι, being more or less influenced by sound in the choice of a word, as in *Polyc.* 2 θέλημα is substituted for θέμα, in *Polyc.* 3 ἀναμείνῃ for ὑπομείνῃ, in *Polyc.* 5 πλὴν for πλέον, in *Trall.* 1 ἀνυπόκριτον for ἀδιάκριτον, in *Philad.* 10 συγχωρηθῆναι for συγχαρῆναι, in *Ephes.* 3 ὑπομνησθῆναι for ὑπαλειφθῆναι. Again a strong argument for the identity of workmanship may be drawn from the interpolator's vocabulary. Thus in inscr. he has introduced the words πνευματοφόρος and παντοκράτωρ. Neither word occurs in the true Ignatius. For the former however a partiality is shown elsewhere by the Ignatian forger (*Ephes.* 9, *Hero* inscr.); and the latter is a not uncommon insertion in similar cases (e.g. *Magn.* 8, *Trall.* 5, *Philipp.* 7, *Hero* inscr.). Again at the end of § 1 an explanatory clause προφάσει φιλίας σαρκίνης is added. With this compare *Ant.* 1 προφάσει τοῦ ἑνὸς Θεοῦ. Similarly at the close of § 4 after μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν there is a gloss κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον appended. This interpolation indeed with others is found in some texts of the Middle Form, but it was doubtless inserted there from the Long Recension (see II. pp. 200, 203, 210, 218, 226 sq.). It exactly accords with the interpolator's manner elsewhere, of which the addition in *Trall.* 11 παραυτίκα ἀποθνήσκει [οὐ τὸν πρόσκαιρον θάνατον ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰώνιον] will serve as an example; and with this last passage again may be compared likewise the elaborate glosses on ζωὴ and θάνατος in *Rom.* 6. As regards the particular words, the interpolator's fondness for adjectives in -ικός has been already noticed (see above, p. 237), and he uses this very word κοσμικός elsewhere (*Ephes.* 19 σοφία κοσμική). Again in four several passages (inscr. τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάντα, § 6 ἐκεῖνον θέλω, § 8 θελήσατε ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε, *ib.* ἠθελήσατε) the peculiar Ignatian uses of θέλειν (see II. pp. 115, 228) have offended the taste of our interpolator, and accordingly he erases or substitutes in all these cases, in accordance with the procedure elsewhere (*Magn.* 3 τοῦ θελήσαντος ἡμᾶς). Again the treatment of § 4 (ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος) is eminently instructive. The expression ἀπόστολοι seems bald to him, and he adds Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. There is the same treatment in *Trall.* 3 ἀποστόλων [Χριστοῦ]. Moreover the word κατάκριτος is objectionable, perhaps unintelligible, to him, and he ejects it, just as it is ejected in *Trall.* 3 ἵνα ὦν κατάκριτος κ.τ.λ. in a similar connexion, and again in *Ephes.* 12 ἐγὼ κατάκριτος. These are the only three occurrences of κατάκριτος in Ignatius. In its place however ἐλάχιστος is here substituted. This word is never used by the genuine Ignatius of himself, nor indeed does it occur at all in his text. But the Ignatian forger in at least three other passages (*Ephes.* 12 twice, *Hero* 6) makes the saint so designate himself; and in one of these (*Ephes.* 12 ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ ἐλάχιστος) it is a substitute for this same word κατάκριτος. This passage alone therefore would be almost decisive as to the identity of authorship in the interpolations of the Roman Epistle. Again the smaller alterations bear traces of the same hand. Such are the substitutions of διὰ for εἰς in § 6 ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (comp. *Ephes.* 3 διὰ τὸ ὄνομα for ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, *Philad.* 7 δι' ὃν δέδεμαι for ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι); the omission of τῇ κατὰ σάρκα in § 9 τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα (comp. *Ephes.* 1 ὑμῶν δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπισκόπῳ, where in like manner ἐν σαρκὶ is omitted); the arbitrary alteration of ἵνα into ὅπως in § 3 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι on account of the preceding ἵνα (comp. *Smyrn.* 11, and see the notes II. pp. 204, 339). Again such erasures as § 8 τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα (comp. e.g. *Ephes.* 3 τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, *Trall.* 11 ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός), and such alterations as § 2 τρέχων for φωνή (comp. e.g. *Polyc.* 2 ἐπανορθώσῃς for κολακεύῃς, *Ephes.* 5 ὁμοδούλοις for συνδιδασκαλίταις, *Magn.* 3 καταφρο-

νεῖν for συγχρᾶσθαι, *Magn.* 14 ποιμανθῆναι for δροσισθῆναι), arising from the inability of the forger to understand or to appreciate the figurative and epigrammatic diction of the true Ignatius, have numberless parallels in the interpolator's work elsewhere. So likewise the arbitrary changes, even where this reason did not exist (e. g. § 7 προτιμᾶτε for ἐπιθυμεῖτε), are altogether after his manner (e.g. *Trall.* 3 οὕτω διακεῖσθαι for οὕτως ἔχειν). Again the breaking up and recombining of sentences, such as we have in § 3 ὁ χριστιανισμὸς ὅταν μισῆται ὑπὸ κόσμου, φιλεῖται παρὰ Θεοῦ, is a device in which the interpolator indulges elsewhere (e.g. *Trall.* 3, 4, οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι, ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ, *Ephes.* 10 ἐάν τις πλέον ἀδικηθεὶς πλείονα ὑπομείνῃ, οὗτος μακάριος κ.τ.λ.).

(γ) The *doctrinal* changes are not less decisive than the *literary*. More especially in the Christological passages can we trace the identity of authorship. There is the same anxiety to maintain the supremacy of the Father and to represent the agency of the Son as dependent on the Father, which we find in the other epistles; and this anxiety expresses itself in the same way. In inscr. alone four changes are made, all tending in this direction. In the sentence πατρὸς ὑψιστοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, he prefixes Θεοῦ to πατρὸς and substitutes μονογενοῦς for μόνου (comp. *Ign. Mar.* inscr., *Hero* inscr., *Smyrn.* inscr., *Ephes.* 20), the word μονογενὴς being a specially favourite term with the Ignatian interpolator (see above, p. 243). In Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν he adds καὶ σωτῆρος after Θεοῦ to break its force, this term σωτήρ again being introduced elsewhere in the interpolations (e.g. *Ephes.* inscr., *Trall.* 1). For Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ πατρὸς he substitutes Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, where (as I have already remarked) παντοκράτωρ is a favourite term of the interpolator. And lastly, for ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν is substituted ἐν Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, while again in § 3 ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ. is in like manner erased (comp. *Ephes.* inscr.). Again in § 6 a characteristic expression of the Ignatian interpolator is inserted, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν; for, though the coincidence would have been more close if ἑνὸς or μόνου had been inserted before ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ (see Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 164), the meaning is the same, and the omission of this further defining word does not destroy the resemblance. Again in § 8 Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς becomes αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός (comp. *Ephes.* 15). It should be observed also that in both these last alterations the expression is 'Jesus the Christ,' an order unusual in itself and not found in the genuine Ignatius, but especially affected by the interpolator elsewhere (*Ephes.* 4, 7, 9 twice, 15, 21, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 9, 10; comp. *Tars.* 3 Ἰησοῦς ὁ Κύριος, *Smyrn.* 8 ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς). Again in § 6 τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου, the word Χριστοῦ is inserted (comp. *Ephes.* 1), though here indeed its absence from the Latin Version throws very great doubt on its genuineness. Lastly; in § 9 ποιμένι τῷ Θεῷ χρῆται, μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει is changed into ποιμένι χρῆται τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ κάλος, καὶ μόνος αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπήσει, apparently to avoid the inferential identification of Θεὸς with Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. So too the introduction of the Spirit, where the other two Persons of the Trinity are mentioned together in the genuine Ignatius (inscr., § 8), is characteristic of the Ignatian forger (e.g. *Trall.* 1, *Philad.* 9, 11, *Smyrn.* 13). In the former passage χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος, πνευματοφόρος, the word πνευματοφόρος (like the allied word χριστοφόρος) is not only, as I have already remarked, a special favourite of the Ignatian forger, but has likewise been introduced by him in another passage under similar circumstances and from the same motive (*Ephes.* 9). Thus the doctrinal manipulations are equally significant with the literary; and altogether it is inconceivable that an independent writer should have

introduced into this separate letter so many and various changes all so closely resembling in character the interpolations with which the Ignatian forger has enriched the other six.

(iii) It is further urged by Zahn, that the Ignatian interpolator, though in his forged letters he plagiarizes from the passage of the Epistle to the Romans quoted by Eusebius, yet betrays no knowledge of this epistle outside the historian's quotation (see *I. v. A.* pp. 128, 161); and naturally he lays great stress on this supposed fact (*Ign. Ep.* p. vii). But can this statement be sustained? Is not the opening of the Tarsian Epistle ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀξιεπαίνῳ καὶ ἀξιομνημονεύτῳ καὶ ἀξιαγαπήτῳ palpably suggested by the opening of the Roman Epistle, where, and where alone, there is a similar accumulation of words compounded of ἄξιος, and in which also occurs the solitary instance of the rare word ἀξιέπαινος in the genuine Ignatius? Again, the opening of *Ign. Mar.* τῇ ἠλεημένῃ χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Κυρίου Ἰ. Χ....ἀξιοθέῳ...Μαρίᾳ πλεῖστα ἐν Θεῷ χαίρειν more closely resembles other parts of this same passage than anything else in the genuine Ignatius. Again in *Ign. Mar.* 2 the expression ὀναίμην τῶν δεινῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων is adapted, as Zahn points out, from a passage in *Rom.* 5, which is quoted by Eusebius. But there is one strong reason for believing nevertheless that it was not taken from the historian. In Eusebius the reading is τῶν ἐμοὶ ἑτοίμων without any variation; while in the independent texts of the Roman Epistle it is τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, as quoted in *Ign. Mar.* 2, likewise without any variation. Again *Tars.* 10 προσεύχεσθε ἵνα Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω has its closest resemblance in *Rom.* 8 αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ ἵνα ἐπιτύχω (the phrase ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω occurring twice in § 5 of this same epistle), though parallels may likewise be found in *Magn.* 14, *Smyrn.* 11, and elsewhere.

(iv) Lastly; Zahn (*Ign. Ep.* p. vii) sees a confirmation of his view in the phenomena of the MSS; 'Soli epistulae ad Ephesios, quippe quae ultimo loco ab ipso interpolatore posita sit, ἀμήν subscriptum est tamquam clausula totius collectionis (p. 288, 17).' This seems to be a mistake. The ἀμήν is not the concluding word but is part of the letter itself, ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις (see below, II. p. 850), and was quoted as such by Anastasius of Sinai (see above, p. 196). It occurs moreover in exactly the same position in the Epistle to Polycarp (see II. p. 816); and there is even some ground for surmising that it may have stood originally in the genuine Ignatius in both these places (II. p. 850). But Zahn continues; 'Atque in codice Vaticano 859 [g_2] qui reliquis epistulis omnibus subscripsit τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀντιοχεῖς, πρὸς Ἥρωνα, κ.τ.λ., sive addito sive omisso epistulae numero, epistulae ad Romanos prorsus singularis subjuncta est epigraphe, τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομ. Ἰγν. πατριάρχου Θεοῦ πόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ῥωμαίους ιβ'.' This is true likewise of our other chief MSS (g_1 g_4). But Zahn has omitted to observe that a corresponding elaborate title (inserting however in this case not πατριάρχου Θεουπόλεως but ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεουπόλεως) is also placed at the head of the Letter to Mary, the first in the collection of epistles ascribed to Ignatius, as the Letter to the Romans is the last, in these MSS g_1 g_2 (comp. also g_4). Thus the more elaborate superscription and subscription bind the whole collection together; and the phenomena, so far from showing that the last letter was originally separate, establish its close connexion with the rest. The only inference that we can draw from these facts is, that the parent MS from which our existing MSS (at least g_1 g_2 g_4) were derived was not written before the age of Justinian (A. D. 538), when Antioch acquired the name of Theopolis.

5.

THE CURETONIAN LETTERS.

THE genius of Ussher, followed closely by the discovery of Voss, had narrowed the field of controversy. There was no longer any serious question about the spuriousness of the Long Recension. The eccentric advocacy of this recension by Whiston provoked no strenuous opposition, simply because it won no strenuous adherents. Later efforts to maintain the same cause fell still-born from the press. The Vossian letters alone held the ground. From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards the controversy raged about these. The attack of Daillé (1666) and the defence of Pearson (1672) were the main incidents in this warfare. Of other combatants it is unnecessary here to speak. The whole question will be considered in a subsequent chapter. I need only add for the present, that most opponents of the genuineness of the Vossian Epistles were prepared to admit in them the existence of a genuine substratum, overlaid however with later additions and interpolations.

But in the year 1845 a new era in the Ignatian controversy commenced. The existence of a Syriac version of the Epistles of Ignatius had long been suspected. In the Catalogue of Ebed-Jesu, a Syrian writer at the close of the thirteenth century, of which a Latin version had been published by Abraham Ecchellensis (A.D. 1653), mention is made of Ignatius as an author (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* III. i. p. 16). In another list of books also, belonging to a later Ignatius, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who resided in Rome at the time of the reform of the Calendar under Gregory XIII, a version of the Epistles of Ignatius in Syriac or Chaldee is included (see *ib.* p. 17; comp. II. p. 229). A copy of this latter catalogue was brought to England by H. Saville, the learned editor of S. Chrysostom; and the notice naturally attracted the attention and excited the hopes of Ussher (p. xxvi),

who prosecuted some enquiries but without success (*Life and Works* XVI. pp. 53, 64). Again in 1680, 1681, Fell, at that time Dean of Christ Church, made attempts through R. Huntington, then British Chaplain at Aleppo, but afterwards Bishop of Raphoe, to obtain a copy of this Syriac version. Extracts from the correspondence of Huntington with certain dignitaries of the Oriental Churches are given by Cureton (*C. I.* p. xxiv. sq.) from *D. Roberti Huntingtoni Rapotensis Epistolae* (Londini 1704). Huntington's endeavours however failed, though strangely enough among other places he visited the very convent of the Nitrian desert in which the MSS of the Syriac epistles were afterwards discovered. At a later date (A.D. 1716) Renaudot in his *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (II. pp. 225, 488, ed. Francof. 1847) inferred the existence of an ancient Syriac version of the letters of Ignatius from the fact that he found several extracts in a collection of canons. These extracts are designated S_1 above (p. 89 sq.), and the MS used by Renaudot (*Sangerm.* 38) is the same which is there described. The extracts themselves are printed at length below, II. p. 677 sq. A few years later (A.D. 1725) J. S. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* III. i. p. 16) printed in the original Syriac the Catalogue of Ebed-Jesu already mentioned; and in his notes and elsewhere (*ib.* I. p. 606) he speaks of a Syriac copy of the *Acts of Ignatius* in the Vatican Library, contained in a volume of martyrologies which was brought by himself from the monastery of Scete in the Nitrian desert in 1715 (*Bibl. Orient.* I. præf. § xi). This MS has been described above (p. 100). From that time forward nothing more is heard of a Syriac version for nearly a century and a quarter.

This long period of silence was terminated by the appearance of Cureton's *Antient Syriac Version of the Epistles of S. Ignatius to S. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans*, London 1845. This version was discovered by the learned editor in two MSS which had been procured in recent years for the British Museum (*Add.* 12175, and *Add.* 14618; described above, p. 72). Its publication was the signal for the revival of the Ignatian question. The controversy, which had long been flickering in the embers, now burst out anew into a flame, and has burnt brightly ever since. The Syriac version, as published by Cureton, contained only the three epistles[1] above named, and these in a shorter form than either of the Greek and Latin texts. The editor contended that the genuine Ignatius had at length been discovered, and that the remaining four epistles of the Vossian collection, as well as the

[1] It should be mentioned however that at the close of the Epistle to the Romans is incorporated a fragment from the Trallian Epistle (§§ 4, 5) of the Middle Form.

additional portions of these three, were forgeries. He was at once attacked by a writer in the *English Review* (no. viii, July 1845), since known to be Dr Chr. Wordsworth, now Bishop of Lincoln, but at that time a fellow Canon with Cureton at Westminster. Wordsworth maintained (p. 348) that this Syriac version was 'a miserable epitome made by an Eutychian heretic,' and that 'so far from invalidating the claim of the Greek text to be received as the genuine language of Ignatius, it does in fact...greatly corroborate and confirm it.' The gauntlet thus thrown down was taken up at once by Cureton. In his *Vindiciae Ignatianae* (London 1846) he defended his position against his anonymous assailant, and more especially vindicated the Syriac epistles 'from the charge of heresy'; and, having meanwhile discovered a third MS, likewise in the British Museum, he published three years later his most complete work on the subject, the *Corpus Ignatianum* (London 1849), in which he discusses the whole question at length and gives, in the words of the title-page, 'a complete collection of the Ignatian Epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious, together with numerous extracts from them, as quoted by ecclesiastical writers down to the tenth century in Syriac, Greek, and Latin; an English translation of the Syriac text, copious notes, and introduction.'

Meanwhile the subject had been taken up by other combatants on both sides, and the fray became general. Among the earliest and staunchest allies of Cureton, was the Chevalier (afterwards Baron) Bunsen, who defended his position in two several works published at the same time (Hamburg 1847), *Die drei ächten u. die drei unächten Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien* and *Ignatius von Antiochien u. seine Zeit.* The former work contains the text of the epistles in the several recensions and is dedicated to Lachmann; the later discusses the main question in seven letters addressed to Neander. On the same side also were ranged A. Ritschl (*Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* ed. 1, 1850; ed. 2, 1857), Weiss (Reuter's *Repertorium* 1852, p. 169 sq.), R. A. Lipsius in two several tracts (*Ueber die Aechtheit der syrischen Recension der ignatianischen Briefe* in the *Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie* 1856, I. p. 3 sq.; *Ueber das Verhältniss des Textes der drei syrischen Briefe des Ignatios zu den übrigen Recensionen der ignatianischen Literatur* in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1859, I. p. 1 sq.), Pressensé (*Trois Premiers Siècles* II. p. 392 sq., 1858), Ewald (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel* VII. p. 281 sq., 1859), Milman (*Hist. of Christianity* II. p. 102, ed. 2, 1863), Böhringer (*Kirchengesch. in Biographieen* I. p. 16 sq., ed. 2, 1864) and (though less definitely) Bleek (*Einl. in das Neue Test.* 1862, p. 142), with others. The opposition

to Cureton's view combined critics of two directly antagonistic schools. On the one hand its ranks included writers like Baur (*Die ignatianischen Briefe u. ihr neuester Kritiker, eine Streitschrift gegen Herrn Bunsen*, 1848) and Hilgenfeld (*Die apostolischen Väter* p. 274 sq., 1853), who denied the authenticity of any recension of the Ignatian letters, being forced by their theological position to take this side. If for instance Baur had accepted the Ignatian letters as genuine even in their shortest form, he would have put an engine into the hands of his opponents, which would have shattered at a single blow all the Tübingen theories respecting the growth of the Canon and the history of the early Church. But as he had already, in a treatise published before the discovery of the Curetonian letters (*Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopats* p. 149 sq.), placed the Vossian letters as early as the age of the Antonines, he could not have admitted the priority of the Curetonian letters without dating them so far back as to place them within or near to the age of Ignatius himself. Thus it was a matter of life and death to theologians of the Tübingen school to take their side against the Curetonian letters. At the same time critical conservatism prompted writers of a wholly different type such as Denzinger (*Ueber die Aechtheit des bisherigen Textes der ignatianischen Briefe*, Würzburg 1849) and Uhlhorn (*Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie* 1851, pp. 3 sq., 247 sq.) to range themselves in the same ranks. This view was adopted also in their subsequent editions by two principal editors of the *Patres Apostolici*, Hefele (ed. 3, 1847) and Jacobson (ed. 4, prol. p. lvii), while a third, Dressel, whose first edition (1857) appeared after Cureton's discovery, speaks in a very confused and unintelligible way (prol. p. xxix), accepting neither recension as free from spurious matter and declining to pronounce on the question of priority. The priority of the Vossian letters was also maintained by two Oriental scholars of name, Petermann and Merx. Of the edition of the Ignatian Epistles by the former, which appeared in the same year (1849) with Cureton's larger work the *Corpus Ignatianum*, and has contributed greatly to the solution of the Ignatian question by the republication of the Armenian version, much has been said already (p. 84 sq.), and I shall have to recur to the subject again[1]. The work of Merx also (*Meletemata Ignatiana* 1861) has been mentioned more than once (pp. 98 sq., 183 sq., 192 sq.). On the same side also

[1] It is characteristic of Ussher's critical foresight that two centuries earlier he had contemplated the probability of discovering an Armenian version which should throw light on the Ignatian question (see *Life and Works* XVI. p. 64).

were ranged not a few other writers of repute, more especially in England.

The general bearing of the controversy will have appeared from this sketch of its history. While the advocates of the priority of the Vossian letters took different sides on the question of their genuineness, the champions of the Curetonian letters almost to a man maintained these to be the authentic work of Ignatius. There was however one exception. Volkmar (*Evangelien* p. 636 sq., 1870; comp. *Ursprung uns. Evang.* p. 51 sq., 1866) advocated the priority of the Curetonian letters, supposing that the Vossian collection was enlarged from them about A.D. 170; while at the same time he condemned the Curetonian letters themselves as spurious. This theory stands self-condemned, and naturally it has failed to find supporters[1].

It would not be easy to overrate the services which Cureton has rendered to the study of the Ignatian letters by the publication and elucidation of the Syriac texts. The questions also which he started or revived and the information respecting the past history of the controversy which he gathered together have not been without their value. It may confidently be expected that the ultimate issue will be the settlement of the Ignatian question on a more solid basis than would have been possible without his labours. But assuredly this settlement will not be that which he too boldly predicted. Neither his method nor his results will stand the test of a searching criticism.

His method is vitiated by a threefold confusion. *First*, there is the confusion, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter (p. 278), between various forms or recensions of the epistles and various readings

[1] In the *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1875, p. 346, I placed the author of *Supernatural Religion* in the same category with Volkmar, as 'assuming the priority of the Curetonian letters.' I did so on the strength of such passages as this (*S. R.* I. p. 262 sq.); 'Those who still maintain the superior authenticity of the Greek Shorter version argue that the Syriac is an epitome of the Greek. This does not however seem tenable when the matter is carefully examined. Although so much is absent from the Syriac version, not only is there no interruption of the sense and no obscurity or undue curtness in the style, but the epistles read more consecutively, without faults of construction or grammar, and passages which in the Greek text were confused and almost unintelligible have become quite clear in the Syriac. The interpolations in the text in fact had been so clumsily made that they had obscured the meaning,' with much more to the same effect. I am still at a loss to understand what other sense could be assigned to these words; but the author (*S. R.* I. p. xlv, ed. 6) repudiates my interpretation of his language.

in particular passages. *Secondly*, there is a studied attempt to confound together the evidence for the Vossian letters and for the epistles of the Long Recension, as if the external testimony in the two cases stood on the same level. This confusion I have already discussed at some length (p. 238 sq.). *Thirdly*, he collects together with great assiduity the passages in earlier critics (before the discovery of the Syriac letters) in which objections were raised against the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles, as an argument in his favour, failing to see that, if valid, they would tell equally against the Curetonian letters as against the Vossian. If a larger number of these affect the Vossian letters than the Curetonian, the ratio is only proportionate to the greater length of the former; so that the previous history of the controversy does not really afford any presumption in favour of the Curetonian letters as against the Vossian.

So much for his method. His results will be canvassed and (as I venture to believe) refuted in the following pages. In the earlier stages of the controversy indeed, it seemed as if they were in a fair way to obtain general acceptance. A large number of influential names, especially in Germany, was enlisted in their favour. This was not unnatural. The Ignatian letters had long lain under the suspicion of interpolation; and here was a sudden discovery which appeared to confirm this opinion. Hence it was taken up with avidity, as offering the desired solution of the Ignatian question. The extreme partisanship of Cureton and Bunsen indeed would repel some minds; but the more moderate advocacy of Lipsius, whose first treatise is the ablest work on this side, commended itself by its impartiality and did much to strengthen the cause. But the tide has altogether turned within the last few years. The phenomena of the Armenian version and of the Syriac fragments, which, though emphasized by Petermann (1849), Denzinger (1849), and Merx (1861), were slurred over by the advocates of the Curetonian letters in the first instance, have at length asserted their importance as a main factor in the settlement of the question. Zahn's work *Ignatius von Antiochien* (1873)—quite the most important contribution to the solution of the Ignatian question which has appeared since Cureton's discovery—dealt a fatal blow at the claims of the Curetonian letters. Since the appearance of this work, no serious champion has come forward to do battle for them. Lipsius (*Ueber den Ursprung des Christennamens* p. 7, 1873; *Zeitschr. für wissensch. Theol.* XVII. p. 209 sq., 1874; *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 13 Januar 1877, p. 22) has recanted his former opinion and finds himself no longer able to maintain the priority of the Curetonian

letters[1]. He states that he had misgivings even while his second treatise was going through the press (1859), and that the work of Merx two years later convinced him of his error. Even Volkmar confessed that his opinion respecting the priority of the Curetonian letters was shaken by Zahn's arguments (*Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1874, no. 20, p. 290, referred to by Zahn *Ign. Ep.* p. vi). So likewise Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. xv sq., 1877) has declared himself very decidedly against the Curetonian theory. One by one, it is losing its old adherents, and no new champion has started up[2]. I venture to hope that the discussion which follows will extinguish the last sparks of its waning life. The investigation of diction and style has never been seriously undertaken before, and the results will, I think, be considered decisive.

The examination falls, as usual, under the two heads of external and internal evidence.

1. *External Evidence.*

To the term *external evidence* a wide interpretation will here be given. It will thus comprise three heads: (i) Quotations and references; (ii) Documents and phenomena of the text; (iii) Historical relations of the two recensions.

(i) All the evidence of *quotations*, it is urged, prior to Eusebius points to the Short Recension as the original form. Every passage cited during the Ante-nicene period is found in the three Curetonian letters. These quotations occur, it is true, in the epistles of the Middle Form

[1] The author of *Supernatural Religion* (I. p. xxvi sq., ed. 6) takes me to task because I inferred (*Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1875, p. 340) from the language of Lipsius that 'having at one time maintained the priority and genuineness of the Curetonian letters' he had afterwards 'retracted his former opinion on both questions alike.' Nevertheless the inference is unquestionably true. See for instance the statement of Lipsius in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* p. 22, 'Ueber die Nichtursprünglichkeit der Curetonschen Recension der drei syrischen Briefe längst kein Streit zwischen uns besteht.' His previous statements in the *Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theol.* XVII. p. 209 sq., though equally explicit, were misunderstood by my critic, who fell into the error, to which I shall have occasion to refer below (p. 278 sq.), of confounding various recensions and various readings. Lipsius in his later writings still maintains that the Curetonian letters preserve older readings (as undeniably they do) than the existing text of the Vossian, but he not less distinctly abandons their priority as a recension.

[2] One very recent writer however (Chastel *Histoire du Christianisme* I. pp. 113, 213 sq., Paris 1881) follows Bunsen blindly, without showing any knowledge of the more recent criticism on the subject.

likewise; so that the fact, if fact it be, is not decisive. But still the circumstance that we are not required to travel beyond the limits of the Short Recension to satisfy the external evidence of the first two centuries after the author's date is in itself a presumption—a very strong presumption, it is thought—in favour of this, as the original form of the Ignatian Letters.

Even supposing that this allegation were true, what would be the value of the fact for the purpose for which it is alleged? It would depend partly on the number of the quotations adduced, partly on the relation of the two recensions, the one to the other, as storehouses of apt and serviceable quotations.

But the alleged quotations are only three in number, one in IRENÆUS (see above, p. 135) and two in ORIGEN (see p. 136). The passage cited by Irenæus is the startling image in *Rom.* 4 'I am the wheat of God, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.' Of the two quotations in Origen, one is taken from the same letter *Rom.* 7 'But my passion is crucified'; the other from *Ephes.* 19 'And the virginity of Mary escaped the notice of the prince of this world.' Thus the direct quotations are very few indeed, and they are all obvious and striking. Moreover on the hypothesis that the Short Recension is an abridgment of the other, we should naturally expect it to have preserved just those passages which would strike the reader as especially apt for quotation. The presumption therefore, even if the statement itself could be accepted as strictly accurate, is so slender, that it must give way before the slightest positive evidence on the other side.

But the statement is open to criticisms, which seriously impair its force.

In the first place it ignores several references to the Ignatian letters, which, though individually they may be thought indecisive, yet collectively are entitled to the highest consideration, as evidence in favour of the Middle Form.

The passage in LUCIAN will be found quoted above, p. 129 sq. It will be seen at once that, if there be any allusion to the Ignatian letters in this pagan satirist, it is not satisfied by the epistles of the Short Recension. The statement (p. 133) that Peregrinus 'sent about letters to nearly all the famous cities' might indeed be met by the expression in *Rom.* 4 'I write to all the churches,' though it finds a much more natural explanation in the existence of a body of letters like the Seven of the Middle Form, with which Lucian may be supposed to have been acquainted; but the superadded words relating how he 'nominated

(ἐχειροτόνησε) certain of his companions ambassadors (πρεσβευτάς), whom he called death-messengers (νεκραγγέλους) and infernal-couriers (νερτεροδρόμους),' has no parallel in the Syriac letters, whereas on the other hand it is adequately explained as a parody of Ignatius' directions in the Vossian Epistles to 'nominate' (χειροτονεῖν, *Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7) certain persons who should visit Syria as 'God-couriers' (θεοδρόμος *Polyc.* 7) or 'God-ambassadors' (θεοπρεσβευτήν *Smyrn.* 11). The further coincidence in Lucian's description of the Christians as 'despising death' (καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου) with an expression in *Smyrn.* 3 (θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν) deserves also to be mentioned, though it does not go far.

The reference to the letters of Ignatius in the Epistle of POLYCARP to the Philippians § 13 (see above, p. 128) is discussed in the notes on the passage (II. p. 932). Though the words τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ might be satisfied by the single letter to Polycarp in the Short Recension, yet they are much more natural and appropriate as referring to the two letters—the one to the Smyrnæans, the other to Polycarp himself—which are found in the Middle Form. Moreover in the context Polycarp speaks of sending with them 'other letters also as many as he had by him' (καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν). This expression would be amply satisfied by the five additional letters of the Middle Recension; but he could hardly have spoken thus of the two additional letters (Ephesians, Romans) which alone are contained in the Short Recension.

Again Polycarp refers to Ignatius as directing him to take care 'that, if any one should go to Syria, he should convey thither the letters from them (the Philippians) also.' This is explained by the directions in the Ignatian letters of the Middle Recension (*Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7, 8), charging Polycarp to send a trusty messenger with letters to Antioch from the Smyrnæan Church; but without this key to the interpretation it is altogether unintelligible. The Short Recension does not contain these directions.

Besides these more decisive references, there are other coincidences which could not have been regarded as decisive, if they had stood alone, but are not without their value as cumulative evidence. Thus the reference to the fetters of the martyrs, Ignatius and others, as 'the diadems' of the truly elect (§ 1), seems to be taken from the similar image in *Ephes.* 11. The description of the deacons, as 'deacons of God and Christ, not of men (§ 5),' has a close parallel in *Smyrn.* 10 (comp. *Magn.* 6, *Trall.* 2). The injunction 'to be subject to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ' is an echo of several

characteristic precepts scattered through the letters of Ignatius (*Ephes.* 6, *Magn.* 3, 6, *Trall.* 2, 3, *Smyrn.* 8). The modified form of the quotation from Is. lii. 5 (§ 10) seems to be a reminiscence of *Trall.* 8. The apology 'But I have not perceived or heard of any such thing in you' (§ 11) resembles similar apologies in Ignatius (*Magn.* 11, *Trall.* 8). Other coincidences also with passages which are not contained in the Curetonian letters will be found above, p. 128.

But this is not all. It is true that the two direct quotations from Ignatius in Origen are found in the Curetonian letters. But in one there is a variation which, though slight, is far from unimportant. Origen, quoting the opening of *Ephes.* 19, cites it καὶ ἔλαθεν κ.τ.λ., as it stands in the Middle Form. In the Curetonian letters the connecting particle 'and' is omitted. This is not a mere accident. In the Middle Form (the Vossian letters) the passage stands in direct connexion with the miraculous conception and birth of Christ (§ 18), and accordingly the connecting particle is appropriate; but in the Curetonian letters all this preceding passage is wanting, so that the words quoted follow immediately after topics altogether irrelevant (§ 18 ὑμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος). Thus there is an abrupt transition in this recension, and the connecting particle would be out of place. It must therefore have been deliberately added in the Vossian letters, if these are an expansion of the Curetonian, or deliberately omitted in the Curetonian, if these are an abridgment of the Vossian. Hence its presence in Origen's quotation is an indication of no light moment.

Moreover there is another very strong reason for supposing that Origen had the Vossian letters before him. The Vossian letters were in the hands of Eusebius, who does not appear to have known any others. But in all matters relating to the literature of the early Church Eusebius made use, as naturally he would, of the valuable library which Pamphilus, the friend of Origen, had gathered together at Cæsarea and left as an heir-loom to the Church there (*H. E.* vi. 32). This library contained the books which had belonged to Origen. When therefore we find Origen and Eusebius within about half a century of each other citing the same writer (though not very frequently cited in the early centuries), this fact affords a strong presumption that they quoted, if not from the same MS, at all events from MSS closely allied to each other and belonging to the same family. The presumption is certainly much stronger than any which can be advanced on the other side.

But, if Origen be withdrawn, the solitary quotation of Irenæus alone remains. An induction from a single example is no induction at all.

But even this testimony may be invalidated. The reader who compares the references given above (p. 135) will form his own opinion of the value of the coincidences with the Ignatian letters in the language of Irenæus; but they cannot count for nothing. To this point however I shall return hereafter. It is sufficient at present to observe that with one exception (*Ephes.* 19) they all refer to passages in the Vossian letters which have no place in the Curetonian.

The force of coincidences in other writers prior to the age of Eusebius, which have been noted in the previous chapter (p. 129 sq.), will be differently estimated by different minds. But the references of Eusebius himself (see p. 138 sq.) to the Vossian Epistles are unquestioned and unquestionable; and the same is true of all subsequent writers during the next two centuries, who cite this father to any extent, e.g. Theodoret, Timotheus, and Severus. There is in fact a catena of authorities extending over seven or eight centuries from the age of Ignatius. On the other hand *not a single quotation, early or late, has been adduced, of which we can say confidently that it was taken from the Curetonian Letters, as distinguished from the Middle Recension.* The value of this silence must not indeed be exaggerated. As the two recensions have large parts in common, the range of possible quotations bearing distinct testimony to the Curetonian Letters apart from the Vossian is not wide. But still it is a significant fact.

(ii) The next subject which I propose to consider under the head of external evidence is the *phenomena of extant manuscripts and authorities for the text.*

Not a little stress has been laid on the fact, that the MSS of the Curetonian Recension are older by some centuries than the MSS (whether Greek or Latin) of the Vossian Epistles. It will have appeared from the account given above (p. 72 sq.), that the three MSS of the Curetonian Syriac range from the first half of the sixth to the ninth century. On the other hand the Greek MSS of the Vossian letters, the Medicean and Colbertine, cannot be dated before the tenth or eleventh century, while the MSS of the Latin Version are still later. If we had no other data for determining the question than the relative ages of the MSS, this fact might have afforded a presumption—a very slender presumption—in favour of the Curetonian letters as against the Vossian. How slight this presumption would have been we may judge from analogous cases. The oldest extant MS of Herodotus is about four centuries younger than the oldest extant MSS of Jerome and Augustine. Yet Herodotus flourished eight centuries before Jerome and Augustine. The oldest

extant MS of Bede is two or three centuries older than the oldest extant MS of Æschylus. Yet an interval of twelve centuries separates Bede from Æschylus. Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely.

But we have other highly important data. The Vossian letters were certainly in the hands of Eusebius and Theodoret. We may here waive all contested points, such as the allusions in Polycarp or the quotation in Origen, which, if allowed, would carry the evidence much farther back. The references in Eusebius no one has questioned or can question. But Eusebius wrote more than two centuries before the date of the earliest Syriac MS of the Curetonian Epistles. Thus we are certified of the existence of the Vossian Recension two hundred years before we hear of the Curetonian. And from that time forward the evidence for the former is varied and continuous, whereas the latter can produce no credentials outside these three Syriac MSS themselves.

No light stress again has been laid on another consideration, which will not bear the strain put upon it. It is argued that in those parts which they have in common the special readings of the Curetonian letters bear the stamp of greater antiquity than those of the Vossian, and hence it is inferred that the Curetonian Recension itself must be older than the Vossian.

Here two wholly different things are confounded together. In the comparison of two recensions so wide apart as the Curetonian and the Vossian, two classes of variations must be considered. There are first the deliberate additions or omissions or alterations which are due to the author of that recension which is later in time and founded on the earlier. These variations are directly *literary* or *doctrinal* in their character. They are also for the most part intentional. There are secondly those divergences which are due to the separate and successive transmission of each recension, owing to the caprice or carelessness of the scribes. These are chiefly *clerical* or *transcriptional*. They are commonly accidental, but may be deliberate. Thus α and β are two recensions of the same author; β being a literary recension, whether by abridgment or expansion or otherwise, of α. The state of the text of α and β respectively in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries after β was produced from α, and the two recensions began to be transmitted separately, are represented by $\alpha_1\ \alpha_2\ \alpha_3\ \alpha_4\ \alpha_5\ \alpha_6$, $\beta_1\ \beta_2\ \beta_3\ \beta_4\ \beta_5\ \beta_6$, respectively. Suppose that of α we have only α_6 extant, while of β we have β_1. It is quite plain that in the parts common to both the only readings of β which are known to us must show greater antiquity than the only readings of α which are known to us, though (as a recension) β is the offspring of α and not conversely. This is a

rough representation of the relation of our actual authorities for the texts of the Vossian and Curetonian letters respectively. For the former our chief authority may be said to be represented by α_6, for the latter by β_1. When the case is thus stated, the fallacy of inferring the superior antiquity of the recension from the superior antiquity of the extant readings becomes apparent. Yet Ignatian critics, following Cureton's example, have repeatedly built upon this hollow foundation[1].

This is perhaps the proper place for considering a curious fact relating to the documentary evidence. The headings of the epistles in the Greek MS (the *Medicean*), which however contains only six of the seven letters, present remarkable differences in form. Taking them in the order in which they occur, we get the following titles:

1. CMYPNAÍOIC.
2. ΠΡΌC ΠΟΛΎΚΑΡΠΟΝ ΙΓΝΆΤΙΟC.
3. ΠΡΌC ΕΦΕCÍΟΥC ΙΓΝΆΤΙΟC.
4. ΜΑΓΝΗCΙΕΎCΙΝ ΙΓΝΆΤΙΟC.
5. ΜΑΓΝΗCΙΕΎCΙΝ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΎCΙΝ ΙΓΝΆΤΙΟC.
6. ΤΡΑΛΛΙΆΝΟΙC ΙΓΝΆΤΙΟC.

The word *μαγνησιεῦσιν* in the fifth title has evidently crept in from the subscription to the Epistle to the Magnesians which immediately precedes. The seventh letter, the Epistle to the Romans, is found only in a separate MS, the Colbertine, where it is without any title[2].

The epistles thus fall into two separate classes according to their titles; (1) Σμυρναίοις, Μαγνησιεῦσιν, Φιλαδελφεῦσιν, Τραλλιάνοις; (2) πρὸς Πολύκαρπον, πρὸς Ἐφεσίους. It will be seen at once that these two classes comprise respectively those which are not, and those which are, represented in the Curetonian set of letters. The value of this fact is increased by two considerations; *first*, that the epistles belonging to the two classes are not kept separate in the MS, but are mixed up together; and *secondly*, that, though there are minor variations in the titles (e.g. the omission or insertion of Ἰγνάτιος), these have not prevailed so as to obliterate the main distinction of the two classes.

[1] The inference has been drawn from the subscription to the MS Σ_g, 'Here end (the) three epistles of Ignatius' (see above p. 72, II. p. 669), that the translator or transcriber knew of no other epistles of Ignatius (Bunsen *Die drei aechten etc.* pp. xvi, xvii, Lipsius *Ueber die Aechtheit etc.* p. 159). It is unnecessary to add anything to Zahn's refutation of this inference (*I. v. A.* p. 188 sq.).

[2] The facts with regard to this MS are incorrectly stated by some editors of Ignatius, who assign to it the title πρὸς Ῥωμαίους: see above, p. 75, and comp. *Journal of Philology* II. p. 157 (1869).

In the versions we should be prepared to find the difference obliterated; for there are not many languages in which it would occur to an ordinary translator to render πρὸς Ἐφεσίους and Ἐφεσίοις by different expressions. It is not therefore a very important fact that this distinction does not appear in either the Latin or the Armenian Version. In the Long Recension again no traces of it are visible, as the headings of all the epistles have the same form πρὸς Σμυρναίους, πρὸς Ἐφεσίους, etc.

When I first observed this curious fact, which I had not seen noticed in any writers on the Ignatian question[1], it impressed me strongly, and I called attention to it in an article in the *Journal of Philology* I. ii. p. 47 sq., 1868 (comp. II. p. 157, 1869). It seemed to me 'to show that the collector or redactor' of the Middle Recension 'must have derived these seven epistles directly or indirectly from *two different sources*.' So I inferred that 'the three epistles were circulated *by themselves* at an early date.' And, though not regarding the argument as conclusive against the genuineness of the other four, I considered it to weigh powerfully on that side.

But I have since seen reasons for altering my estimate of the importance of these facts. It seems evident to me now that the titles, as we have them, cannot have belonged to the several epistles in the first instance and must be regarded as comparatively late additions. This is certainly the case with Μαγνησιεῦσιν, for no such form is found till many centuries after the latest possible date of the Epistle to the Magnesians. The only plausible heading for it is πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ, as I have shown (II. p. 105 sq.). Thus it would correspond to the heading of the Tarsian letter πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ταρσῷ[2]. So again the variations in the heading of the Epistle to the Trallians (see II. p. 150 sq.) show that the form in the MS, Τραλλιανοῖς Ἰγνάτιος, is destitute of early authority. Whatever therefore may be the explanation of these facts relating to the titles, they have no direct bearing on the question before us.

(iii) The third question for consideration under the head of external testimony has reference to the *historical relations between the two recensions*, so far as these can be traced.

It has been shown above (p. 86 sq.), that there existed in the early centuries a Syriac version of the seven Vossian letters, to which were

[1] I have since seen that attention is called to this fact in B. H. Cooper's *Free Church of Ancient Christendom*. The book is without a date, but I am informed that it appeared in 1852.

[2] The Tarsian letter stands next to the Magnesian in the Long Recension (see above, p. 222); and its heading was probably suggested by that of its immediate predecessor.

appended the six additional spurious Ignatian letters. From this Syriac version the extant Armenian translation was made at a comparatively early date. It has been proved also (p. 89 sq.) that this Syriac version was intimately connected with the Curetonian letters; that where they cover the same ground, the two are identical; that this identity is such as to preclude the supposition of accidental coincidence; and that therefore the only conclusion is the alternative, either that the Curetonian letters are abridged from the Syriac version of the Vossian letters, or that the Syriac version of the Vossian letters was an expansion from the Curetonian letters made by filling in the missing parts with the aid of the Greek. Which is the more probable supposition?

The *abridgment* theory is a very simple postulate. The abbreviator had only to run his pen through the passages which he wished to omit, to substitute here and there an epitome for a longer passage, to supply here and there a link of connexion, and to transcribe the whole. He need not even have taken so much trouble as this. He might have performed the work of abridging as he went on, *currente calamo*. A very few hours would serve to complete his task.

On the other hand the *expansion* theory is full of difficulties. We must suppose that some Syrian had before him the Curetonian letters in Syriac, and the Vossian letters in Greek; that he carefully noted all the passages which were wanting or transposed or different in the former; that he produced conformity by translating from the latter, supplying omissions, inverting transpositions, and altering divergences; and that he did this in such a way as to produce a harmonious Syriac whole corresponding to the Greek whole which he had before him. If any one will take the trouble to compare the Vossian letters with the Curetonian, he will see what enormous labour and care such a work would involve. The relation is not one of simple curtailment or simple expansion. It is one either of careless, rough, and capricious manipulation, if the Curetonian letters be an abridgment of the Vossian, or of elaborate and consummate literary artifice, if the Vossian letters be an expansion of the Curetonian. This being the relation between the two forms, it will be seen at once how great must have been the labour of the Syrian who set himself to fulfil the task here supposed. Any one for instance, who will compare in the two recensions the 19th chapter of the *Ephesians* or the opening salutation of the *Romans* will be able to judge for himself. Or we may take the close of the Epistle to the Romans in the Curetonian Form, which incorporates two chapters from the Vossian Epistle to the Trallians, and try to imagine the amount of care and attention which would be required for such a task. Indeed it

would have cost much less time and trouble to have translated the whole three letters direct from the Vossian Greek, than to have undertaken this elaborate piecing of the Curetonian Syriac. Moreover there is, I believe, no appreciable difference in style (so far as it can be inferred from the remaining fragments and from the Armenian translation) between the portions taken on this hypothesis from the preexisting Curetonian Syriac and the portions—whether isolated passages or whole letters—supposed to have been supplied by this second translator some centuries after. Yet it is not the uniformity of literalness; for this version has a rough freedom characteristic of itself. It would perhaps be too much to say that no Syrian could have been found in those ages capable of such a work. But who would have been likely to undertake it? And what sufficient motive would he have had to stimulate and sustain him?

2. *Internal Evidence.*

This branch of the subject also may be conveniently considered under three heads: (i) The diction and style; (ii) The connexion of thought; (iii) The topics, whether theological, ecclesiastical, or personal.

1. The value of *diction* as a criterion of authorship will vary materially in different cases. In the Ignatian letters, which (whatever other faults they may have) are not deficient in character, its value will be high. As the subject has never been thoroughly investigated before, I offer no apology for the length and minuteness of the treatment, trusting that the result will be considered its best vindication. In the following table the first column contains words and expressions which occur in the Curetonian letters; while in the second parallels are given from those portions which are absent from the Curetonian Recension and appear only in the Vossian.

ἀγαπᾶν of outward demonstrations of affection (see II. p. 341);

Polyc. 2 τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας	*Smyrn.* 9 ἀπόντα με καὶ παρόντα ἠγαπήσατε

ἀγάπη joined with πίστις (see the note II. p. 29);

Ephes. 1 κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην	*Ephes.* 14 τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην. For other instances see *Ephes.* 20, *Magn.* 1, 13, *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* inscr., 6, 13

personified and used in a peculiar way;

Rom. 9 ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς...ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κ.τ.λ.

Trall. 13 ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων, *Philad.* 11 ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν

identified with the blood of Christ;

Rom. 7 τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος

Trall. 8 ἐν ἀγάπῃ ὅ ἐστιν αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

ἁγνεία in connexion with *μένειν ἐν*;

Polyc. 5 εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἁγνείᾳ μένειν

Ephes. 10 ἐν πάσῃ ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ μένετε

ἁγνίζεσθαι in a strange construction with a genitive (see II. p. 51);

Ephes. 8 περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἁγνίζομαι ὑμῶν

Trall. 13 ἁγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα

ᾄδειν in the expression 'to sing to the Father';

Rom. 2 ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ᾄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ.

Ephes. 4 χορὸς γίνεσθε, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ...ᾄδητε ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρί κ.τ.λ.

αἷμα in the expression ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ (Χριστοῦ) used mystically;

Ephes. 1 ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ

Philad. inscr. ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Smyrn.* 1 ἡδρασμένους ...ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ: comp. *Trall.* inscr. (v. l.), *Smyrn.* 12

αἰὼν in the phrase 'the prince of this world' (see II. p. 73);

Ephes. 19 ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, *Trall.* 4 καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου

ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου occurs *Ephes.* 17, *Magn.* 1, *Rom.* 7, *Philad.* 6

αἰῶνες in a manner personified as the recipients of a revelation or a report;

Ephes. 8 ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου τοῖς αἰῶσιν

Ephes. 19 πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; *Smyrn.* 1 ἵνα ἄρῃ σύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

ἀκίνητος in reference to the faith of the persons addressed;

Polyc. 1 σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον

Smyrn. 1 ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει: comp. *Philad.* 1 ἐπιγνοὺς...τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ

ἄμωμος in the connexion ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ and similar phrases;

Ephes. inscr. ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν: comp. *Rom.* inscr. ἀμώμως χαίρειν

Magn. 7 ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ, comp. *Ephes.* 4 ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἑνότητι, *Smyrn.* inscr. ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι. See also *Trall.* 1

ἀνατέλλω used metaphorically;

Rom. 2 ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω

Magn. 9 ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ

ἀνήρ in the phrase οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα;

Polyc. 1 τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λάλει

Ephes. 4 οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χοροὶ γίνεσθε, *Ephes.* 20 οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες, *Trall.* 13 οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶτε, *Smyrn.* 5 τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα, *Smyrn.* 12 τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντες

ἀντίψυχον implying devotion to another;

Polyc. 2 κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, *Polyc.* 6 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων κ.τ.λ. (comp. περίψημα ὑμῶν *Ephes.* 8)

Ephes. 21 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε κ.τ.λ., *Smyrn.* 10 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου

ἀξιόθεος,

Rom. inscr. ἐκκλησίᾳ ἥτις προκάθηται...ἀξιόθεος, *Rom.* 1 ὑμῶν τὰ ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα

Magn. 2 τοῦ ἀξιοθέου ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου, *Trall.* inscr. ἐκκλησίᾳ...ἀξιοθέῳ, *Smyrn.* 12 τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον

ἀξιομακάριστος,

Ephes. inscr. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, *Rom.* inscr. ἐκκλησίᾳ...ἥτις καὶ προκάθηται...ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀξιομακάριστος

Ephes. 12 Παύλου...τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου, *Rom.* 10 δι' Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων

ἀξιοπρεπής,

Rom. inscr. (l. c.)

Magn. 13 τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν

ἄξιος in other compounds;

ἀξίαγνος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος } *Rom.* inscr.

ἀξιαγάπητος, ἀξιοθαύμαστος } *Philad.* 5
ἀξιονόμαστος, *Ephes.* 4
ἀξιόπιστος, *Philad.* 2, *Polyc.* 3
ἀξιόπλοκος, *Magn.* 13

ἄξιος with εἰμι, more especially in denouncing his own unworthiness (see II. p. 33);

Trall. 4 οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι

Magn. 12 εἰάνπερ ἄξιος ὦ, *ib.* 14 ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι (comp. *Trall.* 13), *Rom.* 9 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι, *Smyrn.* 11 οὐκ ὢν ἄξιος ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι

Ephes. 2 ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν ἀξίοις οὖσιν

Smyrn. 9 ἄξιοι γὰρ ἐστέ, *Polyc.* 8 γράψεις...ὡς ἄξιος ὤν

and used absolutely of things;

Polyc. 6 ἵνα τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια κομίσησθε

Smyrn. 11 ἐφάνη μοι οὖν ἄξιον πρᾶγμα

ἀξιοῦν, used especially of himself (see II. p. 110);

Rom. 1 τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι

Ephes. 9 ἠξιώθην...προσομιλῆσαι ὑμῖν, *ib.* 21 ἠξιώθην εἰς τίμην Θεοῦ εὑρεθῆναι, *Magn.* 1 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς

ἀόρατος in the phrase 'visible and invisible';

Trall. 5 ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, *Rom.* 5 τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων (comp. *Polyc.* 2, 3)

Smyrn. 6 οἱ ἄρχοντες ὁρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι

ἀπαθής opposed to παθητός and said of Christ;

Polyc. 3 τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν

Ephes. 7 πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής

ἀπαρτίζειν (comp. also ἀναπάρτιστος, II. p. 259);

Ephes. 1 τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε, *Ephes.* 19 τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον

Ephes. 3 οὕπω ἀπήρτισμαι, *Philad.* 5 ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν...με ἀπαρτίσει

ἀποδέχεσθαι said of saluting or welcoming persons;

Ephes. 1 ἀποδεξάμενος [ὑμῶν] ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπητον ὄνομα, *Polyc.* 1 ἀποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην

Trall. 1 ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν εὔνοιαν κ.τ.λ.

ἀπολαμβάνειν said of welcoming persons;

Ephes. 1 τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν...ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ

Ephes. 2 ὃν ἐξεμπλάριον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπέλαβον

and otherwise;

Rom. 1 τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν

Smyrn. 11 ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος

ἀρέσκειν of pleasing God or Christ;

Polyc. 6 ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε

Rom. 2 Θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε

ἄρτος, speaking of the 'bread of God';

Rom. 7 ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω

Ephes. 5 ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ

ἀφθαρσία,

Polyc. 2 τὸ θέμα ἀφθαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος

Magn. 6 διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας, *Philad.* 9 τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας, comp. *Ephes.* 17

ἄφθαρτος,

Rom. 7 ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος

Trall. 11 ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄφθαρτος

ΒΑΣΚΑΊΝΕΙΝ, ΒΑΣΚΑΝΊΑ,

Rom. 3 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί — *Rom.* 7 βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικείτω

ΓΝΏΜΗ in the phrase 'mind of God';

Ephes. 3 ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ — The phrase γνώμη Θεοῦ occurs *Rom.* 8, *Polyc.* 8 (comp. γνώμη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Ephes.* 3, *Philad.* inscr.)

in the phrase 'mind of the bishop';

Polyc. 5 μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου (comp. § 4) — *Ephes.* 4 συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ

and in other expressions;

Polyc. 1 σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην κ.τ.λ. — *Rom.* 7 τὴν εἰς Θεόν μου γνώμην

ΓΡΆΦΩ in a particular connexion;

Rom. 4 ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις — *Polyc.* 8 πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἠδυνήθην γράψαι

ΔΈΔΕΜΑΙ, ΔΕΔΕΜΈΝΟΣ, in particular connexions, especially of a 'prisoner in Christ';

Rom. 1 δεδεμένος...ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ — *Trall.* 1 δεδεμένῳ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ (comp. *Philad.* 5, 7)

Trall. 5 οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι — εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι, *Ephes.* 3, *Magn.* 12

ΔΕΣΜΆ, see above under ἀντίψυχον;

ΔΕΣΜΌΣ used metaphorically (with λύειν) of the powers of evil;

Ephes. 19 ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός — *Philad.* 8 ὃς λύσει ἀφ' ὑμῶν πάντα δεσμόν

ΔΙΆ ΤΟΥΤΟ followed by ἵνα or ὅπως;

Polyc. 2 διὰ τοῦτο σαρκικὸς εἶ καὶ πνευματικὸς ἵνα κ.τ.λ., *Ephes.* 3 διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε κ.τ.λ. — *Ephes.* 17 διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν...ἵνα πνέῃ κ.τ.λ., *Magn.* 9 διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν ἵνα εὑρεθῶμεν κ.τ.λ.

ΔΙΆ ΠΑΝΤΌΣ,

Polyc. 6 ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, *Ephes.* inscr. εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον κ.τ.λ. — *Ephes.* 2, 20, *Magn.* 1, 6, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* 8

ΔΙ' ΩΝ, in a particular connexion, where it is equivalent to δι' ἐκείνων ἅ;

Ephes. 15 ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσσῃ καὶ δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκηται — *Ephes.* 4 ἐπιγινώσκῃ δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 14 δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται, *ib.* 9 δι' ὧν γράφω, προσομιλῆσαι ὑμῖν (comp. *ib.* 15 ἐξ ὧν)

διατάccεcθαι in connexion with the Apostles;

Rom. 4 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος

Trall. 3 ἵνα ὧν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι, *Ephes.* 3 οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὤν τι

δόξα in the phrase εἰς δόξαν (Θεοῦ);

Polyc. 4 εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλέον δουλευέτωσαν, *Ephes.* inscr. εἰς δόξαν παράμονον

Magn. 15 παρόντες εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ, *Rom.* 10 τῶν προελθόντων με...εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ (comp. also *Ephes.* inscr.), *Polyc.* 7 δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ

δοξάζω (ὑπερδοξάζω) used absolutely, and in a particular connexion;

Polyc. 1 ἀποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην...ὑπερδοξάζω καταξιωθείς κ.τ.λ. (where the addition of Θεὸν in the Syriac text is an obvious gloss)

Trall. 1 ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν εὔνοιαν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐδόξασα κ.τ.λ.

δύναμις in the phrase ἐν δυνάμει;

Ephes. 14 ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως

Ephes. 11 ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Smyrn.* 13 ἐν δυνάμει πατρός

δύσκολος in the neuter δύσκολον;

Rom. 1 ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν

Smyrn. 4 ὅπερ δύσκολον

ἐᾶν in the phrase οὐκ ἐᾶν;

Ephes. 3 ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἐᾷ με σιωπᾶν

Ephes. 9 οὐκ εἰάσατε σπεῖραι εἰς ὑμᾶς

ἑδράζειν, in the perfect ἥδρᾶσθαι, ἡδρασμένος, especially with ἐν;

Polyc. 1 τὴν ἐν Θεῷ γνώμην ἡδρασμένην

Philad. inscr. ἡδρασμένῃ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ, *Smyrn.* 1 ἡδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ,

So too *Ephes.* 10 ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει

Smyrn. 13 ἑδρᾶσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ

ἐλεεῖν, the perfect participle ἠλεημένος and the construction with ἐν;

Rom. inscr. ἠλεημένῃ ἐν μεγαλειότητι πατρός

Philad. inscr. ἠλεημένῃ ... ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ, *Smyrn.* inscr. ἠλεημένῃ ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι

ἐλπίς used of Christ, especially with κοινός (see II. p. 263);

Ephes. 1 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος

Ephes. 21 ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν. So too *Philad.* 11 (comp. *Philad.* 5). So Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, *Magn.* 11, *Trall.* inscr., 2

ἑνοῦσθαι, especially the perfect participle ἡνωμένος;

Ephes. inscr. ἡνωμένην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην

Rom. inscr. ἡνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ: comp. *Magn.* 6, 7, 14, *Smyrn.* 3

ἕνωσις 'union';

Polyc. 1 τῆς ἑνώσεως φρόντιζε	*Magn.* 1 ἕνωσιν εὔχομαι, *Philad.* 7 τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε: comp. *Magn.* 13, *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 8, *Polyc.* 5

ἐξουσία in the phrase ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τινός;

Polyc. 7 χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει	*Smyrn.* 4 τούτου δὲ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός

ἐπαγγελία, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, of the profession of Christianity;

Ephes. 14 οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον	*Ephes.* 14 πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος... ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι

ἐπιείκεια,

Ephes. 10 τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ	The word occurs twice in *Philad.* 1

ἐπικεῖσθαι of impending death (or life);

Rom. 6 ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται	*Magn.* 5 ἐπίκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὅ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωή (but see II. p. 117 on the reading).

ἐπισκοπεῖν of the superintendence of God (or Christ);

Polyc. inscr. ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ	*Rom.* 9 αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει. So God is called the universal ἐπίσκοπος, *Magn.* 3. Compare Θεοῦ ἐπισκοπή *Polyc.* 8.

ἐπιτρέπειν in the imperative ἐπιτρέψατε;

Ephes. 10 ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς κἂν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι	*Rom.* 6 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

ἐπιτυγχάνειν with an infinitive following;

Ephes. 1 ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, *Rom.* 1 ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν κ.τ.λ.	*Ephes.* 1 ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι

in the phrase ἐπιτυχεῖν Θεοῦ;

Rom. 1, 2, 4, *Polyc.* 2; comp. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν *Rom.* 5 (twice).	The phrase occurs *Ephes.* 12, *Magn.* 14, *Trall.* 12, 13, *Rom.* 9, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7.
So τυχεῖν Θεοῦ *Ephes.* 10	So τυχεῖν Θεοῦ *Magn.* 1

ἐπουράνια, especially in reference to angelology;

Trall. 5 μὴ οὐ δύναμαι τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι, *ib.* δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια	*Smyrn.* 6 καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων: compare *Ephes.* 13, *Trall.* 9

ἐρᾶν (not found in the N. T. or in Clement or Polycarp);

Rom. 2 ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκός μου, *Polyc.* 4 ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι. So too ἔρως *Rom.* 7	*Rom.* 7 ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν

ἑτοιμάζειν, the perfect participle passive;

Ephes. 9 ἡτοιμασμένον εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ

Rom. 5 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων

εὐλογεῖν, the perfect participle passive with ἐν;

Ephes. inscr. τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει κ.τ.λ.

Magn. inscr. τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν χάριτι κ.τ.λ. (comp. *Ephes.* 2)

εὑρίσκειν in the aorist passive εὑρεθῆναι, a characteristic Ignatian expression;

Rom. 2, 3, 4, 5, *Polyc.* 4, 6

Ephes. 10, 11, 12, 14, 21, *Magn.* 9, *Trall.* 2, 12, 13, *Smyrn.* 3, *Polyc.* 7

εὔχεσθαι used with especial frequency, and in sentences of similar form; e.g.

Ephes. 1 ὃν εὔχομαι κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν

Smyrn. 11 ἣν εὔχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι, *ib.* 13 ἣν εὔχομαι ἑδρᾶσθαι

ἔχειν with an infinitive;

Rom. 2 ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι

Philad. 6 ἔχει τις καυχήσασθαι

with ἐξουσίαν (see s. v.), and with καιρόν (see s. v.).

ζῆν with κατά;

Ephes. 8 ἄρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆτε

Philad. 3 κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες: comp. *Ephes.* 6, 8, *Magn.* 8, 9, 10, *Trall.* 2, *Rom.* 8.

ἡσυχία of God or of Christ. The two passages quoted are the only cases of its occurrence in these letters;

Ephes. 15 δύναται καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν

Ephes. 19 ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη

θέλημα, used absolutely of the Divine will (II. p. 85);

Rom. 1 ἐάνπερ θέλημα ᾖ

Ephes. 20 ἐάν με καταξιώσῃ Ἰησοῦς... καὶ θέλημα ᾖ, *Smyrn.* 11 κατὰ θέλημα δὲ κατηξιώθην, *Polyc.* 8 ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει (comp. *Smyrn.* 1)

θηριομαχεῖν of himself;

Ephes. 1 ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι

Trall. 10 τί δὲ καὶ εὔχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι, *Rom.* 5 Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ

θυσιαστήριον used metaphorically;

Rom. 2 ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν

Ephes. 5 ἐὰν μή τις ᾖ ἐντὸς ταῦ θυσιαστηρίου (comp. *Trall.* 7), *Magn.* 7 ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον (comp. *Philad.* 4)

καθαιρεῖσθαι of the powers of evil;

Ephes. 13 καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ

Ephes. 19 καθηρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία

καιρός, especially in the phrase καιρὸν ἔχειν followed by an infinitive;

Rom. 2 οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν τοιοῦτον Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν

Smyrn. 9 ὡς [ἔτι] καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς Θεὸν μετανοεῖν

κακοτεχνία in the same connexion;

Polyc. 5 τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε

Philad. 6 φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας

κατὰ with the accusative (e.g. *Polyc.* 1, *Ephes.* 1); a favourite form of expression in various connexions (see II. p. 107). Thus we have κατὰ Θεόν, κατὰ Κύριον, etc.;

Polyc. 5 ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον, *Ephes.* 1 κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀγαπᾶν, *ib.* 8 ἆρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆτε

See *Ephes.* 2, *Magn.* 1, 8, 13, *Trall.* 1, *Philad.* 3, 4

again in the expression κατὰ πάντα;

Polyc. 2 κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.

See *Ephes.* 2 (twice), *Magn.* 8, 12, *Trall.* 12, *Smyrn.* 9, 12, etc.

so too in the phrase ζῆν κατά τινα (or τι); see above, p. 289.

καταμανθάνειν in the imperative;

Polyc. 3 τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε

Smyrn. 6 καταμάθετε δὲ τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας

καταξιοῦν, a favourite Ignatian word (see II. p. 85); said of himself;

Rom. 2 ὁ Θεὸς κατηξίωσεν εὑρεθῆναι, *Polyc.* 1 καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου

So used in *Ephes.* 12, *Magn.* 1, *Trall.* 12, *Smyrn.* 11

and of persons to be despatched to Syria;

Polyc. 8 τὸν μέλλοντα καταξιοῦσθαι κ.τ.λ.

So used *Polyc.* 7, *Philad.* 10

καταπλήσσειν 'to overawe';

Polyc. 3 οἱ...ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες μή σε καταπλησσέτωσαν

Philad. 1 οὗ καταπέπληγμαι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν

κλῆρος of his own circumstances, especially of his martyrdom;

Rom. 1 εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν

Ephes. 11 ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὑρεθῶ, *Trall.* 12 τοῦ κλήρου οὗπερ ἔγκειμαι (?) τυχεῖν, *Philad.* 3 ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην ἐπιτύχω

κοινός in the phrase τὸ κοινόν;

Polyc. 4 μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι — *Philad.* 1 τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν

and connected with ἐλπίς (see above, p. 287).

κραγή, κραγάζειν, of preaching;

Ephes. 19 τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς — *Philad.* 7 ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὤν

κεκτῆσθαι,

Ephes. 1 ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαίᾳ — *Ephes.* 1 ἀξίοις οὖσι τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτῆσθαι, *ib.* 14 ἀγάπην κεκτημένος, *ib.* 15 ὁ λόγον Ἰησοῦ κεκτημένος, *Philad.* 1 κεκτῆσθαι τὴν διακονίαν, *Polyc.* 8 Θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος

more especially in a particular connexion;

Polyc. 1 ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα κεκτημένος — *Magn.* 15 κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα

λαλεῖν frequent in Ignatius; and especially of mere profession, as opposed to right action;

Ephes. 15 λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. — See *Magn.* 10, *Rom.* 7, *Philad.* 1

λέγειν in this same contrast;

Rom. 3 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω — *Ephes.* 15 ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ

and the passive λέγεσθαι 'to be reckoned,' speaking of himself;

Rom. 3 λέγωμαι χριστιανός...καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι — *Trall.* 13 οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι λέγεσθαι, *Rom.* 9 ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι

λείπεσθαι with a genitive, 'to lack';

Polyc. 2 ὅπως μηδενὸς λείπῃ — *Trall.* 5 ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα

λιμήν, as a metaphor or simile;

Polyc. 2 ὡς χειμαζόμενος λιμένα — *Smyrn.* 11 λιμένος ἤδη ἐτύγχανον

λύειν of the defeat of the powers of evil;

Ephes. 19 ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός — *Ephes.* 13 λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ (comp. *Philad.* 8)

μαθητεύειν especially in the passive;

Ephes. 10 ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν μαθητευθῆναι, *Rom.* 5 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι — *Ephes.* 3 ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, *Rom.* 3 ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε

μαθητής of discipleship to Christ (sometimes used absolutely), more especially of his own imperfect discipleship;

Ephes. 1 ἵνα ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι, *Trall.* 5 οὐ...παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητής εἰμι, *Rom.* 4 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ

Rom. 5 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι *Magn.* 9 ἵνα εὑρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: comp. *Magn.* 10

μέγεθος in unusual connexions;

Ephes. inscr. εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει, *Rom.* 3 μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός

Smyrn. 11 ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος

μιμητής of imitating God or Christ;

Ephes. 1 μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ

Trall. 1 μιμητὰς ὄντας Θεοῦ: comp. *Ephes.* 10, *Rom.* 6, *Philad.* 7

μόνον used elliptically (see the note, II. p. 61);

Rom. 5 μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω

Ephes. 11 μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὑρεθῆναι κ.τ.λ., *Smyrn.* 4 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.

μυστήριον of the revealed truths of the Gospel;

Ephes. 19 τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς

Magn. 9, *Trall.* 2

νόμος of the law of Christ;

Rom. inscr. χριστόνομος

Magn. 2 ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

οἰκονόμος, οἰκονομία, of God's stewards and stewardship;

Polyc. 6 ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι

Ephes. 6 ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν

ὁμοήθεια of conformity to God;

Polyc. 1 κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ

Magn. 6 ὁμοήθειαν Θεοῦ λαβόντες

ὁμοίως καὶ used in simple enumeration;

Ephes. 19 ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τόκετος αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου (comp. *Polyc.* 5 where ὁμοίως καὶ also occurs, but in a more usual way)

Ephes. 16 ὁ τοιοῦτος...ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ, *Trall.* 13 ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ

ὀναίμην in more than one connexion;

Polyc. 6 ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός

Ephes. 2 ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός (comp. *Magn.* 12)

Polyc. 1 οὗ ὀναίμην ἐν Θεῷ

Magn. 2 οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην

ὄνομα in the phrase ἐξ ὀνόματος;

Polyc. 4 ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζήτει

Ephes. 20 πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε, *Polyc.* 8 ἀσπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος

and of actions done in or for 'the name' of Jesus Christ or of God;

Rom. 9 τῶν δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Polyc.* 5 παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Ephes.* 1 ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπείληφα

Smyrn. 4 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *ib.* 12 ἀσπάζομαι...ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Rom.* inscr.; comp. *Philad.* 10 ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ

also used absolutely, without further definition (see II. p. 37), of the Divine Name;

Ephes. 3 δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι: comp. *ib.* 1 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος

Ephes. 7 τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, *Philad.* 10 δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα

also used of individual men and nearly equivalent to 'person';

Ephes. 1 Ἀποδεξάμενος [ὑμῶν] ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπητον ὄνομα

Polyc. 8 Ἄλκην τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα (comp. *Smyrn.* 13), *Rom.* 10 Κρόκος τὸ ποθητῶν μοι ὄνομα

ὁρατὸς see on ἀόρατος above;

παθητὸς see on ἀπαθής above;

πάθος in the phrase 'in the passion,' 'by the passion,' etc.;

Ephes. inscr. ἐκλελεγμένην ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ

Trall. inscr. εἰρηνευούσῃ...τῷ [v. l. ἐν] πάθει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. For ἐν [τῷ] πάθει see *Magn.* 11, *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* inscr., and for the prominence of 'the passion' the note on II. p. 25

παρακαλῶ in the expression 'I charge you,' and more especially with an imperative following (see II. p. 166);

Rom. 4 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς μὴ εὔνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι, *Polyc.* 1 παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι κ.τ.λ.

Trall. 6 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς...χρῆσθε, *Philad.* 8 παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν πράσσετε. For παρακαλῶ (παρεκάλεσα) ὑμᾶς comp. also *Ephes.* 3, *Magn.* 14, *Rom.* 7, *Polyc.* 8

παράμονος of eternal things;

Ephes. inscr. εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον

Philad. inscr. χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος

πάσχειν in particular phrases relating to his own martyrdom;

Trall. 4 ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν

Polyc. 7 ἐάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω

Rom. 4 ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος κ.τ.λ.

Rom. 8 ἐὰν πάθω, ἠθελήσατε

περισσεύειν of spiritual gifts;

Polyc. 2 καὶ παντὸς χαρίσματος περισσεύῃς — *Smyrn.* 9 πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν ἐν χάριτι περισσευέτω

πλέον in a somewhat strained sense, meaning 'beyond';

Polyc. 5 ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται — *Magn.* 10 ὃς γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλέον τούτου

see also under the word φοβεῖσθαι.

πληροῦσθαι in the perfect participle;

Rom. inscr. πεπληρωμένοις (πεπληρωμένῃ?) — *Smyrn.* inscr. πεπληρωμένῃ ἐν πίστει

πλήρωμα 'the plenitude' of the Divine Nature;

Ephes. inscr. εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι — *Trall.* inscr. ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι

πνεῦμα in the expression 'my spirit';

Ephes. 18 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, *Rom.* 9 ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα — *Smyrn.* 10 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, *Trall.* 13 ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα

and in the combination 'flesh and spirit';

Polyc. 5 τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι — *Magn.* 1, 13, *Trall.* 12, *Rom.* inscr., *Smyrn.* 1, 3

and see also under κεκτῆσθαι.

πνευματικός joined with σαρκικός;

Ephes. 8, *Polyc.* 1, 2 — *Ephes.* 7, *Magn.* 13, *Smyrn.* 12

πολυ- in elaborate compounds;

Ephes. 1 τὸ πολυαγάπητον ὄνομα, *ib.* τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν — *Magn.* 1 ὑμῶν τὸ πολυεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης

πραότης (πραΰτης);

Trall. 4 χρῄζω οὖν πραότητος, comp. *Polyc.* 2, 6. So πραΰς, *Ephes.* 10 — *Trall.* 3 ἡ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις. So πραϋπάθεια, *Trall.* 8

πράσσειν in particular phrases, as e.g. with κατὰ σάρκα;

Ephes. 8 ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε — *Ephes.* 16 οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες,
and conversely κατὰ Θεὸν in *Philad.* 4

and with ἄνευ or χωρίς;

Polyc. 4 μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου [τοῦ ἐπισκόπου] γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ Θεοῦ τι πρᾶσσε	*Magn.* 4 χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ ἐπισκόπου] πάντα πράσσουσιν, *Trall.* 2 ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς, *Trall.* 7 ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου...τι πράσσων, *Smyrn.* 8 μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω

πρέπει frequent in Ignatius;

Polyc. 5 πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι κ.τ.λ.	*Ephes.* 4, *Magn.* 3, *Trall.* 12, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7; and similarly πρέπον ἐστίν, *Ephes.* 2, *Magn.* 3, 4, *Rom.* 10, *Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 7

προκάθημαι of ecclesiastical precedence;

Rom. inscr. προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ...προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης	*Magn.* 6 προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου...τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις

προσεύχεσθαι in the expression προσεύχεσθε ὑπέρ;

Ephes. 10	*Ephes.* 21, *Smyrn.* 4, and with περὶ *Trall.* 12

προσευχή in the expression 'in' or 'through your prayer' or 'prayers';

Ephes. 1 ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν κ.τ.λ.	*Ephes.* 11, 20, *Rom.* 9, *Trall.* 13, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 11, comp. *Magn.* 14, *Philad.* 5, 10, *Polyc.* 7

προσέχειν 'to give heed to';

Polyc. 6 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, *Trall.* 4 μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φυσιοῦσίν με	*Philad.* 7 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, *Smyrn.* 7 προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις

προσλαλεῖν (not elsewhere in the Apostolical Fathers and only twice in the N. T.);

Polyc. 5 ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προσλάλει	*Ephes.* 3 προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου, *Magn.* 1 προσλαλῆσαι ὑμῖν

πρόσωπον with φαίνεσθαι;

Polyc. 2 τὰ φαινόμενά σου εἰς πρόσωπον	*Ephes.* 15 φανήσεται πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν

of persons whom he visited or who visited him;

Polyc. 1 καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου	*Rom.* 1 ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα: comp. *Magn.* 6

πυκνῶς, πυκνότερον, in connexion with congregational gatherings;

Polyc. 4 πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν

Ephes. 13 σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι,...ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε κ.τ.λ.

πῦρ, fire as an instrument of martyrdom;

Rom. 5 πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, θηρίων τε συστάσεις

Smyrn. 4 πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία

as a metaphor or simile;

Rom. 7 πῦρ [φιλοῦλον]

Trall. 2 φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ

ῥώννυσθαι, in the final salutation ἔρρωσθε with ἐν;

Rom. 10 ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

For ἔρρωσθε ἐν see *Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 15, *Trall.* 13, *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 13, *Polyc.* 8

σαρκικός, see on πνευματικός above;

σάρξ in κατὰ σάρκα;

Ephes. 8 ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, *Rom.* 9 τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα

Ephes. 16 κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες, *ib.* 20, *Magn.* 6, 13, *Rom.* 8, *Philad.* 7, *Smyrn.* 1 (with *Rom.* 9 comp. *Ephes.* 1 ὑμῶν δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπισκόπῳ)

joined with πνεῦμα;

Polyc. 5 σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι

Rom. inscr., *Magn.* 1, 13, *Trall.* inscr., 12, *Smyrn.* 1, 3 (comp. *Philad.* 11)

with Κυρίου or Χριστοῦ, especially in a mystical sense;

Rom. 7 ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ Χριστοῦ, *Polyc.* 5 εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου

Trall. 8 ἐν πίστει ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου; see also *Philad.* 4, 5, *Smyrn.* 6, 12

σιγᾶν, speaking of the merit of silence;

Ephes. 15 ἵνα...δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκηται

Ephes. 6 ὅσον βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, *Philad.* 1 ὃς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται, *Ephes.* 15 καὶ ἃ σιγῶν δὲ πεποίηκεν ἄξια τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν

σπουδάζειν followed by an infinitive, and in all cases in imperative sentences;

Ephes. 10 μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμήσασθαι αὐτούς...μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι

Ephes. 5, 13, *Magn.* 6, 13, *Philad.* 4

ΣΤΑΥΡΌϹ, stress laid on the Cross, generally in some strong image;

Ephes. 9 *ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός, ib.* 18 *περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ*

Trall. 11 *κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ κ.τ.λ., Philad.* 8 *τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ, Smyrn.* 1 *καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.*

ϹΥΜΦΈΡΕΙΝ in the expression *συμφέρειν τινί*;

Rom. 5 *τί μοι συμφέρει κ.τ.λ.*

Smyrn. 7 *συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.*

ϹΥΝΤΌΜΩϹ,

Rom. 5 *κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν*

Magn. 14 *συντόμως παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς*

ϹΥΝΤΡΈΧΕΙΝ signifying 'to concur';

Ephes. 3 *ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ*

Ephes. 4 *συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ*

ϹΩΤΉΡ, in connexion with the same words;

Ephes. 1 *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν*

Magn. inscr., *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι [ἡμῶν]*

ΤΕΛΕΊΩϹ,

Ephes. 1 *τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε*

Ephes. 14 *ἐὰν ... τελείως ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν, Smyrn.* 5 *τελείως αὐτὸν ἀπήρνηται*

ΤΙΜΉ, in the phrase *εἰς τιμήν*, more especially when the honour of God is concerned;

Polyc. 5 *πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω*

The phrase *εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ* or *εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν* occurs *Ephes.* 21 (twice), *Smyrn.* 11; comp. *Magn.* 3 *εἰς τιμὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος κ.τ.λ., Trall.* 12 *εἰς τιμὴν πατρός κ.τ.λ.*

Polyc. 5 *εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου*

Ephes. 2 *εἰς τιμὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*

ΤΌΠΟϹ used of ecclesiastical office;

Polyc. 1 *ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τόπον*

Smyrn. 6 *τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω*

ΤΡΌΠΟϹ in the phrase *κατὰ πάντα τρόπον*;

Polyc. 3 *τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα*

Trall. 2 *κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν.* The phrase occurs also *Ephes.* 2, *Smyrn.* 10

ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΕΊΝ, 'to disdain,' with an accusative;

Polyc. 4 *δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει*

Ephes. 5 *οὗτος ἤδη ὑπερηφανεῖ, Smyrn.* 10 *τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε*

ὑπομένειν in the phrase 'endure all things';

Polyc. 3 ἕνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ κ.τ.λ., *ib.* τὸν [πάντα] κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα

Smyrn. 4 πάντα ὑπομένω αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 9 δι' ὃν πάντα ὑπομένοντες αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθε

ὑπομονή, especially in the phrase 'in endurance';

Rom. 10 ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
Polyc. 6 ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία

Trall. 1 ἀδιάκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ
Smyrn. 12 ὑπομονὴ διὰ παντός, *Ephes.* 3 ὑπαλειφθῆναι...ὑπομονῇ

ὑποτάσσεσθαι of obedience to bishop and clergy;

Polyc. 6 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις: and the bishop himself is enjoined § 2 τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραότητι ὑπότασσε

The phrase ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, etc., occurs *Ephes.* 2, *Magn.* 2, 13, *Trall.* 2, 13 (comp. *Ephes.* 5)

φαίνεσθαι in great frequency. The word does not occur at all in Clement or Polycarp, and only three times in S. Paul;

Trall. 4 τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος πολλοῖς μὲν οὐ φαίνεται, *Rom.* 3 ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι, *ib.* οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν

Ephes. 15 ὅπερ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ φανήσεται, *Rom.* 3 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν πατρὶ ὢν μᾶλλον φαίνεται, *Polyc.* 2 τὰ φαινόμενά σου εἰς πρόσωπον. See also *Magn.* 3, 4, 6, 7, *Trall.* 2, 11, *Smyrn.* 8, 11. Thus altogether it occurs 14 times.

φανεροῦν also occurs with unusual frequency;

Ephes. 19 ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου, *Polyc.* 2 τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἴτει ἵνα σοι φανερωθῇ

Magn. 8 εἷς Θεός ἐστιν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ: comp. *Ephes.* 19, *Rom.* 8

φεύγειν in the imperative φεῦγε, φεύγετε, 'avoid.' It does not occur in any other part of the verb;

Polyc. 5 τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε

Trall. 11, *Philad.* 2, 6, 7, *Smyrn.* 7

φοβεῖσθαι in the expression 'to fear more';

Trall. 4 νῦν γάρ με δεῖ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι

Ephes. 6 πλειόνως αὐτὸν φοβείσθω, *Philad.* 5 ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον

φρόνιμος in the phrase φρόνιμος γίνεσθαι;

Polyc. 2 φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὄφις ἐν ἅπασιν

Ephes. 17 διὰ τί δὲ οὐ πάντες φρόνιμοι γινόμεθα; The word occurs also *Magn.* 3

φγcιοῦν 'to elate, puff up';

Trall. 4 μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φυσιοῦσίν με, *Polyc.* 4 μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιούσθωσαν

Magn. 12 οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φυσιοῦσθε, *Trall.* 7 τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιουμένοις, *Smyrn.* 6 τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω

φύcιc of natural as opposed to acquired qualities;

Ephes. 1 ὃ κεκτῆσθε φύσει κ.τ.λ.

Trall. 1 ἔγνων ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν

χαρά, see above under ἄμωμος.

χάρις in the phrase ἐν [τῇ] χάριτι;

Polyc. 1 παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι κ.τ.λ.

Ephes. 20, *Magn.* inscr., *Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 9, 13

χάρισμα in connexion with the idea of lack or abundance;

Polyc. 2 παντὸς χαρίσματος περισσεύῃς

Smyrn. inscr. ἀνυστερήτῳ οὔσῃ παντὸς χαρίσματος

χῆραι, speaking of care for the widows;

Polyc. 4 χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν

Smyrn. 6 οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς...περὶ χήρας

χορός in the phrase 'forming a choir';

Rom. 2 ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι

Ephes. 4 οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς γίνεσθε, *ib.* 19 χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι

χρήζω,

Trall. 4 χρῄζω οὖν πραότητος

Trall. 12 τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρῄζοντος

χριcτιανιcμός,

Rom. 3 μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός

The word occurs *Magn.* 10 (three times), *Philad.* 6

χριcτιανὸc somewhat frequently;

Rom. 3 μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι χριστιανός, *Polyc.* 7 χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει

The word occurs *Ephes.* 11, *Magn.* 4, *Trall.* 6

χωρεῖν in the sense 'contain' (with an apparent reference to Matt. xix. 12 ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρείτω);

Trall. 5 οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι

Smyrn. 6 ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω

Besides these, we meet with other resemblances which it would not be easy to tabulate. Thus an injunction is followed by an apologetic disclaimer, implying that it is superfluous; e.g. *Polyc.* 1 ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς, *ib.* 4 ὅπερ οὐδὲ πράσσεις (comp. § 2 περὶ ἧς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι). Such disclaimers, expressed in very similar language, are frequent in the parts

not represented in the Curetonian letters; e.g. *Ephes.* 4 ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε, *ib.* 8 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐξαπατᾶσθε (comp. *Rom.* 2, *Trall.* 2, *Smyrn.* 4). Again a certain course is enjoined either as an act of reciprocation to God for the like (*Polyc.* 1 πάντας βάσταζε ὡς καί σε ὁ Κύριος, *ib.* 6 μακροθυμήσατε οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων...ὡς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν) or as a means of obtaining a like return from God (*Polyc.* 3 πάντα ὑπομένειν δεῖ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ, *ib.* 6 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν). Such expressions as these again are frequent outside the Curetonian letters; e.g. *Ephes.* 2, 21, *Smyrn.* 9, 10, *Philad.* 10, 11. Closely connected with these are such turns of language as *Polyc.* inscr. ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ., *Trall.* 5 πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα. With these compare *Rom.* 8 θελήσατε ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε (not in the Curetonian letter), *Smyrn.* 5 ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρνοῦνται, μᾶλλον δὲ ἠρνήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, with the note on the latter passage. Again there is the anacoluthic commencement of a letter, as in *Ephes.* 1, *Rom.* 1. With these compare *Magn.* 2, *Philad.* 1, and see the notes II. pp. 29, 31, 110, 194, 251, 288, whence the close but subtle resemblances in the irregularity of the style will be apparent. Again there is the frequent use of ὅς (ὅ) ἐστιν, and the like, as expletives, sometimes with an unusual attraction as regards the gender; *Ephes.* 9 τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰ. Χ. ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός, *ib.* 18 τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅ ἐστιν σκάνδαλον κ.τ.λ., *Rom.* 5 δέκα λεοπάρδοις ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, *ib.* 7 ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω ὅ ἐστιν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ...τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος. With these compare *Ephes.* 17, 20, *Magn.* 7, 10, 15, *Trall.* 6, 8 (twice), 11, *Philad.* inscr., *Smyrn.* 5, and see the notes, II. pp. 73, 122. Again we meet with an imperative introduced into the antithetical clause of a sentence, so as to break the symmetry; *Polyc.* 2 ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά σου εἰς πρόσωπον κολακεύῃς, τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἴτει κ.τ.λ.; comp. *Magn.* 11, *Trall.* 2, *Smyrn.* 4, and see the note on II. p. 339. Again our author has a mode of speaking with respect to the representatives of a church. He regards himself as seeing or welcoming the whole body *in* these representatives. With *Ephes.* 1 τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν...ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ compare more especially *Magn.* 6 ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐθεώρησα and *Trall.* 1 ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι, and see the note, II. p. 32.

The results of this investigation must, I believe, be regarded as decisive. The resemblances are not only numerous and close, but they are frequently of the most subtle kind. It must be remembered also that the whole body of the Curetonian letters, when translated into English, only occupies some six not very closely printed octavo pages (see II. p. 670 sq.), and that the Seven Epistles are only some four or

five times as extensive. If this fact is borne in mind, the amount of coincidence is surprising; and one who maintains that the Seven Epistles of the Middle Form were produced by interpolation from the Curetonian letters, postulates in his pseudo-Ignatius a prodigy of minute observation, of subtle insight, of imitative skill, of laborious care, which is probably without a parallel in the history of literary forgeries and which assuredly was an utter impossibility among the Christians in the second and third centuries.

It will have been observed also that the coincidences extend over all the letters. Thus our examination supplies a refutation alike of Ussher who accepted six out of the seven and rejected the Epistle to Polycarp alone, and of Renan who rejects six out of the seven and accepts the Epistle to the Romans alone. If indeed we had taken the Epistle to Polycarp or the Epistle to the Romans as our starting point and set ourselves to show by the evidence of diction that the epistle in question was the work of the same author as the other six, a very much larger body of proof might have been gathered together bearing on the question at issue. But though our main object has been somewhat different, sufficient evidence has been forthcoming incidentally to establish these points also. The Seven Epistles as they stand in the Middle Recension are evidently the work of one hand.

2. Another highly important consideration is *the connexion of thought*. Where whole clauses, sentences, and paragraphs are absent from the one recension and present in the other, the greater or less coherence in the consecutive parts may be expected to furnish a criterion of the highest value. The recension in which thoughts succeed each other naturally and easily claims the palm of priority over the recension in which abruptness and inconsequence prevail. The transitions indeed are often rapid in either form, and this must therefore be regarded as a characteristic of the author (whichever may be the original form of the letters); but we have a right to expect that there shall be no incongruity.

On this point it is well that the advocates of the three Short Epistles should be allowed to state the case themselves, and I therefore give Cureton's own words (*C. I.* p. xlii);

'In the Epistle to the Ephesians at least two-thirds of the matter has been omitted. Now had these passages so omitted belonged to the original epistle, it seems hardly possible that they could have been taken away in the manner in which they have been, sometimes entire chapters, at others considerable parts, sometimes whole sentences, and at others half sentences or single words, without interrupting the general tenor of the epistle or

causing any hiatus and producing obscurity. But what is now the state of the case? Not only is no obscurity caused, nor the tenor of the epistle broken; but on the contrary several places which before were unintelligible become now clear; the whole epistle runs on uninterruptedly; each sentence adheres closely to that which precedes it; and what is still more remarkable, all this almost without the necessity of making any grammatical change in the order or construction of the sentences; and further, one passage omitted in the Greek [§ 1 'videre festinastis' in the Latin], which Bishop Pearson had previously pointed out as necessary to complete the context, is restored and supplied by the Syriac.'

This statement is not supported by any examples or any analysis of passages; and to me it seems to be directly opposed to the facts. The last clause 'one passage etc.' does indeed state a truth; but this truth has no bearing on the question at issue. It furnishes an instance of the confusion, on which I have adverted above (p. 278), and which has been already dealt with. For the rest, it would be true to the facts to say that in no single instance does the Curetonian Recension produce a better sense or a more intelligible sequence of thought than the Vossian; that in very many cases the sequence in the Curetonian letter would pass muster, though in the majority of these it is smoother and more regular in the Vossian; and that in some few instances the phenomena are quite incongruous and improbable in the Curetonian letter, where no such fault can be found with the Vossian.

Who for instance can bring himself to believe that Ignatius ended the letter as it ends in the Curetonian form: 'And that which was perfected in the counsels of God had a beginning; whence all things were put into commotion because the destruction of death was purposed?' Is it at all intelligible that a letter which commences with an elaborate greeting and goes on to speak at some length of personal relations should thus end abruptly in the midst of the discussion of a theological topic, without a word of farewell or any personal reference of any kind? Is this possible in itself? Does it become at all more probable, when we compare the other Ignatian letters, which even in the Curetonian Recension end with a salutation and a farewell?

Or again take this passage;

'It is better to keep silence and to be, than to talk and not to be; [it is good to teach, if the speaker be a doer also. There is then one Teacher, who spake, and it was so; yea and even the works that He hath done in silence are worthy of the Father. He that possesseth the Word of Jesus can also listen to His Silence, that he may be perfect;] that through the things which he speaks he may do, and through the things wherein he is silent, he may be known.'

Here the words in brackets are omitted in the Curetonian letter. The thoughts which they contain do not indeed lie on the surface; and this very obscurity would be a sufficient motive for their expulsion. But the words are full of meaning, when examined; and their ejection produces a dislocation by which the logical connexion is altogether shattered. The words 'It is better to be silent etc.' are no logical introduction to the last clause 'that through the things which he speaks etc.' On the other hand this clause is fitly introduced by the sentence which commends the appropriation alike of the utterances and the silence of Jesus, as combining to make the perfect man.

Again in §§ 8, 9, the sentence in the Curetonian letter runs 'For ye do all things in Jesus Christ, having been prepared unto the building of God the Father, being hoisted up to the heights by the engine of Jesus Christ which is the cross, using as a rope the Holy Spirit' etc. Here is an elaborate metaphor introduced, and yet the key-word to it is wanting. The 'preparation for the building' might perhaps stand without explanation, because by frequent use the metaphor of building or 'edification' had become so common as almost to cease to be a metaphor. But the 'hoisting up' supposes some previous explanation. This explanation appears in the Vossian letter, which inserts several sentences after the first clause, and in which the words, 'as being stones of the Father's temple,' occur immediately before the clauses 'having been prepared etc.,' so that all runs smoothly.

Another example is in § 10. In the Vossian letter the passage is read thus;

'Towards their fierceness be ye not zealous to imitate them by requital (ἀντιμιμήσασθαι). Let us be found their brothers by our gentleness, but let us be zealous to be imitators of the Lord, (vying with each other) who shall suffer greater wrong, who shall be robbed, who shall be set at nought.'

In the Curetonian Recension the passage 'Let us be found...of the Lord' runs 'But let us be imitators of the Lord in our gentleness and (by vying with each other) who etc.' Here indeed there is no dislocation in the sequence of thought as is the case elsewhere, but the subtle expressiveness of the Vossian letter is entirely lost. In the latter the connexion of thought is as follows: 'Do not show yourselves like them by copying them and thus requiting wrong for wrong. If you desire to claim kindred with them, claim it in another way; prove your brotherhood by treating them as brothers. If you would have somewhat to copy, take God as your pattern. Imitate His gentleness and forbearance.'

The other passages which offer themselves for comparison in this

epistle do not call for any comment. The sequence of thought in the Curetonian letter is preserved sufficiently to disarm criticism, though the connexion is closer in the Vossian form.

The Epistle to Polycarp contains very little which invites consideration from this point of view. The variations between the two recensions are immaterial throughout the first six chapters. At this point however the divergence begins. Of the two concluding chapters (the seventh and eighth) in the Vossian form, which are occupied with personal matters—directions to Polycarp with the concluding salutations etc.—the Curetonian letter retains only two sentences, the latter in an altered form; 'The Christian has not authority over himself, but devotes himself to God. I salute him who shall be counted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, according as I commanded thee.' The former sentence is unexplained by anything in the context of the Curetonian letter, whereas in the Vossian it stands in close and immediate connexion with the directions which precede and follow it. In the latter the incident assumes a different character, but the change does not affect the connexion with the context.

In the Epistle to the Romans, as it appears in the Curetonian recension, the opening salutation is much abridged, but the relations of the two forms in this part are not such as to call for examination. In the first five chapters the two recensions agree very closely. Only here and there a sentence is wanting in the shorter form; but the continuity of the sense is not generally affected by the omission. One point alone calls for a remark. In § 6 a passage runs; 'Have sympathy with me. What is expedient for me, [I know. Now am I beginning to be a disciple]. Let nought of things visible and invisible grudge me that I may attain unto Jesus Christ.' The words in brackets appear in the Vossian letter, but are omitted in the Curetonian. It will be seen at once that they are needed for the sense. No great stress however can be laid on the omission, as it might be pleaded that they had been left out by the inadvertence of a transcriber, and that therefore the omission does not affect the main question at issue. Of the five remaining chapters as they stand in the Vossian letter, only a few sentences appear in the Curetonian; but as a compensation two chapters from the Trallian Epistle are introduced at the close. These few sentences are isolated, and their purport is such that no continuity need be looked for. Here again however one passage deserves consideration; § 9 'My spirit saluteth you, and so doth the love of the churches which welcomed me in the name of Jesus Christ, [not as a traveller on his way (*οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα*)] for even those (churches) which did not lie near to

my way according to the flesh (*αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα*) escorted me onward from city to city.' Here the words in square brackets are omitted in the Curetonian letter. Their bearing is not obvious at first sight, and this would account for the omission. But reflexion shows that they are demanded by the context. The attention paid to him was not merely the humane consideration which would be extended to any wayfarer. It was a token of brotherhood in Christ. This was shown from the fact that churches not on his route bore their part in it.

The great question however affecting the Epistle to the Romans is concerned with the appearance, at the close of the Curetonian form, of the two chapters which in the Vossian recension belong to the Trallian Epistle (§§ 4, 5). Which was their original place?

Let us look first at their position in the Trallian Epistle.

Ignatius exhorts the Trallians to obey their bishop, priests, and deacons. He bears personal testimony to the excellence of their bishop, whom even godless men must respect. He might write more sternly to them, but he forbears. He remembers that he is only a condemned criminal, and he therefore will not assume the authority of an Apostle (§ 3).

Though much knowledge is vouchsafed to him in God, yet he puts limits to himself (*ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ*). He will not boast, lest he perish by boasting. He fears the praises of others, lest they should elate him. He desires to suffer, and yet doubts his worthiness. Above all things he prays for humility (§ 4).

True, he could write to them about heavenly things, but he forbears. It would be too strong meat for babes, and they would be choked thereby. He may know the mysteries of the celestial hierarchy; but this will not make him a disciple. He and they still lack much, that God may not be lacking to them (§ 5).

Therefore he exhorts them—nay not he, but the love of Christ—to seek only the wholesome food of true Christianity and to avoid the rank and noxious weeds of heresy, etc. (§ 6).

The connexion here is intelligible. The motive is obvious. What more natural than this alternation between the humility of self-condemnation and the thanksgiving for spiritual privilege? He exalts himself only to depress himself; and he abases himself only to exalt himself. He shrinks from commanding, and yet he desires his words to have the effect of a command. I am therefore altogether unable to acquiesce in Cureton's opinion (*C. I.* p. xlvii); 'It is difficult to understand for what especial purpose these chapters should have been introduced into

the Epistle to the Trallians. We know of no reason why he should make any allusion to his knowledge of heavenly things when writing to the Trallians; nor even is there any apparent purpose to be gathered from that epistle for his doing so, as it now stands.' There is no more difficulty in understanding the purpose of Ignatius, than there is in understanding the purpose of S. Paul in the 10th, 11th, and 12th chapters of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, where he too is dealing with false teachers, where he too lays stress on his spiritual illumination, where he too fluctuates between the dread of boasting and the necessity of boasting. Indeed we can hardly resist the conclusion that, when Ignatius wrote this passage, the spirit, if not the very language, of the Apostle thus writing to the Corinthians was present to his mind.

On the other hand these two chapters (*Trall.* 4, 5) have no special propriety at the close of the Epistle to the Romans. Cureton indeed (p. xlvi) invents a motive for their insertion; 'The Romans seem to have spoken of his great spiritual knowledge, and to have pressed it as an argument why he should desire to have his life spared for the benefit of the Church': and treating this fiction as a fact, he proceeds to argue thereupon for the propriety of the position which these chapters occupy in the Curetonian recension. But the very necessity of such an assumption betrays the weakness of the case. Beyond the fact that the Epistle to the Romans is concerned almost entirely with his approaching martyrdom, and that in the course of these chapters reference is made to it, there is no link of connexion. On the other hand, when he speaks to his readers as children who could not digest strong meat, this language is far more appropriate as addressed to the Trallians of whose spiritual danger he had personal knowledge and to whom in other parts of the letter he utters words of warning, than to the Romans with whom he was unacquainted and whom he addresses as 'teachers of others' (§ 3) and describes as 'filtered clean from any strange colouring' of heresy (inscr.).

3. Under the third and last head we have to consider the *topics* which the two recensions respectively comprise. Here the Curetonian letters differ from the Vossian almost wholly in the direction of omission. The topics may be roughly classed under three heads, *theological*, *ecclesiastical*, and *personal*.

(i) As regards the *theological* topics, it would be difficult to show that any difference exists between the two recensions. No adequate doctrinal motive can be alleged either for the omission of the missing

portions in the Curetonian letters or for the insertion of the additional portions in the Vossian.

A characteristic feature of the Ignatian theology is the accentuation of the twofold nature of Christ—His deity and His humanity. A crucial passage appears in the Curetonian letters *Polyc.* 3, where our Lord is described as 'He that is without time, He that is invisible, He that was seen for our sakes, He that is impalpable, He that is impassible, He that suffered for our sakes.' Flowing from this twofold nature we have on the one side the human birth from a virgin, *Ephes.* 19 'the virginity of Mary was unperceived by the prince of this world'; on the other, the theopaschite language describing His passion, *Ephes.* 1 'the blood of God.' Moreover it is not only the positive theology of Ignatius that remains unaffected, whichever recension we adopt. His polemics are also the same. The characteristic feature in the polemical theology of the Vossian letters is the constant antagonism to *Docetism.* This appears in the Curetonian letters also—in a single passage only it is true, but one passage is as convincing as many, so far as regards the question at issue. Addressing the Ephesians he describes the Church of Ephesus as 'united and elect in a *real* passion' (*Ephes.* inscr. ἡνωμένῃ καὶ ἐκλελεγμένῃ ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ); for it cannot be doubted (see II. p. 25 sq.) that this is the true reading in the Curetonian letters, as well as in the Vossian. In these respects therefore no gain is effected, for no difficulty is overcome, by setting aside the Vossian letters in favour of the Curetonian. Nay, there is an actual loss; for the Vossian letters show that the Docetism against which the writer aims his shafts is Judaic in its character, and therefore exhibits a very early type of this error.

Again; the eucharistic teaching of the Ignatian epistles has been a stumblingblock to some; but the strongest eucharistic passage (*Rom.* 7) appears in the Curetonian letters, as well as in the Vossian.

Again; the angelology of Ignatius has been held unworthy of a primitive father of the Church; but the most emphatic angelological passage (*Trall.* 5) has a place in the Curetonian letters also, though transferred in these from the Trallian to the Roman Epistle.

(ii) Nor again is the position altered when we turn to *ecclesiastical* questions. The advocacy of the episcopal office, which is associated with the name of Ignatius, appears very definitely in the Curetonian letters. The writer warns those who resolve to remain in virgin purity to reveal their resolution to no one but the bishop; and he enjoins those who purpose marrying to obtain the consent of the bishop to their union, 'that their marriage may be after God and not after concupiscence.' 'Give heed,' he continues, 'to the bishop, that God also

may give heed to you: my life for the life (ἀντίψυχον ἐγώ) of those who are obedient to the bishop, to the presbyters, to the deacons: may it be mine to have my portion with them in the presence of God' (*Polyc.* 5, 6). He addresses Polycarp as bishop of the Church of the Smyrnæans and charges him to 'vindicate his office' (*Polyc.* 1). His people must do nothing without his approval, as he himself must do nothing without the approval of God (*Polyc.* 4). In like manner he designates Onesimus bishop of the Ephesians, and he charges them to love and to imitate him (*Ephes.* 1). So also, speaking of himself, he regards it as a signal manifestation of God's purpose, for which the Romans are bidden to offer praise and thanksgiving, that He has deigned to summon to the far west 'the bishop from Syria' (*Rom.* 2). Thus, though the language may lose something in strength and the directions may lack the same precision, the authority of the episcopal office stands out not less clearly in these Curetonian letters, than in the Vossian, as the keystone of the ecclesiastical system.

By accepting the Curetonian Recension as the original form of the Ignatian letters, we do indeed dispose of certain other difficulties which critics have raised relating to ecclesiastical organization and nomenclature (e.g. *Smyrn.* 8 ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, *ib.* 13 τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας), but it will be shown hereafter that these difficulties have arisen from a misunderstanding of the expressions used. On the other hand we lose more than one expression indicative of a very early date, which the Vossian Epistles contain (e.g. *Smyrn.* 8 οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν).

(iii) Lastly; so far as regards the *personal* matter, it may be fairly said that the loss from the adoption of the Curetonian Recension would be greater than the gain. Hardly a single difficulty is appreciably diminished—not one is removed—by its substitution for the Vossian letters. The long journey to Rome, which has been the main stumbling-block with some critics, remains untouched. The ardent craving for martyrdom, which not a few have judged unworthy of an apostolic father, still confronts us in its noble extravagance. The self-depreciation, at which others have taken offence, is indeed diminished with the diminution of area, but it is not obliterated (*Ephes.* 1, *Rom.* 4, 5). The free communication with the churches by letter, which has been judged inconsistent with the status of a condemned and strictly-guarded prisoner, is still fully recognized (*Rom.* 4 ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις). The intercourse with individual friends is not interfered with; the embassies from distant communities and the journeys of his friends from city to city are still recorded as before (*Rom.* 9; comp. *Polyc.* 1,

Ephes. 1, *Rom.* 1). But, while the gain is thus inappreciable, the loss is very serious. It will be seen, when the subject is discussed at length in the next chapter, that the movements of the martyr himself and his relations with the deputies of the several churches, as they appear in the Vossian Epistles, reveal various and subtle coincidences which cannot without all violation of probability be set down to a forger's pen. All these have vanished from the Curetonian letters.

To sum up;

If we are prepared still to maintain the priority of the Curetonian Epistles, we must make two great postulates.

We must first postulate a writer in the second or third century who makes a careful study of the three short Ignatian Epistles before him; who has the patience and the insight to note all the most subtle features of vocabulary and grammar; who has the genius and the skill to reproduce all these characteristics; who, equipped with these capacities and acquirements, sets himself to interpolate, enlarge, and supplement these three letters so as to form a body of seven letters; who so performs this task that the sequence of thought is better observed in the enlarged epistles than in the original; who in the interpolated and forged portions so constructs his personal and historical framework as to reveal to a careful scrutiny subtle and inobtrusive harmonies and coincidences; and who exercises such self-restraint as to avoid all theological and ecclesiastical questions which have an interest for his own time, because they would be anachronisms. In short he is prepared to sacrifice every conceivable purpose of a forgery to ensure the success of his forgery. Who is bold enough to affirm that such a person could be found among the ranks of the Christians in these early ages?

But secondly, we are obliged to postulate in (say) the fourth or fifth century a Syriac translator who, having before him a pre-existing Syriac version of the three short Epistles and also a Greek copy of the Seven Epistles (enlarged from the original three in the manner supposed), undertakes to bring the Syriac version into conformity with this enlarged body of letters. Accordingly he not only translates the four additional epistles, removing however the two chapters which he finds ready to hand at the close of the Roman Epistle in the existing Syriac version and placing them in their new position in the Trallian Epistle; but in the three epistles already rendered into Syriac he supplies the insertions, effaces the omissions, transposes the transpositions, follows every arbitrary change, and thus produces a Syriac work exactly corresponding to the Greek. This task indeed does not suppose the same combination of

qualities as the former, but it does demand marvellous patience. What parallel can be found to such a work in the Christian literature of those ages?

This last demand alone would be a severe strain, and an opinion so weighted would need very strong independent support to sustain it; but the two together are enough to break the back of any theory. I need not advert to the other difficulties with which those who maintain the priority of the Curetonian Form are confronted.

The preceding investigation has, if I mistake not, established the result that the Curetonian Letters are an abridgement or mutilation of the epistles of the Middle Form. But the further question arises; In what interests or with what *motive* was the abridgement made?

The earliest opponent of the Curetonian letters, the *English Reviewer*, who has been mentioned already (p. 269), had his own answer to this question. He considered them to be 'a miserable epitome made by an Eutychian heretic' (p. 348), and he even went so far as to express his own opinion 'that the collection of Syriac MSS recently deposited in the British Museum would turn out to be a nest of Eutychianism' (p. 336). To this accusation Cureton in his *Vindiciae Ignatianae* (p. 67) returned an effective reply.

For Eutychianism we may substitute the word Monophysitism; for the theory is placed in a more advantageous position by such a restatement, and this is in effect what the Reviewer meant. Thus restated, the theory has this *prima facie* ground, that a considerable number of the MSS in this Nitrian collection contain Monophysite works or are derived from Monophysite sources. It is even possible that one or other of the MSS containing this abridgement may have been transcribed by Monophysite hands. But the theory itself is sufficiently refuted by these three considerations. (1) The contents of the three MSS in which the Curetonian Epistles are preserved do not betray any special Monophysite leanings. They comprise various patristic treatises, some doctrinal, some practical, some historical, mostly by well-known writers, Basil, the two Gregorys, Cyril, etc. (see Cureton *C. I.* p. xviii sq.). (2) The great Monophysite leaders, Timotheus of Alexandria (see above, p. 165 sq.) and Severus of Antioch (p. 169 sq.), not to mention other anonymous advocates of Monophysite doctrine (p. 186 sq.), persistently use the Middle Form of the Ignatian Epistles; and there is no trace whatever in them of acquaintance with the Curetonian Abridgement. They quote freely from all the seven epistles; and even in the three epistles, wherever the two recensions

differ, their quotations are taken from the Middle, not the Short Form. (3) So far from betraying Monophysite purposes, this abridgement is much less serviceable to Monophysite interests than the Vossian letters. By omitting altogether four out of seven epistles, it omits many passages which were held to favour Monophysitism (e.g. *Smyrn.* i. 2, 5, 6, *Magn.* 6, 8); but even in these three, which it preserves, it strikes out some of the texts which were most important from a Monophysite point of view; e.g. *Polyc.* 8 ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, *Ephes.* 3 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς...τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη, *Ephes.* 7 ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, *Ephes.* 18 ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη κ.τ.λ., *Ephes.* 19 Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου (altered into τοῦ υἱοῦ φανερουμένου), *Rom.* inscr. ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, *Rom.* 3 ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ., *Rom.* 6 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου (the most favourite of all Monophysite texts). In short, it would have been a more tenable hypothesis to maintain that the epistles were abridged in an Anti-monophysite interest.

Thus the suggested doctrinal motive entirely failed to account for the phenomena. It was justly rejected by Jacobson ('minus felix in eo quod Syrum pravitatis haereticae simulaverit') and has found no favour elsewhere. With a nearer approach to the truth Hefele suggested (proleg. p. lviii, ed. 3) a moral aim. He regarded the Curetonian letters as 'an epitome made by some Syrian monk for his own pious purposes (a monacho quodam Syriaco in proprios usus pios confectam).' This seems to be only so far wrong in that it supposes some definite aim pursued on some definite plan; and this erroneous conception of the character of the abbreviator's work is still more prominent in a subsequent note (p. 156), where he states that this monk 'appears to have omitted everything which he thought less consonant or less necessary for himself and his ascetic purpose,' adding that he gathered together all the hortatory passages which tended to good discipline of life. Cureton, when replying to Hefele (*C. I.* pref. p. x), might have contented himself with asking what pious uses a monk would find in the directions respecting matrimony which are allowed to stand in the Epistle to Polycarp (§ 5). This question renders the rest of his refutation superfluous.

As a matter of experience, abbreviators are apt to do their work far more capriciously and carelessly than either of these theories supposes. A scribe, having copied out the task which he had set himself, finds that he has a few leaves of parchment or paper still unfilled. It would be a sinful waste to leave his manuscript so. How shall he cover the vacant space? A volume of Ignatius happens to be at hand. He will copy out just so much as there is room for. Of course the historical

parts must be omitted. Of the rest there are some passages which he does not understand, others which are blurred in the copy before him. As he turns over the leaves of the portions which he is omitting, a terse maxim here and there strikes him. These must have a place. He is desirous perhaps of finishing his volume before a certain time. The Ignatian matter is only a stop-gap after all, and he does not care for completeness. So he breaks off the Epistle to the Ephesians abruptly in the middle of a subject. Perhaps the manuscript before him is mutilated and has lost a quire here. Elsewhere the leaves are transposed. A fragment of the Trallian letter is inserted in the Epistle to the Romans; and accordingly as a part of this latter epistle it appears in his copy. This mode of procedure is not without parallels. The history of literature, Greek, Latin, and Syrian, abounds in examples of abridgement and mutilation, ranging from the carefully executed epitome, or the well selected collection of extracts illustrative of some particular subject, to the loose and perfunctory curtailment, such as we have here, which is neither epitome nor extract, but something between the two[1].

The *date* of this Syriac abridgement is a matter of inferior moment; nor is it ascertainable except within somewhat wide limits of time.

The earliest MS (Σ_1) belongs to the year A.D. 534 or thereabouts (see above, p. 72). This MS indeed only contains the Epistle to Polycarp, but the abridgements of the two remaining epistles, which are found in the later MSS ($\Sigma_2\Sigma_3$), were evidently made by the same hand. This earliest MS however is evidently not the archetype. It already contains a few false readings, where the text is correctly given in the later MSS (§ 5 γὰρ for δέ, together with other slight errors). Yet these phenomena are such that Σ_1 might well have been copied directly from the original MS. Thus, so far as the evidence goes,

[1] The Ignatian literature itself (in addition to the Curetonian letters) exhibits the following examples illustrating the phenomena of curtailment: (1) a shortened and modified form of the Epistle to the Romans in Symeon the Metaphrast (see II. p. 5); (2) the mutilation of the end of the Epistle to Polycarp in the Latin Version (see above, p. 124); (3) the opening of the Epistle to the Romans in a Monte Cassino MS (see p. 123), where no reason can be assigned why so much and no more should be given; (4) an extract from the Epistle to the Ephesians with modifications in *Paris. Græc.* 950 (see p. 76); (5) the loose and modified quotations in the Arabic (II. p. 883 sq., see above, p. 262). I have not reckoned in this enumeration mere collections of extracts, whether Greek or Syriac (e. g. those of S, described above, p. 89 sq.), which present no extraordinary features.

the Syriac abridgement might have been made as late as the early decades of the sixth century.

The *terminum ad quem* being thus fixed, we have next to search for the *terminus a quo*. But here the data are still less satisfactory. The first requisite is to assign a date to the unabridged Syriac Version (see above, p. 89 sq.). This however is not an easy matter. If this version originally comprised the six Additional Letters, it cannot have been made till after the middle of the fourth century when these letters were forged (see above, p. 245 sq., p. 260), and some little time would probably elapse before they were attached to the genuine letters. Without a more thorough examination of the fragments of this Syriac Version and of the Armenian Version which was derived from it, it would be premature to assert with absolute confidence that the version of the six Additional Letters proceeded from the same hand as the version of the genuine Seven Epistles, though I have not yet seen sufficient reason to suspect the contrary. Supposing this unity of workmanship to be granted, the Syriac Version cannot well date much earlier than A.D. 400. Nor can we place it much later, if at least Armenian scholars are right, or nearly right, in their conclusion that the Armenian Version itself belongs to the fifth century (see above, p. 85). Yet this date for the Syriac Version is not without its difficulties. A passage in Ephraem Syrus († A.D. 373) seems to be a reminiscence of *Ephes.* 18 in the Syriac Version (see II. p. 74); but the connexion is far from certain. The resemblance between the two passages is not decisive as to any obligation on either side; and even if it were otherwise, the translator might have adopted his rendering from a well-remembered passage of this famous Syrian father rather than conversely. Again, John the Monk, whose date I have placed approximately at A.D. 380—390 (see above, p. 145), seems to have used this Syriac Version (see p. 146). But the identity of the person bearing the name John is not made out beyond dispute; and even if my identification be correct, the time of his literary activity might be placed a few years later. Provisionally therefore we may perhaps place the date of the Syriac Version about A.D. 400, or possibly as much as two decades earlier. A century before this time (c. A.D. 300) we find members of the literary society, which gathered about Pamphilus, busied in translating from Greek into Syriac (Euseb. *Mart. Palest.* p. 4, ed. Cureton). Again, several works of Eusebius were translated into this language soon after they were written, and probably during his own life-time (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s.v. 'Eusebius of Caesarea' pp. 320, 326, 332). The Festal Letters of Atha-

nasius also would necessarily have been translated into Syriac, as soon as they were issued, for the use of the Syrian monks. From that time onward Syriac translations of Greek patristic writings become common, and not unfrequently they were made shortly after the publication of the original works, and sometimes during the life-time of the authors. This we know to have been the case, for instance, with Cyril of Alexandria, with Timotheus Ælurus (see above, p. 168), and with Severus of Antioch (see pp. 25, 174, 181). There is therefore no difficulty in supposing that the version of Ignatius was made at the time suggested. But no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at, until the text and the diction of this version have been more narrowly scrutinized. No long time need have elapsed after this date before the abridgement was made, but in the absence of prior testimony to its existence we are tempted to place it more than a century later.

6.

THE GENUINENESS.

THE investigations of the preceding chapters have cleared the ground. All rival claimants have been set aside; so that the Seven Epistles, as known to Eusebius and as preserved to us not only in the original Greek but also in Latin and other translations, alone remain in possession of the field. If there be any genuine remains of Ignatius, these are they. The other recensions, now shown to be abridgements or expansions, cease to trouble us. They take their place as testimonies to the fame and popularity of the letters on which they are founded. The variations of text again between the Greek original and the various translations of the Seven Letters are immaterial to the question. To allege these as casting suspicion on the genuineness of the letters themselves is to throw dust in the eyes of the enquirer. They are only such in kind, as we might expect to encounter under the circumstances. They are the price paid for ultimate security as regards the author's text. This security, in the case of an ancient writer, will depend mainly on the multiplicity of authorities; and multiplicity of authorities involves multiplicity of readings. The text of the Seven Epistles is assured to us on testimony considerably greater than that of any ancient classical author with one or two exceptions.

With Ussher's discovery the Ignatian controversy enters upon a new phase. The main part of the previous literature on the subject had been rendered obsolete thereby. The really formidable objections which had been urged against the genuineness of the letters applied only to the Long Recension and were no longer valid. Doubtless many minor difficulties, which critics had discovered, or imagined that

they had discovered, in the Ignatian Epistles, still remained. This was inevitable. Where there are good grounds for suspecting a man's character, even his most innocent actions are scanned with misgiving and interpreted to his disadvantage. So it was with these Ignatian writings. Suspicion had been justly excited against the only Ignatian letters hitherto known; and, when excited, it unjustly sought a handle in any matter that came to hand. Thus the uninterpolated passages suffered from their companionship with the interpolations. Not more righteous than Jupiter of old, outraged criticism

'incesto addidit integrum.'

Even when Ussher's discovery had severed the companionship between the false and true, the taint of the old suspicion remained. The smirch of the mud previously thrown still clung to the innocent victim, and it has never been altogether effaced.

Yet on the whole Ussher's discovery was felt to have furnished the true key to the solution of the Ignatian question. He had acted the part of the Good Samaritan, wrote Bishop Hall, and had bound up the wounds of the poor traveller who had fallen into the hands of thieves and been shamefully handled by them[1]. Adversaries indeed have paraded the names of those who, notwithstanding the fresh light thrown on the subject by this discovery, continued to condemn or to suspect these letters wholly or in part. It is not difficult, where the search ranges over a sufficient period, to draw up a considerable list of second and third-rate names, with here and there an author of higher repute, who took the adverse side. Meanwhile the very far larger number of critics and theologians, who have accepted the Seven Epistles as genuine, is altogether forgotten. Nor, if we regard the weight, rather than the numbers, of the names ranged on either side in the immediately succeeding generations, can we hesitate to say where the preponderance lies. No such list of names can be produced on the other side, as Ussher and Voss and Grotius and Pearson and Bull

[1] Ussher's *Works* XVI. p. 92 'Inciderat nempe bonus iste viator Hierosolymitanus in latrones quosdam Hierochuntinos, qui illum non spoliarant modo sed misere etiam peneque ad mortem vulnerarant; praeterierant saucium ac fere moribundum nescio quot Parkeri, Coci, Salmasii, aliique nuperae sectae coryphaei...vestra unius pietatis [pietas?], optimi instar Samaritae, vinum oleumque infudit tam patentibus vulneribus, abstersit saniem, foedeque hiulca plagarum ora manu tenera fasciavit; fereque exanimem vestro typorum jumento imposuit; ac communi denique ecclesiae hospitio, non sine maximis impensis, commendavit.' Later on in the same letter (p. 93) Hall writes, 'Bis martyrium passus Ignatius noster; tua demum opera, praesul honoratissime, reviviscit.'

and Bentley[1] and Waterland[2], not to mention others only second to these in the field of theological criticism.

To one school of contemporary theologians however the discovery of Ussher and Voss was a grave disappointment. The French Protestant divines had attacked the integrity of the Ignatian letters mainly on account of their testimony to the early spread of episcopacy; but they had for the most part expressed themselves in favour of a genuine though indeterminate nucleus, overlaid with spurious matter. To these critics the Vossian letters gave no relief. Though the sacerdotal language had disappeared, the testimony to the existence and authority of the episcopate was as strong and as precise here as in the letters of the Long Recension. It was too much to expect that under these circumstances the Vossian letters should receive an impartial hearing. An interval of twenty years elapsed, before French Protestantism put forth its supreme effort in the elaborate work of Daillé. But meanwhile other antagonists of no mean repute stepped forward. In 1645 Saumaise, who had already on the eve of Ussher's discovery mingled in the fray (see above, p. 228), again declared himself against the Ignatian letters (*Adparatus ad Libros de Primatu Papae*, Lugd. Bat.

[1] Bentley's *Works* II. p. 29 'The most excellent Bishop Pearson had designed a new edition of Ignatius's *Epistles* with an ample commentary. A specimen of which posthumous work has been published by the learned Dr Smith, and the whole is earnestly expected from him. For though it has not passed the last hand of the author, yet it is every way worthy of him, and the very dust of his writings is gold. In that published specimen there is this annotation upon the words of Ignatius ΤΟΝ ΥΜΑϹ ϹΟΦΙϹΑΝΤΑ [*Smyrn.* 1]' etc.

In Monk's *Life of Bentley* II. p. 44 (ed. 2, 1833) it is stated on the authority of a contemporary letter, that a rumour reached Oxford in the summer of 1718 to the effect that 'Cambridge was in a great ferment on account of Dr Bentley having on occasion of a Divinity Act made a speech condemning the Epistles of S. Ignatius and afterwards refusing to hear the Respondent, who attempted to reply.' All this we are told 'is given on hearsay.' What foundation in fact there may have been for the story it would be impossible to say. We may conjecture however that the Respondent had quoted from the spurious or interpolated epistles, and was called to account for this by Bentley. Not many years had then passed since Whiston's attempt to resuscitate this recension. Moreover a Respondent in an Act would not be unlikely to get his information at second hand from such a book as Suicer's *Thesaurus* (ed. 1, 1682; ed. 2, 1728); and in Suicer the Long Recension is commonly, if not universally, cited. We have an example of a similar ignorance and misapprehension as regards Ussher; 'I could not but smile,' writes Hammond to Ussher, 'when I was of late required by the London ministers to answer the objections you had made to the Epistles of Ignatius,' Ussher's *Works* XVI. p. 148. But whatever may be the account of the mistake, Bentley's views are clearly indicated in the passage just quoted from the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*.

[2] Waterland's *Works* III. pp. 239 sq., 262 sq. (ed. Van Mildert).

1645, quoted by Pearson *Vind. Ign.* p. 42). He was followed immediately (A.D. 1646) by Blondel (*Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris* praef. p. 39 sq.). These writers now saw no course open to them but to reject the Ignatian Epistles altogether. Apparently it did not occur to them to ask whether Ussher's discovery did not require them to reconsider their fundamental position as regards episcopacy.

With the French Protestants were ranged the English Puritans. The treatise of Blondel had been answered by Hammond *Dissertationes Quatuor, quibus Episcopatus Jura ex S. Scripturis et Primaeva Antiquitate adstruuntur* etc. (Lond. 1651). Hammond's work provoked a reply from the London Ministers entitled *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici* 'published by the Provincial Assembly of London' 1654. An individual minister also, Dr J. Owen, in a preface to *The Saints' Perseverance* (1654) replied to Hammond. This elicited a rejoinder from Hammond, *An Answer to the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles* etc., London, 1654. The weapons of these English Puritans were taken from the French armoury, and their writings do not need any further notice.

A few years later appeared the famous work of Daillé *De Scriptis quae sub Dionysii Areopagitae et Ignatii Antiocheni nominibus circumferuntur libri duo* (Genevae, 1666). As this work created much stir at the time, and has been highly extolled by some later writers on the Ignatian question, it may be worth our while to endeavour to appraise its true value. As regards the spuriousness of the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the verdict of Daillé had already been anticipated by sound critics, and has been endorsed since by almost all reasonable men. But his treatment of the Ignatian writings does not deserve the same praise. It is marked indeed by very considerable learning and great vivacity of style; but something more than knowledge and vigour is required to constitute genuine criticism. The critical spirit is essentially judicial. Its main function is, as the word itself implies, to *discriminate*. The spirit of Daillé's work is the reverse of this. It is characterized throughout by deliberate confusion. Though at the outset he states the facts with regard to the different recensions of the Ignatian letters, as brought to light by Ussher's discovery, yet he proceeds at once to treat the whole body of Ignatian literature as if it were the product of one author[1]. In this way the Vossian letters are

[1] Thus for instance he writes (c. xxiii); 'There are also some things in these letters foreign to the gravity and wisdom of the man to whom they are fictitiously ascribed, as for instance his charging wives not to salute their husbands by their own names;

made to bear all the odium of the charges justly brought against the Epistles of the Long Recension. Like the Athenian demagogue, he takes a lesson from knowing eel-catchers,

ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν.

Of the sixty-six heads of objection which he urges against the Ignatian Epistles, about one half apply solely to the Long Recension; several others are chiefly, though not entirely, occupied with it; and two or three deal only with the medieval Latin correspondence. Thus for the most part he expends his strength in slaying the slain; for Ussher had already dealt the death-blow to these spurious and interpolated letters. For the rest, his arguments and positions are such as few sane critics, even among the most determined opponents of the Ignatian Epistles, would venture to adopt in the present day. Who for instance would be bold enough to maintain that the Ignatian writings were unknown to all Christians up to A.D. 300, about which time they were forged (p. 460 sq.)? or that the passages of Origen containing the Ignatian quotations were not written by Origen, but

Let wives, says he, *honour their husbands as their own flesh and not dare to call them by their own name*...This writer whoever he was (iste vero quisquis fuit scriptor) little understood how great a man he had undertaken to simulate...Again is it not excellent and worthy of the modesty and holiness of Ignatius, that the same writes elsewhere to John (idem alibi ad Joannem scribat) that *there are many of their women who desire to see Mary the mother of Jesus*... But again this betrays a fickle and inconstant judgment that he (iste) having professed himself unwilling to publish or to employ the names of the heretics... *But their names, being unbelievers, I have not thought fit to set down in writing; nay far be it from me even to remember them*... Yet the same person elsewhere, forgetting the law he himself has laid down (idem alibi suae ipse legis oblitus), names Simon, Menander, Basilides,' etc.

Here three different writers are treated as one. With a show of frankness indeed (ne quid dissimulem) he confesses that in one point the fault is 'interpolatoris...non primi epistolarum auctoris,' but his language and his argument alike treat them as one person.

Besides all this discreditable confusion there is great unfairness in Daillé's treatment here. He first quotes from the Vossian text of *Smyrn.* 5 τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἄπιστα, οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἐγγράψαι κ.τ.λ., and then confronts the writer (the same writer, as he styles him) with his own inconsistency by referring to *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 6, as given in the text of the Long Recension, where certain heretics are named. But the author of the Long Recension knew what he was about. When he reached the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, he remembered that he had already mentioned names of several heretics in his interpolations of the Epistles to the Trallians and Philadelphians, and *in order to save his consistency* he inserted one little word, νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἐγγράψαι, 'I have not thought fit *at the present moment* to set down in writing.' The insertion is valuable, as indicating that the epistles of the Long Recension left their author's hands in the same order in which we have them.

probably by some Latin author (pp. 283, 438, 443, 474 sq.)? or that a reference to evangelical narratives or incidents not contained in the Canonical Gospels (*Smyrn.* 3) is an argument against the early date of the writings which contain them (p. 338 sq.)? or that an author who persistently distinguishes the first and second order of the Christian ministry, as bishops and presbyters respectively, could not have written during the second century (p. 386 sq.)? And again what shall we say of the hairsplitting in which he indulges? Thus he argues that the statement in *Smyrn.* 3 that Christ 'after His resurrection ate and drank with' the Apostles cannot have been written by an Apostolic father, because the Gospels only record that Christ ate (Luke xxiv. 42, 43), never that He drank, after the resurrection, and though they mention the Apostles eating and drinking with Him (Acts x. 41), they nowhere speak of His eating and drinking with them (p. 365).

This being the general character of the book, it is difficult to account for the extravagant eulogies which have been pronounced upon it in some quarters. More especially do the praises of critics like Bunsen (*I. v. A.* p. 239), who accept the Curetonian letters as genuine, appear out of place; for with very few exceptions Daillé's arguments, if valid at all, are equally valid against the Curetonian letters as against the Vossian. The literary ability of this work is undeniable; but it has contributed nothing, or next to nothing, of permanent value to the solution of the Ignatian question. Its true claim to our gratitude is of a wholly different kind. If Daillé had not attacked the Ignatian letters, Pearson would not have stepped forward as their champion.

Pearson's great work, *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, was published in 1672. It was incomparably the most valuable contribution to the subject which had hitherto appeared, with the single exception of Ussher's work. Pearson's learning, critical ability, clearness of statement, and moderation of tone, no where appear to greater advantage than in this work. If here and there an argument is overstrained, this was the almost inevitable consequence of the writer's position, as the champion of a cause which had been recklessly and violently assailed on all sides. The least satisfactory, though the most elaborate and ingenious, portion of the work is the defence of the passage describing Jesus Christ as God's 'Eternal Logos not having proceeded from Silence' (*Magn.* 8). The true solution was reserved for our own age, when the correct text has been restored by the aid of newly discovered authorities. But on the whole, compared with Daillé's attack, Pearson's reply was as light to darkness. In

England at all events his work seemed to be accepted as closing the controversy[1].

On the Continent one serious attempt at a reply was made. A work was published anonymously at Rouen in 1674 under the title *Observationes in Ignatianas Pearsonii Vindicias*, but the author is known to be Matthieu de Larroque. The main point of his attack is Pearson's defence of *Magn.* 8, as read in the existing text; and here he is not altogether unsuccessful. The rest of the work is quite unimportant. In later ages Continental writers here and there casually pronounced opinions more or less unfavourable to the Ignatian letters, and sometimes they supported their views by isolated objections. A catena of passages from such writers will be found in the Appendix to Cureton's *Vindiciae Ignatianae*. This was the state of the controversy fifty years ago. About that time the interest in the Ignatian question revived; and soon after the Curetonian discovery (A.D. 1845) added fresh fuel to the flame. Of its more recent history something has been said already (p. 268 sq.).

The cross lights thrown upon the main question of the genuineness by the history of the past controversies are highly confusing. A calm and impartial verdict would have been much assisted by an entire obliteration of this history, if it had been possible. Many side issues would have been avoided thereby, and many misleading prejudices removed.

The consideration of the genuineness of the Seven Epistles falls, as usual, under the two heads of External and Internal Evidence.

[1] The name of one great English scholar has been alleged, as an opponent of the genuineness. Cureton (*C. I.* p. xiv sq.) reports that he heard from an English bishop then living that 'Porson, after having perused the *Vindiciae*, had expressed to him his opinion that it was a "very unsatisfactory work",' and Bunsen (*I. v. A.* p. 239) gives the same report in a still more exaggerated form. The *obiter dictum* even of a Porson would be of little value, unless it could be shown that he had made a study not only of early Christian literature, but of this special subject; and of this we have no evidence. Cureton's report however has been investigated by the recent editor of Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. xii, ed. Churton, 1852), who traced the story to its fountain-head and learnt from Bishops Blomfield and Kaye, that Porson had once said in conversation with a friend that 'Pearson in his Vindiciae had not altogether satisfied him,' and that there the matter dropped without any words of explanation from Porson. There is no reason therefore for assuming that he referred to the main question. The expression would be quite satisfied by the elaborate disquisition on the Valentinian Sige, which occupies nearly 80 pages in Churton's edition, and which many others consider unsatisfactory, though holding the genuineness of the Ignatian letters.

1.

External Evidence.

Under the head of external evidence the EPISTLE OF POLYCARP holds the first place. It purports to have been written after Ignatius had left Philippi on his way to Italy (§ 9), but before the news of his martyrdom had reached that city (§ 13), though it is assumed that he is already dead. If this claim is allowed, it dates within a few months, possibly within a few weeks, of the time when the Ignatian letters profess to have been written. Thus it is contemporary evidence in the strictest sense—being immediate and direct. The only questions which we have to ask are, *first*, Whether the Epistle of Polycarp is genuine, and *secondly*, Whether it refers to the same Ignatian letters which we possess?

The first question will be answered at greater length, when I come to discuss the Epistle of Polycarp itself. For the present I need only say that, being vouched for by Irenæus the scholar of Polycarp, it has the highest authentication; that no anachronisms or incongruities have been proved against it; that the one great argument against its genuineness is the reference to the Ignatian letters; and that probably it would not have been seriously questioned if it had not contained this reference. Though the plea of the objectors may be garnished with other arguments, this is the real gravamen, as any one conversant with the Ignatian controversy will see. It should be added also, that no satisfactory explanation has been offered of the Epistle of Polycarp on the supposition that it is not genuine. The only plausible theory is that it was a forgery by the same hand which wrote the Ignatian letters. But an examination of the two writings is a complete refutation of this hypothesis. No two documents of early Christianity differ more widely in all the main characteristics by which identity or difference of authorship is tested.

Others however, who are not prepared to condemn the Epistle of Polycarp as a whole, have recourse to a theory of interpolation. The portion containing the notices of the Ignatian Epistles is supposed to be a later insertion. When the time comes, this theory will be fully discussed. At present it is sufficient to say that no part of the Epistle of Polycarp is so well authenticated as this conclusion, and that the references to Ignatius, compared with the Ignatian letters themselves, are such as to preclude this hypothesis.

The answer to the second question cannot admit of doubt. So long as it was a matter for argument whether the Vossian or the Curetonian letters represented the original form of the Ignatian Epistles, we might have hesitated to which of the two sets of letters the notices in Polycarp's Epistle referred. But after the investigation in the last chapter, the Vossian letters alone remain in the possession of the field. To these therefore the notice refers.

And the reference is unusually precise. Polycarp informs the Philippians that in compliance with their request he forwards to them 'the letters of Ignatius which were sent by him to us together with any others which we had in our possession (*καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν*).' These, he adds, are subjoined to his own letter; and he recommends them to the attention of the Philippians as tending in divers ways to edification. The description exactly accords with the letters of the existing collection. This collection begins with the Epistles to the Smyrnæans and to Polycarp (see above, p. 222). To these Polycarp evidently refers in the first clause. But in addition to these it contains five others—Ephesians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Trallians, Romans. Four out of the five purport to have been written while Ignatius was in Smyrna. The fifth—the letter to the Philadelphians—professes to have been written indeed from Troas; but the messenger, carrying it to Philadelphia, would probably pass through Smyrna on his way thither. Thus we see an easy explanation how copies of all the five letters not written to the Smyrnæans themselves might have been in Polycarp's possession. This however is not the only notice bearing on the Ignatian letters. Polycarp speaks likewise of having received instructions from the Philippians as well as from Ignatius himself, that whoever went to Syria should convey thither the Philippians' letter (§ 13). What were the contents of this Philippian letter, or why it should be sent, we are not told; but from the Epistles of Ignatius himself (*Polyc.* 8) we learn that he was giving instructions 'to all the churches' to send delegates, or at all events (where this was not possible) letters, to the brethren at Antioch to congratulate them on the restoration of peace. The reference also to the person who was to 'go to Syria' is illustrated by the Ignatian letters themselves. The Smyrnæans are there bidden to send some faithful and valued representative to Antioch to carry thither a letter from them; and this person is to constitute himself the bearer of letters from other churches likewise (*Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7, 8). This explains the expression *καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν γράμματα*, 'your letter *also*.' In the Ignatian letters indeed the writer contemplates Polycarp sending some one else

(*Polyc.* 8 τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου); whereas Polycarp himself regards the possibility of his going in person (*Phil.* 13 εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν). This shows the independence of the two documents, and thus it greatly enhances the value of the coincidences. Again, Ignatius speaks of this messenger to Syria as an ambassador (*Smyrn.* 11 θεοπρεσβευτήν, comp. *Philad.* 10 πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν); and accordingly Polycarp in the passage just quoted uses the same language (πρεσβεύσοντα) respecting him.

It is evident from these statements that Polycarp is familiar with these Ignatian letters. But, his mind being essentially receptive rather than originative, he is constantly citing indirectly and without any marks of quotation expressions from previous Christian writings, sometimes from the New Testament, sometimes from the Epistle of Clement of Rome. We should therefore expect his letter to contain reminiscences of these Ignatian Epistles. In this expectation we are not disappointed, as the passages quoted above (p. 128) abundantly show.

But Polycarp is not the only Christian writer of the second century who bears direct testimony to the Ignatian letters. IRENÆUS also, writing from fifty to eighty years later (A.D. 175—190), quotes from *Rom.* 4 (see above, pp. 135, 139); 'As one of our people said when condemned (κατακριθεὶς) to wild beasts, *I am the wheat of God, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.*' The quotation here is direct and obvious. Daillé however (p. 267, 434 sq.) contends that the allusion is not to the passage in the Roman Epistle but to some traditional saying of Ignatius, urging that Irenæus writes not *scripsit*, but *dixit* (εἶπε). He appeals moreover to Jerome's (*Vir. Ill.* 16) statement[1], 'Cumque jam damnatus esset ad bestias, ardore patiendi, cum rugientes audiret leones ait, *Frumentum etc.*,' as showing that the words were uttered by Ignatius *at the time of the martyrdom.* The right reading however is, 'Cumque jam damnatus esset ad bestias, et ardore patiendi rugientes audiret leones, etc.'; and this reading is most naturally understood to mean that in the fervour of his desire for martyrdom Ignatius already in imagination heard the lions roaring. It is a matter of no consequence however what Jerome says, inasmuch as he was unacquainted with the epistles themselves and in

[1] The passage is discussed below, II. p. 377; but the correct reading is there overlooked, and in consequence I have made a concession to the views of Daillé, so far as regards Jerome, which the passage, when correctly read, does not require. Jerome's meaning is correctly interpreted by Churton in a note to Pearson *Vind. Ign.* p. 189.

this account of Ignatius depends solely on the passage of Eusebius in which Irenæus is quoted (see above, p. 148, II. p. 377). If therefore he supposed the words to have been spoken at the time of the martyrdom, he has misinterpreted the εἶπεν of Irenæus, which in itself would apply equally well to written as to spoken words, though here in accordance with the general usage of Irenæus applied to the former[1].

[1] If the interpretation of this reference as applying to a written document be open to any objections, they must lie either (1) against the word, 'say' instead of 'write,' or (2) against the tense, 'said' instead of 'says.' But on neither point can they be sustained.

(1) The common usage of Irenæus is a direct answer to the objection on the first head. There must be from 800 to 1000 quotations, chiefly scriptural, in Irenæus from first to last (a considerable number however being quotations of our Lord's words); but I have not once observed a passage cited with γράφει or ἔγραψεν or γέγραφεν. The nearest approaches in the Greek are i. 8. 4 περὶ τῆς...συζυγίας γράφων ἔφη said of S. Paul, i. 9. 4 ὁ...διὰ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν στίχων γράφων οὕτως of a concatenation of Homeric verses, and v. 33. 4 ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ of Papias; and in the parts preserved only in Latin, v. 8. 1 'non enim erant sine carne quibus scribebat,' v. 13. 5 'hoc quod scribit.' In these Latin passages 'scribere' probably represents γράφειν; but we cannot feel sure of this, since in iii. 3. 3 ἐπέστειλεν... γραφήν (of Clement) is rendered 'scripsit literas.' Besides these expressions we have in scriptural quotations occasionally, but not frequently, γέγραπται and 'scriptum est.' It will be seen at once that not one of these examples is analogous to the case before us. Possibly however some passage may have escaped me, though I have gone (somewhat hastily) through the whole work. On the other hand incomparably the most usual form of introducing quotations is some modification of 'saying,' as λέγει, ἔλεγεν, φησίν, εἴρηκεν, εἶπεν, and in the Latin *dicit*, *dicebat*, *dixit*, *inquit*, *ait*, *refert*, with other parts of these same verbs. Sometimes again these forms are varied by μαρτυρεῖ, μέμνηται, μεμήνυκεν, διηγεῖται, ἐπεβόησεν, and the like. With these facts before us, we are justified in maintaining that Irenæus would almost certainly not have used γράφειν, when quoting Ignatius, and that he would most probably have used εἰπεῖν or λέγειν or some similar word.

(2) The *rationale* of the tenses in introducing quotations is as follows; (i) The present 'says' (λέγει, φησίν, etc.) can only be used where the reference is to an extant writing. It is most commonly employed of the literary author of the work, as Isaiah, David, Paul, Luke. But it is also used of any person who occupies a prominent place in the writing quoted and whose words are permanently recorded, as especially of Christ in the Gospels. The *perfect* (εἴρηκεν) is used in the same way as the present, and always implies a written document. (ii) On the other hand the *aorist* 'said' (εἶπεν, ἔφη) may be used equally of a written document and of oral tradition. For instances of the former use, with which alone we are here concerned, see i. 8. 2 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰπόντα of S. Paul (comp. i. 3. 1), i. 8. 5 καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν of John the Evangelist, i. 19. 1 εἰπόντα of Isaiah, i. 18. 1 ἐπέδειξεν εἰπών of Moses as the author of Genesis. Accordingly in i. 8. 5, in a succession of references to S. John's Gospel, Irenæus uses indifferently λέγει, φησίν, εἶπεν, ἔφη, εἴρηκεν, etc. So again, when quoting Justin, he employs the aorist in v. 26. 2 καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἔφη, but the present in iv. 6. 2 καὶ καλῶς Ἰουστῖνος...φησιν. So likewise in i. 8. 2

The same remark applies also to the writer of the *Roman Acts* of Ignatius (see below, II. p. 377 sq.), who certainly makes Ignatius utter these words in the arena (§ 10), and who likewise derived his information from Irenæus as quoted by Eusebius (see § 12). Daillé's assumption therefore is altogether gratuitous. The interests of sound criticism demand an emphatic protest against this practice of thrusting aside a known fact, and postulating in its stead an imaginary something which is beyond the reach of verification. But the passage of Irenæus suggests two further remarks. (1) In the first place; whatever Jerome or others may have supposed, the language of Irenæus himself places the saying of Ignatius at the same point of time as it is placed in the Epistle to the Romans. He does not say βαλλόμενος or βληθεὶς εἰς θηρία but κατακριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία, and this exactly represents the position of Ignatius when he wrote the epistle. (2) Secondly; the preceding context of the passage in Irenæus (extant only in the Latin) indicates a knowledge of the Ignatian letter to the Romans, as the comparison shows:

Propterea tribulatio necessaria est his qui salvantur, et quodammodo *contriti et attenuati et consparsi* per patientiam verbo Dei et *igniti* apti sunt ad convivium regis. Quemadmodum quidam, etc.

πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, [ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις,] σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος .... ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω (§ 5).

Here the three words 'contriti, attenuati, consparsi,' correspond to the three σκορπισμοί, συγκοπαί, ἀλεσμοί, the order however being reversed; and the coincidence in the mention of the fire is the more remarkable, as Ignatius was not, like Polycarp, burnt to death.

Nor is this the only coincidence with the letters of Ignatius which we find in Irenæus. Taken in conjunction with the direct quotation which we have first considered, the references given above (p. 135) furnish the strongest suggestion, short of absolute proof, that the other letters, besides the Roman, were known to this father. This is the case especially with the description of the heretics in *Trall.* 6 compared with Iren. i. 27. 4 (see II. p. 166), and in *Smyrn.* 4 compared with Iren. iii. 2. 3 (see II. p. 298). So again the censure of the Docetics in Iren. iv. 33. 5:

'Quemadmodum enim ipsi vere se putant disputare, quando magister eorum putativus fuit? Aut quemadmodum firmum quid habere possunt ab

we meet with ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν and ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι in contiguous clauses introducing two successive quotations.

Origen's quotation of Ignatius (see above, p. 136) 'memini aliquem sanctorum *dixisse*' is a close parallel.

eo, si putativus et non veritas erat? Quomodo autem ipsi salutem vere participare possunt, si ille in quem credere se dicunt semet ipsum putativum ostendebat? Putativum est igitur, et non veritas, omne apud eos: et nunc jam quaeretur, ne forte quum et ipsi homines non sint, sed muta animalia, hominum umbras apud plurimos perferant.'

The resemblance of this language to the two passages in the Ignatian letters, *Trall.* 10, *Smyrn.* 2—5, more especially the latter, will be evident at once. Not only is there the same insistence on the extension of *τὸ δοκεῖν*, as the logical consequence of their creed, so that their salvation, nay they themselves, are reduced to mere apparitions; but the images also bear a close resemblance (*θηρία ἀνθρωπόμορφα, ὧν νεκροφόρος*). Nor again does it seem to me altogether accidental that Irenæus in the context (§ 8) lays stress on love as paramount ('praecipuum dilectionis munus'), just as Ignatius does (*Smyrn.* 6 *τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη, ὧν οὐδὲν προκέκριται*: comp. *Magn.* 1 *πίστεως τε καὶ ἀγάπης ἧς οὐδὲν προκέκριται*)—both writers taunting these heretics with their neglect of it (*Smyrn.* 6 *περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, ib.* 7 *συνέφερε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν*) and both contrasting it (as it is contrasted in 1 Cor. viii. 1) either tacitly or explicitly with knowledge (*γνῶσις*) which was the boast of these heretics. Nor again is it insignificant that Irenæus, both here (§§ 9, 10) and when he resumes the mention of these Docetics a little later (v. 1. 2 'Vani enim sunt qui putative dicunt eum apparuisse'), lays stress on the testimony of Abraham and the prophets, on which Ignatius also lays stress (*Smyrn.* 5, 7; comp. *Magn.* 9, *Philad.* 5, 9), and like him also makes mention of the persecutions endured by them in consequence (*Magn.* 8 *διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν κ.τ.λ.*). Nor again can we fail to be struck by the fact that in the context of this second passage, arguing against these Docetics, he uses the very same expression (v. 1. 1 'et firme et vere') which Ignatius uses elsewhere when alluding to these heretics (*Magn.* 11 *πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως κ.τ.λ.*). Nor again does it seem to be a mere fortuitous coincidence, that both Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 7) and Irenæus (v. 2. 2, 3) in their respective contexts, though from a somewhat different point of view, treat the false spiritualism of Gnostic teachers as a denial that the eucharist is the flesh of Christ. Above all, I seem to see an allusion to Ignatius himself, when Irenæus appeals to the sufferings of the martyrs (iv. 33. 9) as a testimony against the Docetics, just as the writer's own sufferings are appealed to for the same purpose in the Ignatian letters (*Smyrn.* 4, *Trall.* 10). Nay, is there not in the context a reference to the image which occurs more than once in the Ignatian letters and is embodied in the martyr's own surname Theo-

phorus 'the God-bearer' (comp. *Ephes.* 9 πάντες Θεοφόροι.... Χριστοφόροι) in these words of Irenæus? 'Dominus apparuit in terris, cum martyribus nostris, quasi et ipse misericordiam consecutus, opprobrium simul bajulavit hominis, et cum eis ductus est, velut adjectio quaedam donata eis.' So again in the same context he speaks of the Church as suffering in the person of those who undergo persecution but 'anon growing fresh limbs and being restored to her integrity (statim augens membra et integra fiens),' herein employing language which closely resembles the Ignatian description of the recovery of the Church of Antioch after the restoration of peace (*Smyrn.* 11 ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον). In short the passages in Irenæus relating to the Docetic heretics are found, when examined carefully, to be instinct with the language and thoughts of the Ignatian letters, more especially of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans. It is no surprise to find these resemblances in a pupil of Polycarp.

Here then is the answer alike to Daillé (pp. 257 sq., 270 sq., 433 sq.), who maintains that Irenæus cannot have been acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans because he does not quote against heretics the other epistles which formed part of the same collection, and to Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. xxxi), who argues that the Epistle to the Romans cannot have formed part of the same collection with the other six because, though Ignatius certainly was acquainted with this one epistle, he betrays no knowledge of the others. But one point still remains to be considered. What amount of force is there in Daillé's assumption that, if Irenæus had known these letters, he must have quoted them against the heretics? This question is answered by reference to his practice in other cases. Why does he not quote Polycarp's Epistle, though he was certainly acquainted with it (iii. 3. 4), and though it contains not a few things (e.g. § 7) which would have served his purpose excellently? Why does he mention Clement of Rome and Papias once only, though they would have afforded abundant material useful for the end which he had in view? Why are only two passages cited from Justin Martyr, and these from works no longer extant, though Justin's extant writings would have furnished many more passages suitable for his purpose than the Ignatian Epistles? Why lastly does he entirely ignore other early Christian writers such as Melito and Dionysius of Corinth, or at least not quote them by name, though they wrote on kindred subjects and their writings must have been store-houses of serviceable quotations? Of the passages in the Ignatian Epistles which Daillé especially mentions, as likely to have been quoted, a considerable number are

taken from the Long Recension. With these we are not concerned. The fact is only mentioned here as illustrating the deliberate confusion with which Daillé has been charged above (p. 318). Of the rest the most important is the description of Jesus Christ in *Magn.* 8, as God's 'Eternal Word, not having proceeded from silence.' Though this expression does not directly contradict the Valentinian doctrine, as will be shown hereafter, yet it contradicts closely allied views, and might not unnaturally, though not necessarily, have been quoted by Irenæus against his opponents. But, as Ignatius wrote the passage, both the epithet and the negative were absent, so that the expression runs 'His Word having proceeded from silence.' Such language would certainly have been shunned by Irenæus, as approaching dangerously near to the very views which he was combating, and might even have led him to avoid directly quoting the doctrinal teaching of the Ignatian letters.

Asia Minor and Gaul were closely related both politically and ecclesiastically, as mother and daughter. Irenæus had been educated in the one country, and had migrated to the other. His testimony therefore represents both regions. But we have also independent evidence alike from Asia Minor and from Gaul during his life-time.

The LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS, giving the account of the Martyrdom of Polycarp (A.D. 155 or 156), shows an acquaintance with the Ignatian Epistles. The coincidences in the two passages quoted above (p. 129) cannot be accidental. On the latter no stress can be laid, as it occurs in a portion of the document which may be a later addition; but the former remains unassailable. Besides these there are other resemblances not unimportant. Thus §§ 2, 3, 'They that were condemned to the wild beasts endured dreadful tortures (*κολάσεις*)...for the devil (*ὁ διάβολος*) devised many things against them,' may be compared with *Rom.* 5 'Let evil tortures of the devil (*κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου*) attack me, etc.'; and § 6 'that he might make perfect his own lot (*τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ*)' with *Philad.* 5 'Your prayer shall make me perfect (*ἀπαρτίσει*) unto God that I may obtain the lot (*κλήρῳ*) wherein I found mercy.' So also the expression in § 7 *θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην* reminds us of *Smyrn.* 12 *θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον*. Again the account of Polycarp's moral attitude § 7 *τὸ εὐσταθές* corresponds with Ignatius' charge to this same person *Polyc.* 4 *εὐστάθει*, and the description of his final achievement § 17 *ἐστεφανωμένον τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον* and § 19 *τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβών* with Ignatius' exhortation to him *Polyc.* 2 *νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητής· τὸ θέμα ἀφθαρσία*. With these coincidences it would be somewhat sceptical to question a knowledge of the Igna-

tian Epistles on the part of the author or authors of this letter of the Smyrnæans[1].

The EPISTLE OF THE CHURCHES OF VIENNE AND LYONS records the martyrdoms in those cities under M. Aurelius and was written about A. D. 177. It represents the voice of the daughter Church in Gaul, as the other represented the voice of the mother Church in Asia Minor. The parallels with the Ignatian Epistles here are slighter than in the Letter of the Smyrnæans, as perhaps we might have expected; but they are noticeable. One or two of these are given above, p. 133. Other coincidences are the metaphor of *δροσίζεσθαι* 'to be sprinkled with dew, refreshed' (§ 6, comp. *Magn.* 14), of the 'birth-pangs' of martyrdom (§ 13 *ὥσπερ ὠδίνων*, comp. *Rom.* 6 *ὁ τόκετός μοι ἐπίκειται*), of a 'woven crown' of human beings (§ 11 *ἕνα πλέξαντες στέφανον*, comp. *Magn.* 13 *ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου*), of the 'fragrance' and the 'ointment' of Christ (§ 10, comp. *Ephes.* 17). So again they have certain words and phrases in common, as *ἀναζωπυρεῖν* (§ 12, comp. *Ephes.* 1), *εὐσυνείδητος* (§ 11, comp. *Magn.* 4, *Philad.* 6), *θηρίων βορά* (§ 11, comp. *Rom.* 4), *οἰκονομία Θεοῦ* (§ 10, comp. *Ephes.* 18), *ἐνέδρα* of Satan (§ 4, comp. *Trall.* 8, *Philad.* 6), *κλῆρος* of martyrs (§§ 3, 7, 11, comp. *Rom.* 1, *Trall.* 12, *Philad.* 5), *πεπιστευμένος διακονίαν* of ministerial office (§ 9, comp. *Magn.* 6). So again both documents regard martyrdom as making a man a 'genuine' or 'true disciple of Christ' (§ 3 *γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητής*, comp. *Rom.* 4 *μαθητὴς ἀληθὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*), and in both the prayers of those addressed are asked that the petitioners may be crowned with martyrdom (§ 17, *Trall.* 12, *Rom.* 4). In like manner there is a striking resemblance of diction, though the subject is somewhat different, between § 6 *ἀνωρθώθη τὸ σωμάτιον...καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν ἀπέλαβε τὴν προτέραν*, and *Smyrn.* 11 *ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωμάτιον* [*σωματεῖον*].

The testimony of the documents hitherto considered is especially valuable as coming from those churches which were likely to be well informed. If the Ignatian Epistles were mostly written, as they purport to have been written, to or from Smyrna, if the first collection of these epistles was made, as it professes to have been made, by an early bishop of Smyrna, then the voice of the Smyrnæan Church and of her Gallican dependencies is of supreme importance in deciding the question of their genuineness.

[1] I have to thank a correspondent for calling my attention to some of these coincidences in this and the following document, which I should otherwise have overlooked.

But second only to the voice of these churches stands the testimony of a wholly different writer. LUCIAN, the pagan satirist, was born at Samosata in Syria, and is stated to have practised as an advocate in Antioch. He travelled far and wide. Among other countries he visited those parts of Asia Minor—Ionia and Bithynia—where the Christians were most numerous. Though he wrote purer classical Greek than any writer of his time, his native tongue was Syriac. His satire spared nothing in heaven or earth. Among the chief butts of his ridicule was one whom he represented as the typical charlatan, half-fanatic, half-impostor—Peregrinus, surnamed Proteus from his frequent transformations of character[1]. The self-immolation of this person at the Olympian games in A.D. 165 made him famous throughout the world. This incident is the main feature in Lucian's satire *De Morte Peregrini*, which appears to have been written soon after the event. There seems to be no ground for doubting the historical character of this incident[2]; but the accessories of the story are open to more question. Lucian apparently takes Peregrinus as a peg on which he hangs in turn different forms of charlatanry, or of what seems to him to be such. Two types more especially are brought prominently forward—the two which would especially strike the mind of Lucian as the most bizarre developments of life which prevailed on any noticeable scale in his day. Peregrinus is represented as first a Christian and then a Cynic. There was superficial resemblance enough between the two to render this combination, which seems altogether incongruous to us, quite natural in the eyes of Lucian's heathen contemporaries[3]. Whether Peregrinus ever was a Christian or not, we have no means of ascer-

[1] The passages are quoted above, p. 129. The tract of J. Bernays on this satire, *Lucian u. die Kyniker*, Berlin 1879, should be read, though it deals only incidentally with Lucian's views of the Christians.

[2] It is however doubted by Baur *Die drei ersten Jahrhunderte* p. 396.

[3] The resemblance is noted by Aristides *Op.* II. p. 402, who speaks of the Cynics as τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ δυσσεβέσι παραπλήσιοι τοὺς τρόπους, a passage quoted by Bernays (p. 139); but it may be questioned whether Jews are not intended here rather than Christians.

Bernays (p. 31) remarks on the strict monotheism and opposition to idolatry in the Cynics as a point of contact. In their practice of public disputation and preaching also they resembled the Christians. Origen *c. Cels.* iii. 18 (quoted by Bernays, p. 93) demands the same immunity for the Christians in this respect which was accorded to certain Cynics (τῶν Κυνικῶν τινες δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας διαλεγόμενοι). The picture which Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* 8, p. 276 sq., ed. Reiske) draws of Diogenes disputing and declaiming at the Isthmian games contains not a few touches which enable us to realize the attitude of S. Paul at the same place and on a similar occasion.

taining; nor has the question any material bearing on our subject. Neither again need we trouble ourselves to consider whether Lucian's primary aim was not ridicule of the Cynics rather than of the Christians[1]. We are concerned solely with his ideas respecting the Christians and their doings. His knowledge of the two chief languages of Christendom at this time would materially assist him in acquiring information; and, as a great traveller, he would not lack the opportunities.

At an early part of his narrative Peregrinus is described in an expression which closely resembles the language used by Ignatius of himself. He is 'made a prisoner in Syria' (§ 4 *τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ δεθέντα*, comp. *Ephes.* 1 *δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας*). After some vicissitudes and wanderings he 'thoroughly mastered the marvellous wisdom of the Christians in Palestine, associating with their priests and scribes (*τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν*).' So apt a scholar was he, that he rose to pre-eminence as their 'prophet and band-leader and synagogue-convener' (*προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεύς*). In fact they were mere children compared with him. He interpreted and explained their books, and indeed composed many of them himself. Nay, they regarded him as a god and looked up to him as a lawgiver and patron (*προστάτην*). For his Christianity Peregrinus was put in prison; and his imprisonment was as fuel to his passion for notoriety. The narrative then continues as follows:

'When he was imprisoned, the Christians, taking the matter to heart, left no stone unturned in the endeavour to rescue him. Then, when this was found to be impossible, they looked after his wants in every other respect with unremitting care and zeal. And from the first break of day old women —widows they are called[2]—and orphan children might be seen waiting about the doors of the prison; while their officers (*οἱ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν*), by bribing the keepers, succeeded in passing the night inside with him. Then various meals were brought in, and sacred formularies of theirs were repeated (*λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο*): and this fine fellow Peregrinus—for he still bore this name—was entitled a new Socrates by them. Moreover there came from certain of the cities in Asia deputies sent by the Christian com-

[1] Bernays seems to have shown that Lucian's satire was aimed directly at the Cynics and only glanced incidentally at the Christians.

[2] This is the force of *γράδια χήρας τινάς*. So again lower down (§ 41) we have *διαθήκας τινάς*. In both cases Lucian uses technical terms of the Christians, which he only imperfectly understands. In the former he alludes to the *order* of widows (1 Tim. v. 9); and it is worthy of notice that Ignatius himself salutes the widows at Smyrna (*Smyrn.* 13 see the note II. p. 323 sq.), from whom probably when a prisoner there he had received attentions similar to those which the widows are represented by Lucian as paying to Peregrinus.

munities to assist and advise and console the man. Indeed the alacrity they display is incredible, when any matter of the kind is undertaken as a public concern; for in short they spare for nothing. Accordingly large sums of money came to Peregrinus at that time from them, on the plea of his bonds, and he made no inconsiderable revenue out of it. For the poor wretches have persuaded themselves that they will be altogether immortal and will live for ever, and with this in view they actually despise death (*καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου*) and the greater part of them give themselves up voluntarily (*ἑκόντες αὑτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί*).'

Peregrinus was ultimately released. After other vicissitudes he went forth again on his wanderings, drawing ample supplies from the Christians (*ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια ἔχων τοὺς χριστιανούς*), 'by whom he was attended as by a body-guard (*ὑφ' ὧν δορυφορούμενος*), and so enjoyed abundance of everything.' At length he offended the Christians. He was detected, so Lucian believes, eating something which was forbidden in their eyes (*τί... ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς*). Then he became a Cynic. Of his subsequent life previous to his self-immolation we are told that 'he sailed to Italy and immediately on disembarking began to revile every one, especially the king, knowing him to be most gentle and mild, so that he ventured with impunity.' Then comes the suicide. In the preparation of the funeral pyre and in the incidents of the burning we are reminded of the martyrdom of Polycarp, but of this I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. After the account of his death Lucian adds:

'They say that he despatched letters to nearly all the famous cities—testaments forsooth (*διαθήκας τινὰς*) and admonitions and laws: and certain of his companions he nominated (*ἐχειροτόνησε*) for this business, calling them death-messengers and infernal-couriers.'

And lower down again he reminds Cronius, 'You have known these facts long since, having heard me at the time when I came from Syria relate how I had sailed with him from Troas.'

A tradition spoke of Lucian as an apostate from Christianity, like Julian. This does not seem probable. The strange jumble of titles, Jewish and heathen, which he heaps on Peregrinus (*προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεύς*), and the description of the respect paid to him, are unlike the language of one who had any intimate knowledge of Christian modes of thought and life—even after all allowance is made for the license of the satirist. So again the account of the offence which led to his expulsion from the sect, and which apparently refers to some profanation of the eucharist, suggests the same inference. But a

gossiping acquaintance with their doings, and probably also a superficial glance at some of their writings, is suggested by the narrative. We must not indeed overlook the confusion—probably studied and intentional—of men and things. Christian and Cynic, Ignatius and Polycarp, unite in one. In a nearly contemporary writing, the *Clementine Homilies*, in the same way the chief villain of the story, Simon Magus, combines in himself all those teachers whom the writer wished to stigmatize as heretical—notably S. Paul and Marcion. This is a common expedient in such fictions. Bearing this in mind we recognize how largely the whole description is charged with early Christian ideas, even in the portions which do not refer to the Christian career of Peregrinus. The comparison with the phœnix recalls the analogy of the Resurrection as drawn out by Clement of Rome (§ 25). The prediction of the Sibyl reminds us of the taunt of Celsus, who called the Christians Sibyllists on account of their partiality for these fabulous oracles (Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 61; see *S. Clement of Rome* p. 167 sq.). The marvellous works of healing ascribed to the hero of the story are a counterpart to the miracles of the Gospel.

Accordingly it is no surprise to find that the resemblances to the story of Ignatius are not restricted to the Christian career of Peregrinus, but extend through the whole. These coincidences are too many and too obvious to be overlooked, and have commanded the assent even of opponents of the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles, such as Baur[1] and Renan[2]. The latter more especially repeats more than once his belief that Lucian alludes to Ignatius and his letters. The first place of captivity, certain cities mentioned on the route, the attendance of the believers at the prison, the bribing of the guard, the embassies from the Churches of Asia, the Christian 'escort' of the prisoner, the confronting and defying of the emperor, the letters sent and the messengers despatched by Peregrinus on the eve of his death—all these points of coincidence taken together are far too numerous to be the result of

[1] *Apollonius von Tyana u. Christus* p. 137 sq., republished in *Drei Abhandlungen* etc., 1876. It is suggested by the editor in a note, that at a later date, when convinced of the spuriousness of the Ignatian letters, Baur would have come to a somewhat different conclusion. This is by no means certain, as the case of Renan shows. In *Die drei Ersten Jahrhunderte* p. 395 sq. when discussing Lucian, he is silent on this subject.

[2] See especially *Les Évangiles* p. 493, 'Il n'est guère douteux que Lucien n'ait emprunté aux récits sur Ignace' etc., and he says in a note (p. 494) that Lucian 'may very well have had in his hands the collection of the seven pseudo-Ignatian letters': see also *ib.* pp. x sq., 488, *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 465, *Marc Aurèle* p. 376.

mere accident. The last-mentioned point of resemblance more especially challenges attention. The description of these delegates is a lively caricature of the language of the Ignatian letters. The coincidences have been considered already (p. 275); and it is only necessary here to add that, in designating the letters of Peregrinus 'testaments' and 'laws,' Lucian seems to have confused the Epistles of Ignatius with the Scriptures, just as in a previous passage (§ 11) he relates of Peregrinus, then a Christian, that he 'interpreted and explained some of the books (of the Christians) and *himself composed many*.'

It has thus appeared that the primary evidence for the Ignatian letters is exceptionally good, being both early, precise, and varied. As regards the testimony of the next generations, comprising the last decades of the second century and the earlier decades of the third, we can only say that it does not differ in character or extent from that which is forthcoming in similar cases. The coincidences with the Ignatian Epistles during this period are indicated above (p. 133 sq.)[1]. They are not sufficient in themselves to establish the existence of the Ignatian letters; but reinforcing the earlier evidence, they are valuable, as a link of continuity between the testimony of the preceding and succeeding ages. One witness indeed, belonging to the period of which I am speaking, would be exceptionally important, if we could only be sure that we had before us the real person. THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, as a successor of Ignatius in the same see while the memory of the martyr was still fresh, would have the best right to be heard. The coincidence (see p. 134) with the Ignatian letters in the Commentary bearing his name is sufficiently close; but unfortunately the suspicions which overcloud the authorship of this work have not been altogether removed.

Towards the middle of the third century ORIGEN again furnishes us with precise evidence (see above, p. 136). Besides two direct quotations (*Rom.* 7, *Ephes.* 19), there is at least one indirect appropriation of the language of Ignatius (*Rom.* 3), and probably others might be found, if this father's works were carefully searched for the purpose. The

[1] To the coincidences quoted above (p. 135) from the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* should be added § 5 'nos non in nostra potestate esse constitutos, sed in Dei'; comp. *Polyc.* 7 χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει. This document is closely connected with Tertullian (see *de Anim.* 55); and the Ignatian Epistles, if known to the writers of these Acts, were likely to be known to this father also. Thus the parallels in the one tend to confirm the inference drawn from the parallels in the other.

reference to the existing Ignatian letters is undeniable. The only question is whether the Curetonian or the Vossian letters are the source of quotation. Of this question I have already disposed (see above, pp. 274, 276).

During the next few decades there was no great literary activity in the Christian Church; and the extant remains are exceptionally meagre. It is very rarely that we find in these any notice which throws light on the earlier literature of Christendom. In the case of Ignatius however we have one quotation, though not by name, in Peter of Alexandria (see above, p. 137). If indeed we could with confidence assign the *Apostolical Constitutions* to this period (and seemingly they ought not to be placed later), the evidence would be largely reinforced; for the influence of the Ignatian letters is perceptible again and again in this work (see above, p. 136).

Eusebius of Cæsarea is separated from Origen by a period of half a century or more; but Pamphilus is a link of connexion between the two. Reasons are given above (p. 276) for supposing that with respect to the Ignatian literature Eusebius availed himself of the same sources of information from which Origen had before drawn. If so, the evidence which he supplies is carried back to the earlier half of the third century, when Origen lived and wrote. However this may be, the account of the Ignatian letters in Eusebius is so full and so definite, that it needs no comment and leaves nothing to be desired (see above, p. 137 sq.).

From the age of Eusebius onward the testimony is of the most varied kind. The Ignatian Epistles appear whole or in part, not only in the original Greek, but in Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Latin, and (at least in quotations) Arabic. They are abridged, expanded, and imitated. They are quoted equally by orthodox Catholics and Monophysite heretics. No early Christian writing outside the Canon is attested by witnesses so many and so various in the ages of the Councils and subsequently.

And in this many-tongued chorus there is not one dissentient voice. Throughout the whole period of Christian history before the Reformation, not a suspicion of their genuineness is breathed, though they were quoted in controversy, and not a few disputants were deeply interested in denying their genuineness. Even spurious and interpolated Ignatian matter is accepted on the credit of the more authentic epistles. One witness indeed has been called against them; but, when cross-questioned, he entirely fails to substantiate the case which he was summoned to support. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople

(† A.D. 828), adds to his *Chronography* a *Stichometria* or list of the Books of the Old and New Testament with the number of στίχοι or verses in each. This list comprises three divisions: (1) The Canonical books universally received by the Church (*θεῖαι γραφαὶ ἐκκλησιαζόμεναι καὶ κεκανονισμέναι*). (2) 'Those which are disputed' (*ὅσαι ἀντιλέγονται*). This section comprises in the Old Testament (roughly speaking) the deutero-canonical books included in the ordinary Greek Bibles, e.g. Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, etc.; and in the New Testament these four, the Apocalypse of S. John, the Apocalypse of S. Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews. (3) The 'Apocryphal' books of the Old and New Testaments (*ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκρυφα*).

Under this third head the Old Testament list is made up of such books as Enoch, the Twelve Patriarchs, Eldad and Modad, etc., ending with

10. Of Zachariah the father of John, 500 verses.
11. Of Baruch, Habakuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel, spurious works (*ψευδεπίγραφα*).

In like manner the New Testament list, which will be found above (p. 213), ends,

6. Of Clement the First and Second (Epistles)[1], 2600 verses.
7. Of Ignatius, Polycarp, the Shepherd, and Hermas.

On this passage Daillé (pp. 242 sq., 460) lays great stress, as Saumaise had done before him. Nicephorus, he argues, held the highest position in the Church, and personally enjoyed a great reputation. Therefore his opinion reflects the feeling of the Greek Church in his age. Moreover his work was translated into Latin later in the same century by Anastasius the Librarian, without any word or mark of disapproval. From this we may infer the sentiment of the Latin Church on this question. This tremendous structure piled upon this sandy foundation crumbles at the first touch of criticism. For

(i) At the outset, it must seem strange that Nicephorus should condemn at one breath all the writings of the three Apostolic Fathers, Clement[2], Ignatius, and Polycarp, though not a single writer before

[1] The text, as read by Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 128), ran Κλήμεντος λβ; but no explanation could be given of these 32 books. Pearson therefore (p. 130) conjectured, 'Quid si pro ΑΒ legamus ΑΒ... et duas Clementis Epistolas intelligamus'? His conjecture has since been confirmed by manuscript authority; see Credner *Zur Geschichte des Kanons* p. 122.

[2] Inconsistently with the conjecture mentioned in the last note, Pearson (p. 154 sq.) maintains that in the instances of Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius, not the extant Epistles but a *διδαχή* or *διδασκαλία* in each case is meant (see

him had ever questioned the genuineness of any of these, except the Second Epistle ascribed to Clement. Such a phenomenon would be astounding; and, if this were his meaning, the opinion of Nicephorus would be irretrievably discredited. But

(ii) We have direct evidence that Nicephorus did accept writings bearing the name of Ignatius as genuine. Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 126) could only infer this indirectly from the fact that Nicephorus elsewhere expresses his adhesion to 'the doctrines and works of all the eminent (ἐκκρίτων) and blessed fathers' (*Epist. ad Leon.* p. 193, ed. Migne); but later discovery has furnished us with a passage of Nicephorus, not accessible to him, in which this father directly quotes the Ignatian Epistle to the Philippians (see above, p. 213) as authoritative against his adversaries. It is therefore certain that whatever else he may have meant by including Ignatius among the Apocrypha, he cannot have intended to condemn the Ignatian letters as spurious. But again,

(iii) The classification itself shows that 'apocryphal' (ἀπόκρυφα) here is not a synonyme for 'spurious.' The writings under discussion are classed either as (1) undoubtedly canonical, (2) doubtfully canonical, and (3) undoubtedly uncanonical. This last class would include all writings which, having at any time put forward pretensions to canonicity, were unanimously rejected by the Church when the author of this *Stichometria* wrote. Thus for instance the Epistles of Clement were attached to MSS of the New Testament and treated as Scripture—the First more especially, which was publicly read in many churches as late as Eusebius and later (see *Clement of Rome, Appendix*, p. 272). Again the Shepherd of Hermas is quoted as in some sense Scripture by Irenæus and others, and was treated as such in some churches (see Harnack *Proleg.* p. xlv sq.). So likewise we have it on the authority of Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 17), that Polycarp's Epistle was read even in his time 'in conventu Asiae,' whatever this may mean. All these writings

above, p. 250 sq.). He supports this view by an appeal to another list of canonical and uncanonical books found in some MSS (*Barocc.* 206, *Reg. Paris.* 1789; see Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* I. p. 197 (1724), Hody *de Bibliorum Textibus* p. 649, Westcott *History of the Canon*, p. 550), which includes among the Apocrypha

κα'. Διδασκαλία Κλημέντος
κβ'. Ἰγνατίου διδασκαλία
κγ'. Πολυκάρπου διδασκαλία.

Of such a work bearing the name of Clement we know; but no record is preserved of any ascribed either to Polycarp or to Ignatius. We must therefore suppose (what indeed the inversion of its position suggests) that some ill-informed transcriber added the word διδασκαλία in the two latter cases.

The fact that our author (whether Nicephorus or another) separates 'the Shepherd' from 'Hermas' betrays his ignorance of some at least of the writings of which he speaks.

therefore are excluded by name from the Canon in this *Stichometria*. Of Ignatius no similar record is preserved. The only ecclesiastical use of his epistles which I have observed is the selection of lessons from them for Ignatius' own festival and for one particular Sunday, as noted above (p. 103). But probably the notice in Nicephorus refers to some wider use, known to him either directly or indirectly. It is indeed plain that ἀπόκρυφα here cannot mean 'spurious'; for in this case the classification would not be exhaustive. There would then be no place in it for writings which, though written by the authors whose names they bore, did not deserve a place in the Scriptural Canon. Nor is any violence done by this interpretation to the history and usage of the term. For

(iv) The word ἀπόκρυφα does not necessarily imply spuriousness, though it frequently connotes this idea. Hence Nicephorus himself in the Old Testament list, as quoted already (p. 337), when he wants to describe certain writings as forgeries, uses another word, ψευδεπίγραφα. The term ἀπόκρυφα, as applied to sacred writings, denotes in the first instance secret, esoteric works, which would probably be magical or mystical. In this sense it is pre-Christian. Thus Callimachus says γράμματα δ' οὐχ εἵλισσαν ἀπόκρυφα (Ammon. s.v. γράμμα). As referring to Christian books, the word passes through the following stages of meaning. (1) In its earliest usage it signifies those books which were held in reserve and studied privately, as opposed to those which were publicly recognized and read in the churches; Orig. *Epist. ad Afric.* 9 (*Op.* I. p. 19 sq.) ὧν τινα σώζεται ἐν ἀποκρύφοις... ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν φανερῶν βιβλίων γεγραμμένα...ἔν τινι ἀποκρύφῳ τοῦτο φέρεται (of Isaiah's being sawn asunder), *Comm. in Matt.* X. § 18 (*Op.* III. p. 465) ὁ σωτὴρ ἐδίδαξε μαρτυρῶν, ὡς οἶμαι, γραφῇ μὴ φερομένῃ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ δεδημευμένοις βιβλίοις, εἰκὸς δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἀποκρύφοις φερομένῃ (of the murder of Zacharias the son of Barachias), Didym. Alex. *Fragm. in Act.* p. 1669 (ed. Migne) ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ εἴρηταί που ἐν ταῖς δεδημοσιευμέναις βίβλοις, ἐν ἀποκρύφοις λεγέται ὅτι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ (of the translation of Enoch). (2) But, inasmuch as such books were especially affected by heretics, by whom they were not unfrequently forged, it came next, as used by orthodox writers, to connote the ideas of 'spurious' and 'heretical,' as e.g. in Iren. i. 20. 1 ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν ἃς αὐτοὶ ἔπλασαν, Tertull. *de Pudic.* 10 'inter apocrypha et falsa,' in which passages however the studied juxtaposition of the two words shows that they were by no means synonymous. On the other hand the term, as used by the heretics themselves, would be an honourable designation, seeing that these books contained their esoteric teaching

and were placed in the hands of the initiated alone; see Clem. *Strom.* i. 15 (p. 357) *βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε οἱ τὴν* Προδίκου *μετίοντες αἵρεσιν αὐχοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι*, *ib.* iii. 4 (p. 524), Hippol. *Haer.* v. 7, 22, 23, 24, 27, etc. But (3) from this association of ideas the word was invested with a still further meaning, 'non-canonical,' whether the writing in question was genuine or spurious. It is in this sense that Jerome in his *Prologus Galeatus* classes such books as the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach* 'inter apocrypha,' adding in explanation 'non sunt in Canone'; and that in the so-called *Decretum Gelasii* (Credner *zur Geschichte des Kanons* p. 221) we find entered 'Historia Eusebii Pamphili apocrypha', and other patristic works of questioned orthodoxy are similarly described there, because (as it is explained at the commencement of the chapter) 'a catholicis vetanda sunt.'

It will have appeared from this investigation that the entry in the *Stichometria* has no bearing on the genuineness of the Ignatian letters. We may therefore dismiss from our consideration the question whether this document is correctly assigned to Nicephorus or not. It may be mentioned however in passing that the three-fold classification is not likely to have been drawn up after the decree of the Trullan Council (A.D. 692), which settled definitively for the Greek Church what books were and what were not canonical, and that it contains other indications also of an earlier date than Nicephorus[1]. If so, Nicephorus must have appended to his Chronology this pre-existing document as likely to interest his readers. But so far as regards Ignatius, the case is not materially altered by this hypothesis; for the last entry was apparently no part of the original document, as the omission of the number of verses shows, and might well have been added by Nicephorus himself. The author of this last entry, whoever he may have been, seems to have swept together under one head any other uncanonical writings of which he had heard, besides those already contained in the *Stichometria*.

2.

Internal Evidence.

Having ascertained that the external testimony is exceptionally strong, we turn next to the internal evidence, and proceed to enquire whether it yields such results as to oblige the reversal of the judgment to which we have been irresistibly led by the previous investigation.

[1] See Credner *l. c.* p. 100 sq.

Our present enquiry may be conveniently ranged under five heads: (i) The Historical and Geographical Circumstances; (ii) The Theological Polemics; (iii) The Ecclesiastical Conditions; (iv) The Literary Obligations; (v) The Personality of the Writer; and (vi) The Style and Diction of the Letters.

(i) *Historical and Geographical Circumstances.*

The *condemnation* and *journey* to Rome have furnished much food for controversy. The sentence of Ignatius in itself was not indeed open to any objection. It is manifest on all hands that from the very first the Christians, when condemned, were sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre. The allusions to this mode of punishment are both early and frequent. But exception has been taken to the long journey to Rome, as improbable in itself and unsupported by any analogy.

It might perhaps be sufficient to urge in reply that this story of Ignatius, whether true or false, was certainly believed before the close of the second century, as the existence of the Ignatian letters themselves shows. To those most competent to form an opinion therefore it suggested no improbability. Indeed we may be sure that no forger would have selected as the central incident of his forgery a fiction which would discredit and stultify his whole work by its inherent impossibility. Hence critics like Renan have without hesitation accepted the story, quite independently of the genuineness of the letters, which they regard as an ulterior question[1]. Indeed, when we reflect on the enormous scale of these games in the amphitheatre in imperial times, it must be clear that the demand could only be supplied by contributions from the provinces. The magnitude of these exhibitions culminated under Trajan, who thus pandered to the passions of the Roman populace (see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* II. pp. 127, 142, 188, 222)[2]. After his second Dacian triumph in A.D. 106 he celebrated

[1] *Les Évangiles* p. 486 'Ce fait [the existence of these letters] suffit pour prouver la réalité du martyre d'Ignace etc.'; see also p. x sq.

[2] The language in which the younger Pliny (*Paneg.* 33, 34) commends Trajan for these exhibitions is highly instructive; 'Visum est spectaculum...quod ad pulchra vulnera contemptumque mortis accenderet, cum in servorum etiam noxiorumque corporibus amor laudis et cupido victoriae cerneretur. Quam deinde in edendo liberalitatem, quam justitiam exhibuit, omni affectione aut intactus aut major. Impetratum est quod postulabatur; oblatum quod non postulabatur'. The inhuman savagery of this wholesale bloodshed does not for a moment trouble the panegyrist. The emperor is lauded because he gave the people more of it than

games which lasted a hundred and twenty-three days, and in which about 11,000 wild and tame beasts were slaughtered and 10,000 gladiators fought (Dion Cass. lxviii. 15). For these murderous contests the provincial governors must have had orders far and wide to supply human victims as well as animals. Thus we must picture companies of soldiers, like those who guarded Ignatius, converging from all quarters of the empire to Rome, and bringing thither their several contingents of victims, whom they had gathered on their route, just as the escort of Ignatius appears to have picked up prisoners at Philippi on the way (Polyc. *Phil.* 9), and probably others elsewhere of whom nothing is told us.

But indeed we are not left to conjecture on this point. There is direct evidence that the provinces were requisitioned for this purpose. In the *Digests* passages are quoted from the work of the jurist Modestinus, who wrote during the reign of Alexander Severus and later, *On Punishments*, as follows:

'The governor ought not, as a favour to the people, to release persons condemned to wild-beasts; but, if they are of such strength or skill that they would make a worthy spectacle for the Roman people, he ought to consult the emperor[1]. Howbeit it is made unlawful by a rescript of the deified Severus and of Antoninus for condemned criminals to be transferred from one province to another without the permission of the emperor[2].'

This passage implies, (1) That persons condemned to wild-beasts, like Ignatius, were very commonly sent to Rome, and that the spectacles in the metropolis were held paramount in importance, so that the wishes of the provincials were sacrificed to them; (2) That it was not unusual to transfer such persons from one province to another where a victim was wanted for provincial games, and that even this latter practice was only limited by a rescript of the joint emperors Severus and Caracalla, which required the permission of the emperor in such cases[3].

they asked for. Pliny's panegyric was written before the Dacian triumph, and he is therefore referring to the earliest years of Trajan's reign.

[1] Not for leave to send them to Rome, as Hilgenfeld supposes (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 99), but for leave to release them, as the context shows.

[2] *Digest.* xlviii. 19. 31 '*Idem* [*Modestinus*] libro tertio *de Poenis*. Ad bestias damnatos favore populi praeses dimittere non debet; sed si ejus roboris vel artificii sint ut digne populo Romano exhiberi possint, principem consulere debet. Ex provincia autem in provinciam transduci damnatos sine permissu principis non licere divus Severus et Antoninus rescripserunt'.

[3] Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. 487, note 1) writes, 'Si ejus roboris vel artificii sint ut digne populo Romano exhiberi possunt, Digeste l. c. Cette coutume ne commença d'être abolie que par Antonin'. Here is a double mistake; (1) The practice which was abolished or rather restricted by the rescript in question, was the prac-

So far therefore as regards the mere fact of the transportation to Rome, we find nothing in this instance which must not have occurred in thousands of cases besides. But difficulties have been found likewise in the circumstances attending this transportation. Do these difficulties rest on any substantial basis?

Criticism inevitably goes astray unless it is guided and tempered by a historic imagination, which can throw itself into the probabilities of the case. In this instance it has been altogether at fault. Ignatius has been regarded as accompanied by ten soldiers, who had nothing else to do but to watch him, to whom collectively he was chained day and night without a moment's intermission, who controlled his every movement, who had directions to suppress every interchange of companionship and every expression of sympathy, and who performed to the letter the charge thus laid upon them.

The picture is absurd. Soldiers were not so numerous even in the Roman empire, that ten men could be spared to guard a single provincial convict of comparatively low rank, a convict moreover from whom the State had nothing to fear. Plainly the guardianship of Ignatius was not their absorbing care. It was sufficient if one, or at most two, were chained to him at any given time. They had manifold other duties besides. Probably, as I have already indicated, they had in their custody other prisoners, whom they gathered up on their route. Nor indeed, provided that they were absolutely certain of his safe keeping, would his attachment to a soldier by a chain be rigorously enforced. The 'day and night' must be interpreted, as it would be interpreted in any other case, with a reasonable regard to the probabilities of the case.

But his guards are represented as allowing his Christian friends free access to him, and permitting him to write letters to distant churches, thus giving him opportunities of disseminating the very doctrines for which he had been condemned.

Why should they not? To us, who are wise after the event, Ignatius is a highly important personage, a saint and martyr and doctor of the Church; but to his heathen contemporaries he was a mere pro-

tice of sending these human victims into another province to meet their death, and had nothing to do with sending them to Rome. (2) The Antoninus meant is not Antoninus Pius or M. Aurelius, as Renan evidently supposes, but Antoninus Caracalla, the son and colleague of Severus, and therefore dates between A.D. 198—A.D. 211, during which period they were joint emperors. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 65) is correct on the first point, but he explains the emperors as Antoninus (Pius) and (Septimius or Alexander) Severus. Hilgenfeld falls into the first error (*Apost. Väter* p. 216) and into the second (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 99).

vincial without rank or position, a religious fanatic, whose delusion would soon be scattered to the winds like its thousand and one predecessors. The last idea, which would have occurred to any of his guards, would be that the sect of the Nazarenes could ever set its foot on the neck of imperial Rome. He had been condemned probably to gratify some popular caprice. His sole value in their eyes was as a victim for the wild beasts in the Flavian Amphitheatre. Provided that he did not escape, their end was attained. And meanwhile why should they not make a little money out of the folly of these Christians? What harm in accepting a douceur to admit his friends and to allow him writing materials? Their superiors would connive at it. Nay, it could hardly be called 'conniving,' when it was the recognized practice of themselves and their comrades.

But he himself complains of their hardness. He says that the more 'benefits' they received, the worse they became. Of course they were hard. They had him in their grip. They had taken the measure of these silly Christians. They had only to ask their own terms; and these terms would be complied with, so long as there was any money left. So every fresh concession to their demands produced a fresh exaction. This, and not more than this, is meant by the expression in *Rom.* 5 οἱ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους γίνονται (see II. p. 213)[1]. A prisoner smarting under his grievances naturally dwells on the dark side of the picture. It does not occur to him to reflect what interpretation will be put upon his impulsive utterances by critics in their study some centuries afterwards.

This picture, which I have drawn, is probable in itself; and it is fully borne out by the description which Lucian gives of Peregrinus the hero of his story, then a Christian, under similar circumstances (see above, p. 129 sq.). The chief passage, which has been translated already (p. 332 sq.), deserves to be read in its entirety. The zeal and attention paid to the imprisoned confessor—for he poses as such to the Christians—is ceaseless. The widows, with the orphan children committed to their care[2], crowd about the prison doors at early dawn for admittance. The officers of the Christian brotherhood bribe the

[1] Perkin Warbeck in captivity writes thus to his mother; 'Ma mère, je vous prie, que me voelliez envoier un petit de argent pour moi aidier, afin que mes gardes me soient plus amiables en leur donnant quelque chose' (Gairdner's *Life and Reign of Richard the Third* p. 385).

[2] The fidelity of the picture is shown by this touch. The widows in the ancient Church had charge of the orphans and would therefore be accompanied by them; comp. Hermas *Vis.* ii. 3 Γραπτὴ δὲ νουθετήσει τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, and see the note on *Smyrn.* 12 (II. p. 322).

keepers and thus are allowed to pass the night with the prisoner. Meals are brought in; religious services are held in the prisoner's cell; deputies are sent to him from various Christian communities; he is amply supplied with means.

There is very strong reason for believing, as I have already pointed out (p. 332 sq.), that Lucian has drawn his picture at least in part from the known circumstances of Ignatius' history. But for my present purpose this point may be waived. Nor is it necessary to enquire whether the story of Peregrinus is true or not. Even if it be fictitious, the satirist plainly relates only what is likely to have occurred under the circumstances; and this is sufficient for the object which we have in view.

Nor does this evidence stand alone. We need not press the earlier instance of S. Paul, who during his captivity, though chained to a soldier by the wrist, communicated freely with all his friends and preached the Gospel without let or hindrance, so that he even regards the cause as having gained by his captivity (Acts xxviii. 31, Phil. i. 12 sq.). But even to the close of the era of persecutions, when the rapid growth of the Church had given just ground for the alarm of statesmen, the same lenient and liberal treatment of prisoners—even of condemned prisoners—is seen. The humour of the populace was indulged, the supremacy of the law was vindicated, by the condemnation of the offender. Beyond this the majesty of Rome could afford to be magnanimous. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (v. 1) directions are given that, if any Christian is condemned to a gladiatorial combat or to wild beasts or to the mines, money is to be sent to him to purchase food and to bribe the soldiers (εἰς μισθαποδοσίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν), so that his condition may be alleviated (see II. p. 213). Accordingly we find in the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* (about A.D. 202), that two of the martyrs, Perpetua and Saturus, were allowed, while in prison, to write an account of their sufferings, no regard being paid to the effect which their narrative would be likely to have on their readers (§ 3 sq., 11 sq.); that the deacons Tertius and Pomponius paid or bribed (constituerunt pretio) the gaolers so as to procure the prisoners a few hours' relaxation in some better part of the prison (§ 3); and that the chief officer admitted 'many brethren' to see the prisoners for their mutual refreshment (§ 9; comp. § 16). In the Cyprianic correspondence again we have evidence to the same effect. Cyprian writes freely to the martyrs and confessors in prison, and the prisoners answer his letters—apparently without any obstruction from their keepers. Yet the purport of these letters is to inculcate an obstinate, though passive resistance

to Roman law in maintaining a form of religion for which it allowed no standing ground. So it remains to the very last. What lesson does the history of Pamphilus teach us? Pamphilus suffered incarceration for two years. Then he was martyred. During his imprisonment he was engaged in writing an elaborate work—the Defence of Origen—in company with his friend Eusebius, who apparently was himself at liberty. No one seems to have interfered in any way with this or kindred labours.

Unhappily for criticism, but happily for humanity, history is not logically consistent. Men are not automata, which move on certain rigid mechanical principles, but complex living souls with various motives, impulses, passions, reluctances. The keepers of John Hus at Constance were far more deeply and personally interested in preventing his disseminating the opinions which had locked the prison doors on him and for which he ultimately suffered, than the keepers of Ignatius at Smyrna and Troas. Indeed it is not probable that the human 'leopards', who maltreated this early martyr, cared a straw whether Ignatius made an additional convert or not. The Bohemian prisoner too was guarded far more rigidly and treated far more cruelly than the Antiochene. Yet John Hus found means to communicate with his friends, enunciating his tenets with absolute freedom and denouncing his judges without any reserve of language. Here is a passage from one of his letters:

'Oh, if the Lord Jesus had said to the Council, "Let him that is without the sin of simony among you condemn Pope John," me seemeth they would have gone out one after another.... The great abomination is pride, covetousness, and simony.... I hope to God that He will send others more worthy after me, who will expose the wickedness of antichrist.... Written on the festival of S. John the Baptist, in a dungeon and in fetters, in the recollection that John was likewise beheaded in a dungeon and in fetters for the sake of Gods truth' (Wratislaw's *John Hus* p. 370 sq.).

Or this again:

'Oh, if ye were to see this Council, which calls itself the "most holy" Council and asserts that it cannot err, ye would espy abomination exceeding great, of which I have heard commonly from the Swabians that Constance or 'Kostnice', their city, will not within thirty years be rid of the sins which this Council has committed in their city; and I say furthermore that all men have been offended through this Council, and some have spit, because they saw abominable things.... Written on the Wednesday after S. John the Baptist, in prison and in fetters, in expectation of death' (ib. pp. 371 sq., 373).

with much more to the same effect. Is John Hus then a myth, or the Council of Constance a fiction?

Yet this is not a solitary case. There is hardly a single prolonged imprisonment of any notable political or religious personage of which something similar is not recorded. The story of Mary Stuart's captivity is incredible from beginning to end, if tested by the principles of historical criticism which are applied to the record of Ignatius. The same may be said also of the imprisonment of John Bunyan[1].

For what does the literary work of Ignatius amount to? During a journey, occupying many months, he succeeded at two of his halting-places, Smyrna and Troas, in writing seven letters in all. They were in most instances certainly, in all probably, dictated. They bear all the marks of having been written under pressure of time and with inconvenient surroundings. They are mostly expressed in short sentences. Where a long connected paragraph is attempted, it generally fails. The grammar is dislocated and wrecked. There is no attempt at avoiding repetitions, which a literary forger with leisure at his command would almost certainly have shunned. We could imagine that the letters, after being dictated, were not even read over to the author. The whole seven might have been written at two or three sittings of a few hours each. There is throughout not a single word reflecting on the prisoner's judges. There is only one sentence which speaks disparagingly of his guards (*Rom.* 5). Is there any difficulty in conceiving this sentence written, during the temporary absence of his guard, or when the soldier in charge, being a Syrian or a Roman, was ignorant of the Greek language?[2]

[1] Froude's *Bunyan* p. 80 sq. 'His gaoler, not certainly without the sanction of the sheriff, let him go where he pleased; once even so far as London.....Friends, in the first place, had free access to him, and strangers were drawn to him by reputation; while the gaol was considered a private place, and he was allowed to preach there, at least occasionally, to his fellow-prisoners.....This was not all. A fresh and more severe Conventicle Act was passed in 1670. Attempts were made to levy fines in the town of Bedford. There was a riot there. The local officers refused to assist in quelling it. The shops were shut. Bedford was occupied by soldiers. Yet at this very time, Bunyan was again allowed to go abroad through general connivance. He spent his nights with his family. He even preached now and then in the woods.' Offor's *Works of John Bunyan* (1862) I. p. xc 'His Majesty continued to keep him a prisoner for preaching more than six months after he had licensed him to preach!!'

[2] 'About a year before he [John Bunyan] was set at liberty, he received a very popular work, written by Edward Fowler, a Bedfordshire clergyman, who was soon after elevated to the see of Gloucester... In the almost incredibly short time of forty-two days, he, in jail, composed an answer consisting of 118 pages of small quarto, closely printed... Of some of Mr

From the circumstances of the condemnation and captivity of Ignatius, we turn next in order to his *route*[1].

And here the *geographical* notices deserve our first consideration. By a careful examination and comparison of these notices we discover that he did not, as might have been expected, go by sea to Smyrna from Seleucia the port-town of Antioch, but that he traversed a great part of Asia Minor. They indicate also that having arrived at the valley of the Lycus a tributary of the Mæander, he did not continue along the valley of the Mæander, in which case he would have passed in succession through Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus on his way to Smyrna, but took the northward branch of the road leading to the valleys of the Cogamus and Hermus, and thus he would pass through Philadelphia and Sardis before reaching his goal. I have already referred to the exegetical and historical bearings of this fact (see above I. pp. 2, 33 sq., and below, II. pp. 2, 211, 241, 251, 262, 267), and I wish now to call attention to its evidential value.

The point to be observed is, that though this route which has been sketched out, when once apprehended, commends itself, for it explains all notices and allusions in these epistles; yet the fact does not lie on the surface so as to be obvious. So far is this from being the case, that the author of the Antiochene Acts altogether overlooks the bearing of these geographical references, and sends Ignatius by sea from Seleucia to Smyrna (*Mart. Ign. Ant.* 3; see esp. II. pp. 383, 480 sq.), though he seems certainly to have been acquainted with the epistles. The same view of his journey was taken also by Ussher and Pearson and the great majority of critics—even the ablest—until quite recent times, notwithstanding that Eusebius had represented the matter correctly (*H. E.* iii. 36 *τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακομιδήν*). Only when the spuriousness of the Antiochene Acts came to be generally acknowledged, was the journey by land recog-

Fowler's sentiments he says, "Here are pure dictates of a brutish, beastly man, that neither knows himself nor one tittle of the Word of God"... "I know none so wedded thereto as yourselves, even the whole gang of your rabbling counterfeit clergy; who generally, like the ape you speak of, lie blowing up the applause and glory of your trumpery," etc. Offor's *Works of John Bunyan* p. lxxx sq. Is there anything half so incredible in the attitude and treatment of Ignatius, as this liberty of action and license of defiance permitted to Bunyan?

[1] The most original and valuable part of Zahn's important work *Ignatius von Antiochien* relates to this point (p. 250 sq.); but so far as I have observed, it has been entirely ignored by the opponents of the genuineness of these Ignatian letters. Zahn indeed treats the subject chiefly on the negative side, as answering objections; but it has also the highest positive value, as exhibiting a mass of *undesigned coincidences* which cannot fail to influence opinion when duly weighed.

nized as the route indicated in the epistles. The fact is gathered from a comparison of passages scattered here and there in the letters. Thus in *Rom.* 5, writing from Smyrna, Ignatius speaks of himself as 'fighting with wild beasts', for so he describes the harsh treatment of his guards, 'by land and sea.' This expression however would not be decisive in itself. If he had come to Smyrna by sea, the mention of the 'land' must be prospective; if on the other hand he had come by land, the mention of the 'sea' must be prospective, unless indeed we suppose him already to have crossed the water from Seleucia to some Cilician or Pamphylian port (see II. p. 211). But a later passage in the same epistle (*Rom.* 9) is more explicit. He speaks of 'the churches which received' him, 'not as a mere passer-by' (*οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα*), and adds that 'even those which did not lie on his route (*αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα*) went before him from city to city (*κατὰ πόλιν με προῆγον*).' No natural interpretation can be put on these words which is consistent with the continuous voyage from Seleucia to Smyrna. The tricks of exegesis to which even the ablest critics have resorted to reconcile them with the assumed sea route will be seen in the notes on the passage (II. pp. 231, 232).

But it is not here that the most subtle coincidences are to be sought. The main fact of the land journey might have been inferred by a careful reader, as it was inferred by Eusebius, notwithstanding the expression 'land and sea', which might put him on the wrong scent. It is when we come to trace the particular overland route which he took, that the undesigned coincidences reveal themselves. Not a word is said directly about this route or about the places which he visited on the way. But we infer from his language that he had not visited Ephesus or Magnesia or Tralles; for he speaks only of seeing the Christian brotherhoods of these towns *in* or *through* their several representatives (*Ephes.* 1, 2, *Magn.* 2, 6, *Trall.* 1). Nor is there in his letters to these churches any allusion implying his personal presence among them. On the other hand the letter to the Philadelphians contains notices which imply that he had visited their city. The most explicit of these is in § 7; 'I cried out when I was present, I spoke with a loud voice, etc.' (*ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὤν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλῃ φωνῇ κ.τ.λ.*). But even this language is not quite clear, as the words *μεταξὺ ὤν* might be interpreted either 'when I was among you' or 'when I was among them'. Indeed some ancient scribes and some modern editors have read the passage differently, *μεταξὺ ὧν ἐλάλουν* 'in the midst of what I was saying' (see the note, II. p. 267)[1]. Again in § 6 he writes, 'I thank

[1] Bunsen makes strange havoc of this expression (*Ignatius v. Antiochien* p. 72). He translates *ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὤν*, '*Ich schrieb einen Brief*, als ich unter ihnen

my God that I bear a good conscience among you (εὐσυνείδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν), and no man can boast either in secret or openly that I was burdensome to any one in small things or in great.' But here also his visit is rather implied than definitely stated. Again in § 1 he expresses his admiration of the character of their bishop, of whom his language implies that he has personal knowledge. But as there is no mention elsewhere of a visit of the Philadelphian bishop, or indeed of any Philadelphian delegate, to Smyrna, their meeting must presumably have taken place, if it took place at all, at Philadelphia itself. Again in § 8 he mentions, apparently with reference to the Philadelphian Christians themselves, a conflict of words which he had with certain heretical teachers. Again in § 11 he speaks of Agathopus as following him 'from Syria', and in *Smyrn.* 10 it is stated of this same person and his companion Philo that they 'followed in his track' (ἐπηκολούθησάν μοι). But it appears from the context that these two persons were entertained on their journey at Philadelphia and at Smyrna. Thus after carefully weighing all the passages we are forced irresistibly to the conclusion that he had passed through Philadelphia on his way to Smyrna. Yet there is throughout no single direct statement of the fact so clear as to be beyond the reach of questioning.

We gather then that he did not visit Ephesus, Magnesia, or Tralles, and that he did visit Philadelphia. Now the itineraries show that the three former places lay on one route to Smyrna, and the last-mentioned on another, so that if he had visited any one of the former he could not have visited the latter, and conversely. But this route is nowhere directly indicated. The notices are all allusive, and the conclusions inferential.

But the congruity of the narrative does not cease here. Critics have been perplexed by the presence of delegates from Ephesus, from Magnesia, and from Tralles, at Smyrna. It has been objected that if sufficient time be allowed for sending messengers to all these churches, apprising them of the saint's arrival at Smyrna, and again for the journey of the respective delegacies to this last-mentioned city, we are obliged to postulate a lengthy sojourn at Smyrna, which under the circumstances is most improbable. The difficulty has arisen from inattention to the topographical considerations which a close examination of the epistles reveals. Now that we have ascertained the

war,' and he accordingly suggests that the words which follow, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε κ.τ.λ., may refer to a charge given in the Epistle to Polycarp, where the very words occur (§ 6), apparently forgetting that this letter purports to have been written from Troas.

saint's route, the whole matter becomes clear. At the point where the routes bifurcate, and where Ignatius and his guard took the northern road, a messenger despatched along the southern would easily visit the three cities Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus, in succession, or the message might be passed along from Tralles to Magnesia and from Magnesia to Ephesus; so that by one means or another the delegates would be prepared, and might easily, if need required, reach Smyrna even before Ignatius himself, for he appears to have halted some time at Philadelphia, if not elsewhere also.

Moreover the geographical position of these three cities explains other incidents in the narrative. We find that Ephesus sent to Smyrna its bishop Onesimus with four other delegates (*Ephes.* 1, 2), and that Magnesia was represented by its bishop Damas and three others (*Magn.* 2), while Tralles despatched only a single representative, the bishop Polybius (*Trall.* 1). The number of the delegates thus decreases with the distance of the places from Smyrna, the order of proximity being Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles. These several arrangements would be dictated by convenience (comp. *Philad.* 10, *Polyc.* 8, for similar cases). But the facts are ascertained from the three several letters; they are not put into juxtaposition by the author; nor is there any indication of the relative positions of the three places.

The *personal* relations also in these epistles yield results not less striking than the geographical notices. It is very rarely that a forger in these ancient times has undertaken a fiction of such magnitude and variety without falling into the most violent anachronisms and contradictions. Not only is there nothing of this kind in our Ignatian letters, but all the incidental and allusive notices agree in a striking way; and, so far as we are able to apply this test to them, they are in entire harmony with the external conditions of time and place.

The martyr has passed through Philadelphia and Sardis in the manner indicated, and so he arrives at Smyrna. Here he receives delegacies from Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles; and in recognition of this welcome he writes letters to these three churches. In addition he writes also to Rome, apprising the Roman Christians that he is on his way and may be expected shortly.

Of the Ephesian delegacy five persons are mentioned by name (*Ephes.* 2), including the bishop Onesimus, who is referred to more than once in the letter to the Ephesians (*Ephes.* 1, 5, 6)[1]. Of two

[1] The name Onesimus was not uncommon in the ranks of society from which the Christians were chiefly recruited; see below, II. p. 32. Daillé

others likewise, Burrhus and Crocus, he has something to say. Crocus is commended as having refreshed him greatly. Accordingly, writing to the Romans from Smyrna, he especially mentions among the Ephesians who were with him, and whom he used as his amanuenses, Crocus 'that name beloved by me.' Probably he was dictating to Crocus at the time when these words were penned. Of Burrhus, whom he styles his fellow-servant and a deacon, he expresses the hope that he may remain (εὔχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτόν) to the honour of the Ephesians and their bishop. This expression is so incidental and allusive that we hardly see the force of it. But turning to two epistles written from Troas (*Philad.* 11, *Smyrn.* 12), we learn that Burrhus had continued in his company and journeyed with him from Smyrna to Troas. He is the amanuensis of the letters to the Philadelphians and Smyrnæans; and from the notices in these we find that he had been commissioned to accompany the saint to Troas, not only by the Ephesians to whom he belonged, but also by the Smyrnæans among whom he had stayed. Thus the desire of Ignatius had been fulfilled. There is no indication that any other Ephesian was in his company at Troas. Indeed his silence suggests the contrary.

But the mention of Burrhus points to another coincidence of a different kind. In the apocryphal Acts of S. John which bear the name of Leucius, the Apostle is represented as ordaining one Byrrhus or Burrhus deacon, and this same person takes a prominent part in the last scene of the Apostle's life (Zahn *Acta Joannis* pp. 226, 244 sq.; see below, II. p. 34). There is no indication whatever that either the writer of these Acts had seen the Ignatian Epistles or the writer of the Ignatian Epistles these Acts (see Zahn *l. c.* p. clii sq.); so that these Acts must be regarded as independent traditional testimony (of whatever value) to the existence of a person bearing this name and holding the office of deacon in the Church of Ephesus at this time.

The Magnesian delegacy consisted of four persons, whose names are given. Of these the bishop Damas bears a name not uncommon in these parts, while the names of the presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius, occur more than once in inscriptions and coins, as borne by Magnesians (see II. pp. 110, 111). The deacon Zotion calls for no special remark.

Among the persons whom Ignatius met at Smyrna, and whom he salutes in letters subsequently written thither, is one Alce (*Smyrn.* 13,

(p. 316) assumes that the Onesimus of Ignatius is the Onesimus of S. Paul, and accordingly finds an anachronism in these epistles. He seems to have overlooked the Onesimus of Melito, whose existence shows the frequency of the name and therefore the futility of his argument respecting the Ignatian Onesimus.

Polyc. 8). In both passages he speaks of her as 'that name beloved by me (*τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα*).' The name Alce, though rare, is especially connected with Smyrna in an inscription, as I have pointed out (II. p. 325). But this is not the main coincidence. In the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp which took place at Smyrna some forty or fifty years after the assumed date of these Ignatian letters, Nicetes the father of the magistrate Herodes is mentioned quite incidentally as 'the brother of Alce' (*Mart. Polyc.* 17 *τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἄλκης*). Both Herodes and Nicetes are hostile to the Christians. Herodes is the magistrate who condemns Polycarp to death; Nicetes takes part in his apprehension (§ 8) and interposes, as related in this very passage where his sister's name is mentioned (§ 17), to prevent his body being given up to the Christians. Yet Alce herself must have been a Christian and well known as such. Otherwise she would not have been mentioned thus incidentally in a letter addressed to the somewhat distant Church of the Philomelians. We have therefore in this Smyrnæan family a household divided against itself, in accordance with the evangelic prediction (Matt. x. 21, 35, Luke xxi. 16). But what forger would have invented such a position? or having invented it, would have left his readers to infer it from a vague and casual notice like this? Even Pearson, trusting his memory, can say carelessly of Nicetes that, as Alce's brother, he 'intercesserat *pro* Polycarpo' (see II. p. 325)—this being the obvious attitude of a brother of Alce towards the martyr, prior to any evidence. The notice therefore has the highest value as a testimony to the authenticity of the account of Polycarp's martyrdom. But my object here is simply to call attention to the fact, as showing that there was an Alce well known as a Christian in Smyrna in the sub-apostolic ages. Moreover the dates altogether agree. The Alce mentioned in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom (A.D. 155 or 156), if still living, was probably then in advanced age; for her brother Nicetes had a son influential enough to be the chief magistrate of Smyrna and therefore probably in middle life at this time. Such a person might well have been known to Ignatius forty or fifty years before as a zealous Christian.

Among others whom Ignatius salutes at Smyrna is the wife, or more probably the widow, 'of Epitropus with her whole household and those of her children' (*Polyc.* 8 *τὴν τοῦ Ἐπιτρόπου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων*). As I have pointed out in the note on the passage (II. p. 359), we should not improbably treat *τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου* as the name of an office; and, if so, we have here again a coincidence, for the inscriptions more than once speak of such a 'steward' (*ἐπίτροπος*) in connexion

with Smyrna. Moreover the expression itself suggests relations which a forger was not likely to invent. Salutations are sent not only to her own household but to those of her children also. The whole sentence points to some widow, who had children married and with families of their own. The person so designated here is not improbably the same who is mentioned in the companion Epistle to the Smyrnæans, where Ignatius salutes 'the household of Gavia' (*Smyrn.* 13).

A third Smyrnæan to whom a salutation is sent (*Polyc.* 8), Attalus, bears a name common in Smyrnæan inscriptions (see II. p. 359). Of a fourth, Daphnus (*Smyrn.* 13), we can only say that, not being a very common name, it appears in at least one inscription (Bullett. dell' Istit. Archeol. 1867, p. 48, DAPNVS ASIATICVS, quoted in Devit *Lexic. Forcell. Onomast.* s. v. Daphnus) as borne by a native of proconsular Asia.

From Smyrna the martyr is represented in these epistles as going to Troas. From Troas three letters purport to have been written—to the Philadelphians, to the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp. The situation of affairs at Antioch has entirely changed meanwhile. Whereas in the letters from Smyrna he exhorts his correspondents to pray for the Church of Antioch, which is left desolate by his departure (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 14, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 9), in those sent from Troas he desires that letters and delegates may be sent to congratulate this church on the restoration of peace, apparently by the cessation of persecution (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7), and he speaks of this altered state of things as an answer to the prayers of the Philadelphians and Smyrnæans. But how did he learn that peace had been restored to the Church of Antioch? In one place he says that it had been 'announced' (ἀπηγγέλη) to him (*Philad.* 10); in another that it had been 'shown' (ἐδηλώθη) to him (*Polyc.* 7). The meaning of these expressions is so far from obvious that some Ignatian critics have supposed a miraculous revelation to be implied in them (Bunsen *Die drei aechten etc.* p. 73, Denzinger *Ueber die Aechtheit etc.* p. 45; comp. Cureton *C. I.* p. 312)—defenders of the genuineness resorting to this expedient in order to account for his possession of this knowledge, and impugners on the other hand condemning the letters on the very ground that recourse is had to supernatural interposition. The true explanation however is found in the letters themselves. From these we learn that two deacons, Philo from Cilicia and Rhaius Agathopus from Syria, had followed in his wake. They evidently took the same route with him, as already mentioned (p. 351). Thus we find that they were entertained first at Philadelphia (*Philad.* 11) and then at Smyrna (*Smyrn.* 10, 13). As he had already

left Smyrna when they arrived there, they followed him to Troas, where they caught him up. But the inference is built on scattered notices pieced together. The facts relating to their journey are gathered from different epistles; and they are not placed in any connexion with the tidings respecting the restoration of peace at Antioch. As we have seen, many intelligent Ignatian critics have failed to see this connexion. Yet, when once pointed out, it is the obvious and natural account of the receipt of these tidings. But again; the movements of these two persons involve another coincidence. We have seen that the saint himself had a conflict with certain false teachers at Philadelphia (see above, p. 350 sq.). It appears also that, though Philo and Agathopus were kindly received by the Philadelphians generally, yet 'certain persons treated them contumeliously' (ἀτιμάσαντες). The party which showed its hostility to Ignatius himself was not likely to entertain any cordial feelings towards his followers. Of the coincidence in the name of Agathopus with the surroundings of Ignatius, as they appear in other passages, I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere (see below p. 375, and II p. 280 sq.).

But the injunctions respecting the delegates whom the martyr desires to be sent to Syria suggest another coincidence also. This desire is expressed to the Smyrnæans, both in the epistle addressed to the Smyrnæan Church as a body and in the epistle addressed to their bishop Polycarp specially, though obviously intended to be read to the church at large, as it appeals in the latter part (§§ 6, 7, 8) to the Smyrnæan Christians generally and reminds them of their duty to their bishop and to one another. What is the relation of the injunctions regarding these delegates in the two epistles respectively?

At first sight they seem to be mere duplicates; but this superficial view is soon corrected. The injunction in the Epistle to Polycarp *presupposes* the injunction in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans. In the Epistle to the Smyrnæans the object in sending a delegate is distinctly stated (*Smyrn.* 11 συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.), but nothing is said about the qualifications of the person to be sent. In the Epistle to Polycarp on the other hand the object of the mission is mentioned in such vague terms (*Polyc.* 7 ἵνα...δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην) as would have been quite unintelligible, if nothing had gone before; whereas great stress is laid on the character necessary in the person to be chosen as delegate. The comparison of the two therefore suggests the priority of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans. How does this agree with the more direct notices of time in the two epistles? Here again there is entire harmony. The Epistle to Polycarp is represented as written on the eve

of his hurried departure from Troas (§ 8). On the other hand in the case of the Smyrnæan letter, likewise written from Troas, there is no indication that his sojourn there was drawing to a close. Again, in the Smyrnæan letter there is mention of the Ephesian Burrhus as still remaining with him and acting as his amanuensis (*Smyrn.* 12). In the letter to Polycarp there is no such mention. Burrhus seems to have left him meanwhile[1].

We have hitherto been concerned mainly with his relations to the churches on his route; but something must now be said about the church of his destination. The Roman Church occupies an exceptional position among the communities addressed in the Ignatian Epistles; and the notices in the Roman letter therefore demand special attention. It will be seen hereafter (p. 383 sq.) how the absence of any appeal to episcopal authority in this letter, and in this alone, harmonizes with the conditions of the Roman Church as indicated by other nearly contemporary documents. But this is not the only coincidence with external history. It is clear, as I have stated elsewhere (p. 32), that Ignatius is here represented as a condemned man, sent to Rome, not like S. Paul, to be tried on appeal, but to be executed as a criminal[2]. It is equally plain that he is apprehensive lest the interference of the Roman Christians should procure a mitigation or a reversal of his sentence, so that he will be robbed of the crown of martyrdom. How was this possible? Who were these powerful friends who might be expected to rescue him from his fate? Twenty years earlier, or twenty years later, than the assumed date of Ignatius, it is not probable that any persons possessing sufficient influence would have been found in the Roman Church. At least we have no evidence of their existence at either date. But just at this moment Christianity occupied a position of exceptional influence at Rome. During the last years of Domitian's reign the new religion had effected a lodgment in the imperial family itself. The emperor's cousin-german Flavius Clemens is stated to have been converted to the Gospel; the same also is recorded of his wife Flavia Domitilla who, besides her relationship by marriage, was

[1] See Zahn, *I. v. A.* p. 282.

[2] Kraus (*Theolog. Quartalschr.* 1873, p. 131) attempts to controvert the correct view maintained by Uhlhorn, that Ignatius was sent to Rome for punishment as a condemned criminal. He is fully answered by Wieseler *Christenverfolgungen* p. 120 sq. The language of Ignatius in *Rom.* 4, where he calls himself not only κατάκριτος, but δοῦλος, is illustrated by *Digest.* xlviii. 19. 29 'Qui ultimo supplicio damnantur, statim et civitatem et *libertatem perdunt;* itaque praeoccupat hic casus mortem et nonnunquam longum tempus occupat, *quod accidit in personis eorum qui ad bestias damnantur*' (quoted by Wieseler p. 133).

herself also own niece of Domitian[1]. The evidence of the catacombs in the *Coemeterium Domitillae* suggests that other members of the imperial family likewise became Christians. These facts betoken a more or less widely spread movement among the upper classes in the direction of Christianity. In his last year Domitian stretched out his hand to vex the Church. Flavius Clemens was executed; others, including Domitilla, suffered banishment for their faith. Further persecutions were prevented by his death. On the accession of Nerva (A.D. 96) the victims of Domitian's cruelty were restored and their penalties remitted. Nerva himself only reigned sixteen months, and was succeeded by Trajan (A.D. 98). Thus in the early years of Trajan's reign there was a certain number of Christians moving in the highest circles of society at Rome; and, if they chose to bestir themselves, it would not be a very difficult matter to rescue one poor victim from the tortures of the arena. We do not again hear of Christians in such high places till the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180—192), when the influence of Marcia with the emperor was exerted to alleviate the sufferings of certain Christian confessors (Hippol. *Haer.* ix. 12).

But this is not the only point. There are also incidental allusions to the previous history of the Roman Church, which deserve notice. When our author writes 'I do not command you like Peter and Paul' (§ 4), the words become full of meaning, if we suppose him to be alluding to personal relations of the two Apostles with the Roman Church. In fact the back-ground of this language is the recognition of the visit of S. Peter as well as S. Paul to Rome, which is persistently maintained in early tradition; and thus it is a parallel to the joint mention of the two Apostles in Clement of Rome (§ 5), as the chief examples among the worthies of his time. The point to be observed however is not that the writer believed in the personal connexion of S. Peter and S. Paul with the Roman Church (this he might do, whether a genuine writer or not), but that in a perfectly natural way this belief is made the basis of an appeal, being indirectly assumed but not definitely stated.

Again; he writes to the Romans (§ 3), 'Ye never grudged any one, ye instructed others;' where the context shows that the 'grudging' and the 'instruction' refer to their attitude towards Christian athletes

[1] On the subject of Flavius Clemens and Flavia Domitilla, and generally on the spread of Christianity among persons of rank in Rome at this time, see *Philippians* p. 21 sq., *Clement of Rome, Appendix* p. 257 sq. This is the subject also of two recent articles by Hasenclever, *Christliche Proselyten der höheren Stände im ersten Jahrhundert*, in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1882, p. 34 sq., p. 230 sq.

striving for the crown of martyrdom. The bearing of the passage however is at first sight obscure, and certainly does not explain itself. But a clear light is thrown upon it by the Epistle of Clement, written in the name of the Roman Church, which appears to have been in the writer's mind when he speaks of the Romans as 'instructors of others.' More will be found on this subject in the note on the passage (II. p. 203).

Again; the writer evidently assumes throughout that the Roman Christians are aware of his present condition, and might already be taking steps to obtain his pardon, or at least to procure a mitigation of his sentence. How is this to be explained? Quite incidentally, and therefore quite artlessly, at the close of the letter he mentions certain persons who had 'gone before him from Syria to Rome' (§ 10), and he sends a message to them. These persons then were the bearers of the news of his condemnation and journey to Rome. Thus there is an undesigned harmony between the general substance and the particular notices in the letter.

Lastly; the Epistle to the Romans alone of all the letters is dated; and appropriately enough the Latin mode of dating is adopted, 'the 9th before the Kalends of September' (§ 10), i.e. August 24. Appropriate in itself, this date also agrees well with the day of Ignatius' martyrdom, as given by the earliest tradition, October 17 (see II. p. 416 sq.). This interval of 54 days would be long enough, and yet not too long, for the incidents which must find a place in it. The Epistle to the Romans was written from Smyrna, and presumably towards the close of the martyr's sojourn there. From Smyrna he proceeds to Troas. Three or four days would be a fair allowance for the voyage from Smyrna to Troas. If he travelled by land, it would occupy a somewhat longer time. It is not probable that he stayed many days at Troas. He himself tells us that his departure was hurried, so that he was unable to write certain letters as he had intended (*Polyc.* 8). What the cause of this hastened departure may have been, we can only conjecture. Not improbably his guards now found that, if they were to arrive in Rome in time for the festival at which their prisoners were destined to fight with wild beasts, they must avoid all unnecessary delays. From Troas they sailed to Neapolis (*Polyc.* 8). The voyage between these two places took S. Paul the best part of two days with a good wind (Acts xvi. 11), but under less favourable circumstances it occupied five days (Acts xx. 6). The distance from Neapolis to Philippi is ten or twelve miles. Here there appears to have been a short halt (Polyc. *Phil.* 1, 9, 13) before setting out for Rome. Elsewhere (*Philippians* p. 38) data are given from which it appears that the journey from Philippi to Rome

would occupy somewhere about a month, if there was no unnecessary halting and no inconvenient hurrying. In this case however the soldiers would probably have commissions to discharge on the way, which might occupy a little time. Thus the interval of between seven and eight weeks would be exhausted and not more than exhausted. On what authority this earliest tradition of the martyr's day, as October 17, may rest we cannot say; but not improbably it is authentic. In October A.D. 97 Trajan was adopted by Nerva, was nominated Cæsar, was proclaimed imperator, and was associated in the tribunician power (see below II. p. 397). The exact day is not known; for we are only told that all this happened three months before Nerva's death, which took place on Jan. 25 or Jan. 27, A.D. 98 (see II. p. 473). May we not conjecture that the festival, at which Ignatius perished, was the anniversary of this elevation of Trajan? Inscriptions yet undiscovered may perhaps throw some light upon this point.

(ii) *Theological Polemics.*

A highly valuable test of date will be found in the *theological polemics* of the author of these epistles. The personal theology of a writer is a very vague and uncertain criterion of date; but his polemics, being connected with his historical surroundings, afford a more solid basis for an inference. The test will be two-fold, *positive* and *negative*. We shall have to consider alike what the author says and what he leaves unsaid. In the present case, as we shall see presently, the writer's silence is not less eloquent than his speech.

(i) The *positive* side of the investigation yields results of real importance. The author has before him a particular heresy or heresies which he attacks relentlessly from all sides. Anticipating the issue, we may say that the heresy is one, and that it is a type of *Gnostic Judaism*, the Gnostic element manifesting itself in a sharp form of Docetism.

(α) This *Gnostic* or *Docetic* element is the chief object of attack, and gives their predominant doctrinal colouring to these epistles. The Docetism which is here assailed was thorough-going. For the man Christ Jesus it substituted a mere phantom. The human descent, the human birth, the baptism, the trial, the judgment, the crucifixion, the passion, the resurrection, all alike were unreal, were phantasmal. Hence our author's emphatic repetition of the word *truly* (ἀληθῶς); 'He was truly born', 'He truly died', 'He truly ate and drank', and the like (*Trall.* 9, *Smyrn.* 1, 2, 3, *Magn.* 11). More especially he points to the

fact that Christ Himself after the resurrection invited the disciples to feel and handle Him, so as to convince them that He was not an unsubstantial ghost (*Smyrn.* 3). These persons therefore denied the flesh and blood of Christ; they evacuated the passion; they found a stumbling-block in the cross (*Ephes.* 18, *Magn.* 9, *Philad.* 3, *Smyrn.* 1, 5, 6). The true believers are they who accept the reality of Christ's humanity, who take refuge in His flesh, who rejoice in His passion, who are nailed to His cross (*Ephes.* inscr. ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ, *Magn.* 11, *Trall.* 2, 8, *Philad.* inscr., 5, *Smyrn.* 1). Even impalpable, spiritual beings, like the angels, cannot be saved unless they believe in Christ's blood (*Smyrn.* 6). If Christ is mere semblance (τὸ δοκεῖν), then everything is semblance; the martyr's own sufferings are semblance; they themselves, the heretics, are semblance (*Trall.* 10, *Smyrn.* 2, 4). Whosoever denies Christ's flesh, denies Him altogether. Such persons are corpse-bearers. Having no belief in the passion, they have no part in the resurrection (*Smyrn.* 5). Hence the stress laid elsewhere on Christ's humanity, even when there seems to be no obvious reason for such stress (see the notes on *Ephes.* 18, 20, *Rom.* 7, *Smyrn.* 4).

(β) On the other hand he denounces in hardly less severe language *Judaizing* tendencies in the false teachers. He bids his readers put away the old and sour leaven. He declares that it is inconsistent (ἄτοπον) to profess Jesus Christ and to live as Jews (*Magn.* 10). He warns them (herein treading in the footsteps of S. Paul) that if they so live they forfeit all claims to grace (*Magn.* 8). He points out that even men who are brought up in Judaism (meaning doubtless the Apostles and early disciples) had discarded the Jewish sabbath and adopted in its stead the freedom, the spirituality, the hopes and associations, of the Lord's day. Nay, the very prophets themselves looked forward to Christ; and so, when He came, He raised them from Hades. It would therefore be a retrogression and a reversal of the true order, if they who had not been so brought up were to submit to the slavery of the law (*Magn.* 9). Elsewhere again, he forbids his readers to listen to those who 'propound Judaism'. It is better, he adds, to listen to Christianity from one circumcised than to Judaism from one uncircumcised (*Philad.* 6). He describes his conflict with those who refused to accept in the Gospel anything which they did not find in the ancient Scriptures. He declares the superiority of the High-priest of the New Covenant over the priests of the Old. He asserts that Jesus Christ is the door of the Father, through whom patriarchs and prophets, not less than apostles, enter in. The Gospel, he concludes, is the completion of immortality (*Philad.* 8, 9).

Is our author then denouncing two distinct heresies, a Judaic or Ebionite, and a Gnostic or Docetic, in these respective passages? Or is he concerned only with a single though complex form of false doctrine? A careful examination of the main passages will enable us to answer this question decisively. Though in the Trallian and Smyrnæan letters he deals chiefly with Docetism, while in the Magnesian and Philadelphian letters he seems to be attacking Judaism (see II. p. 173), yet a nearer examination shows the two to be so closely interwoven that they can only be regarded as different sides of one and the same heresy.

In the first place, it is a significant fact that our author uses the same general terms when speaking of the one and of the other. Of the Judaism and the Docetism alike he says that they are not 'the planting of the Father' (*Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 3); both alike are rank and noxious weeds which his readers must avoid (*Trall.* 6, *Philad.* 3). The teachers of the one and of the other are described as 'speaking apart from, speaking otherwise than of, Jesus Christ' (*Trall.* 9, *Philad.* 6); both alike are warned to 'repent unto unity', 'to repent unto God' (*Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 9). The Judaism and the Docetism equally are called 'heterodoxy' (*Magn.* 8, *Smyrn.* 6). In both cases equally he bids his readers 'Be not deceived' (*Magn.* 8, *Smyrn.* 6, *Philad.* 3; comp. *Ephes.* 16); he charges them to 'flee division' (*Philad.* 2, 7, *Smyrn.* 8); and he tells them in identical language that he does not speak because he accuses them of complicity in these errors (*Magn.* 11, *Trall.* 8), but because he wishes to 'forewarn' them (*Magn.* 11, *Trall.* 8, *Smyrn.* 4). And generally it may be said that there is no perceptible difference in his language when describing the position of the false-teachers in the two cases with regard to the true believer and to the Church. These facts furnish a strong presumption that he is describing the same thing in the two sets of passages.

And this presumption becomes a certainty when we examine more closely the passages in which Judaism is directly attacked.

In the passage in the letter to the Magnesians (§§ 8, 9, 10) the author begins by warning his readers 'not to be led astray by heterodoxies nor by antiquated fables (*μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς*) which are unprofitable'; 'for', he continues, 'if to the present hour (*μέχρι νῦν*) we live in the observance of Judaic rites (*κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν*), we confess that we have not received grace,' i. e. that the merits of Christ's death do not appertain to us, for we have chosen another way of working out our salvation. By the expression 'antiquated fables' or 'myths' we are reminded of the language in the Pastoral Epistles;

'endless fables (μύθοις) and genealogies' (1 Tim. i. 4), 'profane and old wives' fables' (1 Tim. iv. 7), 'turning aside to fables' (2 Tim. iv. 4), 'Judaic fables and commandments of men that turn away from the truth' (Tit. i. 14). Thus a closely allied form of Gnostic Judaism is suggested, which taught by myths or fables—the main subject of these myths being (as in the later systems of Valentinus and others) the genealogy of angelic beings or emanations, which were intended to bridge over the chasm between God and the World. Accordingly our author goes on to convict these false teachers by the prophets whose authority they themselves would accept. These very prophets anticipated the dispensation of redemption and grace, and for this they suffered persecution. They were inspired with this foreknowledge to the end that unbelievers in these days might be convinced that there is one God who revealed Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, His Word who issued forth from Silence and fulfilled His Father's good-pleasure in all things. Thus here, as in the Epistle to the Colossians (i. 15 sq., ii. 8 sq.), and again in the Pastoral Letters of S. Paul (1 Tim. ii. 5), the true doctrine of the Logos Incarnate, as the one only link between the Creator and the creature, the one only Mediator between God and man, is tacitly contrasted with these many mediators whom the angelologies and emanation-theories of these false teachers interposed to span the gulf between the finite and the Infinite. Our author next adverts to the fact that persons brought up in the practices of the law had abandoned the observance of the sabbaths, and that even the prophets had looked forward to Christ as their teacher. Incidentally he mentions that Christ's death was denied by certain persons, obviously meaning these Docetic teachers, as his language elsewhere clearly shows. Then, after further charging his readers to put away the old and sour leaven, and denouncing the inconsistency of Judaizing practices, he goes on to inform them that he does not say these things, because he supposes them to have gone astray in this way; but he wishes to forewarn them against the snares of false opinion. They must be fully convinced of the birth and passion and resurrection of Christ, for these things truly and certainly came to pass. Clearly therefore the false teachers, who inculcated Judaism, inculcated Docetism likewise. Thus, though he speaks only of one heresy, yet, having begun by denouncing Judaizing practices, he ends by denouncing Docetic opinions. There is no escape from this conclusion. The one cannot be disentangled from the other without the whole falling to pieces. They are web and woof of the same fabric[1].

[1] See also the notes on the passage, II. p. 124 sq.

In the other letter which deals directly with Judaism, the Epistle to the Philadelphians, the inference is the same. In the opening he congratulates his readers, because they 'rejoice in the passion and resurrection of Christ without wavering, being fully convinced' of it. He urges them to be united with their bishop and presbyters. Then, after eulogising their bishop (§ 1), he warns them to avoid division and false doctrine, and to abstain from baneful weeds—not that he accuses them of heresy, for hitherto they have kept themselves clear. They must preserve the unity of the Church. The follower of heretical teachers has no part in the passion (§ 2, 3). Therefore let them all partake of one eucharist, as there is one flesh of Christ (§ 4). For himself, he takes refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Christ and in the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church, though at the same time he loves the prophets who believed on Christ by faith and so have been saved (§ 5). 'But if,' he continues, 'any one propound Judaism to you, listen not to him.' Then after denouncing Judaism and condemning the arts of the false-teachers as a breach of unity, he goes on to describe a conflict which he had with these people at Philadelphia. They had appealed to the archives, that is, the Old Testament writings; and, when he adduced these scriptures on his own side, they questioned the interpretation. For himself, he says, his archives are the cross, the death, the resurrection, of Christ. The priests of the old dispensation are good; but the High-priest of the new is better. The Gospel has this pre-eminence—the advent, the passion, the resurrection of Christ[1].

Here the stress laid on the flesh of Christ, on the cross and passion of Christ—which again and again break in upon his denunciations of the Judaizing teachers—coupled with the opening congratulation to the Philadelphians on their firm conviction on these points, shows that the false teachers, whom he is denouncing, impugned the reality of these facts. In other words their *Judaism* was *Docetic* or *Gnostic*[2].

[1] See also the notes on the passage, II. p. 256 sq.

[2] The *Judæo-Gnostic* character of this heresy was discerned by Bull, who however wrongly connected it with Cerinthianism (see below p. 372, note 4). Among the more important investigations of this question in recent times are those of Uhlhorn (*Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1851, p. 283 sq.), Lipsius (*Ueber die Aechtheit etc.* p. 31 sq.), and Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 356 sq.). All these writers are agreed in regarding the heresy attacked in the Ignatian letters as one. On the other hand Hilgenfeld (*Apost. Väter* p. 231 sq., *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 112 sq., 1874) supposes that the Judaism is a distinct heresy from the Docetism, thus treating the Ignatian letters in the same way in which he treats S. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. Zahn's investigation of the Docetic element is the best.

In the Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 8—23) we have a description of certain heretical teachers. There is both a Judaic and a Gnostic side to their teaching—the distinction of meats and the observance of days on the one hand, the 'philosophy,' the angelolatry, and the asceticism on the other. Critics have attempted by violent and arbitrary dealing to separate the one element from the other, and thus have found two distinct heresies in this one passage. But the sequence of thought and language is decisive against such treatment[1]. This epistle probably belongs to the year 63 or 64.

In the Pastoral Epistles again we have another type of Judæo-Gnostic heresy, somewhat more advanced than the last. The false teaching there is described as 'gnosis (or knowledge) falsely so called (1 Tim. vi. 20).' It is a 'logomachy,' it is disputatious, it is empty talking (1 Tim. i. 6, vi. 4, 20, 2 Tim. ii. 14, 16, 23, Tit. i. 10). It deals in myths and genealogies (1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. i. 14, iii. 9). It inculcates asceticism (1 Tim. iv. 3, 8, Tit. i. 15). Here is the Gnostic side. On the other hand it is distinctly Judaic. Its champions profess to be 'teachers of the law' (1 Tim. i. 7, 8). The disputes are described as 'battles over the law' (Tit. iii. 9). Its myths are called 'Jewish' (Tit. i. 14). Its adherents, at least a portion of them, are described as 'they of the circumcision' (Tit. i. 10). Here again critics have been found who would split up this heresy into two, thus separating the two elements which the Apostle's language will not allow us to separate.

Again, the same treatment is tried for a third time on the Ignatian letters. The necessity of this violent operation, thrice repeated, tells its own tale. In all three cases, if we interpret our texts naturally, we are confronted with forms of Judaic Gnosticism or Gnostic Judaism. Thus they all alike illustrate the truth, which is sufficiently confirmed from other quarters, that *the earliest forms of Christian Gnosticism were Judaic.* I need not stop to investigate the reason of this fact, as the subject has been fully discussed elsewhere[2].

But accepting the Judaic character of this heresy, as an indication of an early date, we have yet to deal with its trenchant Docetism. What are we to say to this startling phenomenon? Is it at all inconsistent with the Ignatian authorship?

Impressed by the materialistic tendencies of our own time, we find it difficult to realize the force and prevalence of the bias which in the earliest ages of the Gospel led to Docetism. Yet it is a historical

[1] See *Colossians* p. 73 sq., where the question is discussed.

[2] See *Colossians* p. 81 sq.

fact that for those first generations of Christians the true humanity of Christ was a greater stumbling-block even than the true divinity. The Oriental mind in its most serious moods was prone to regard matter as the source of evil. Contact with matter therefore was a thing to be shunned. The moral and spiritual supremacy of Jesus Christ was a matter of history. This carried with it His claim to divinity in some sense or other. But it was inconceivable that such a Divine being should have been born as a man, should have eaten and drunk as a man, should have suffered and died as a man. This gross admixture with material things in this Divine personage was intolerable. The only escape from the dilemma lay in *Docetism*. Christ's human life was not real, but *apparent* or *putative*.

This Docetic view of Christ's humanity would appeal to popular Judaism—the Judaism of the Scribes and Pharisees—only so far as it related to the *passion*. A suffering Christ was a stumbling-block in the way of popular Messianic conceptions. But the human birth and human life of the promised King of the Jews presented no difficulty here. Its affinities were rather with Essenism than with Pharisaism.

Docetism manifested itself in several forms. Irenæus in one passage (*Haer.* iii. 16. 1) enumerates three types of this heresy: (1) The man Jesus was the mere receptacle of the Christ, who entered him at the baptism and left him before the crucifixion. (2) The birth and the death of Christ alike—His whole human life from beginning to end—were apparitional, not real. In the passage before us indeed he speaks only of the passion; but from other passages (iii. 18. 6, 7, iv. 33. 5, v. 1. 2) it is clear that the Docetism of the persons here mentioned extended to the whole life of Christ. (3) The Valentinian doctrine, which conceded to Jesus Christ a body visible and capable of suffering. This body however was not material. It was not of the substance of the Virgin, but was only conveyed through her, as water through a channel. To these three we may add (4) another type of Docetism mentioned elsewhere by Irenæus (i. 24. 4), and ascribed by him to Basilides. According to this view Simon the Cyrenian was crucified instead of Jesus. Jesus exchanged external shapes and appearances with Simon, and stood by the cross deriding while the crucifixion took place.

We may confine our attention to the two former and purer types of Docetism. The remaining two, which are connected with the names of Basilides (c. A.D. 130) and Valentinus (c. A.D. 150) respectively, are modifications of Docetism properly so called and are later in point of date. In the view ascribed to Basilides the Docetism resolves itself

into a trick of magic; while that of Valentinus or the Valentinians betrays itself to be an after-thought by its highly artificial character, as indeed the comparatively late epoch of Valentinus suggests.

(1) The first of the two earlier forms is especially connected with the name of Cerinthus. Its characteristic is the separation of Jesus from Christ. Cerinthus maintained that Christ descended on Jesus in the form of a dove at His baptism. Jesus was truly born, truly lived the life in the flesh, truly died. The Docetism therefore does not affect Jesus, but is confined to Christ. Cerinthus flourished at the close of the Apostolic age. A personal conflict of S. John with this heresiarch is mentioned by Irenæus. It is even thought that S. John wrote his Gospel as an antidote to this heresy.

(2) The second type of Docetism is clearly the same which is attacked in the Ignatian letters. This type also appears on the confines of the Apostolic age, if not actually contemporary with the Apostles themselves. It is attributed to several heresiarchs by name.

(i) Simon Magus, we are told, maintained that the redeemer had 'appeared a man among men, when he was not a man, and seemed to have suffered in Judæa, when he had not suffered' (Iren. i. 23. 3). He asserted moreover that he himself was this redeemer; and the stress laid on the unreality of the passion is accordingly explained by the further statement that Simon professed to have 'appeared as Son to the Jews and as Father in Samaria and as Holy Ghost to the other Gentiles' (Iren. i. 23. 1, Hippol. *Haer.* vi. 19). Thus he identified himself with Jesus, to whom he assigned a purely Docetic humanity.

(ii) Saturninus, we are informed, 'taught that the Saviour was without birth and without body and without figure, but that in semblance he appeared a man' (Iren. i. 24. 2, Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 28).

(iii) Marcion again was a pure Docetic. He too postulated a phantom body of Christ. With the human birth of the Saviour he did not concern himself at all. Mutilating the beginning of the evangelical narrative, he commenced his Gospel with the 'fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar' (Luke iii. 1), as if Jesus had appeared suddenly from heaven a full-grown man. But with regard to the passion, with which he was obliged to deal, he was explicit (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 42). He was ready with an expedient to explain away the words in which the Saviour challenges attention to the reality of His human body after the resurrection; 'Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me having' (Luke xxiv. 39). 'Having', as he interpreted the passage, here signifies 'having only as a spirit has,' that is 'not having.' 'Quae ratio tortuositatis istius?' exclaims Tertullian (*ib.* c. 43). 'What

reason was there for such tortuous language as on this showing the evangelist's words would be ?'

Our author however, whether Ignatius or another, cannot have intended any of these particular heresies; for they do not satisfy the condition of being Judaic. Saturninus and Marcion are distinguished by their direct opposition to Judaism; while Simonianism lies altogether in another sphere. But the two earlier are sufficient evidence for the fact that in the age of Ignatius this strongest and purest form of Docetism was rife. Even if the doctrine here attributed to Simon belong rather to the disciples than to the master himself, it will still fall within our limits of time. So again Saturninus must have been a contemporary of Ignatius. He is represented as a pupil of Menander, and he is placed before Basilides in the sequence of heresiarchs. Thus he must have flourished about A.D. 100—120. Simon was a Samaritan, and Saturninus was a native of Ignatius' own city Antioch. Thus the theological atmosphere, more especially in Syria and Palestine, was charged with Docetism at this time.

But we have evidence also from another quarter. The Epistles of S. John are obviously directed against some strong form of Docetism. This heresy is distinctly attacked in the words of the First Epistle; 'Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God, and this is the spirit of the antichrist whereof ye have heard that it cometh, and now it is in the world already' (1 Joh. iv. 3, 4). So again in the Second Epistle; 'Many deceivers are gone forth into the world, even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist' (2 Joh. 7). This explains the otherwise strange asseveration in the opening of the First Epistle; 'That which our hands handled (ἐψηλάφησαν)...declare we unto you,' with which passage we may compare the words already quoted (p. 366), 'Handle me (ψηλαφήσατέ με) and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones' etc. (Luke xxiv. 39). The following passages also bear on this heresy; 'Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him' (iv. 15); 'Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God' (v. 1); 'This is He that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ' (v. 5). We may waive for the moment the question of the Apostolic authorship of these epistles. The First is quoted by Papias (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39) and by Polycarp (*Phil.* 7). Its testimony therefore is sufficiently early for our purpose, whoever may have been the author.

It may be a question however which type of Docetism—the Cerinthian or the Ignatian—is here assailed. Tradition points to Cerinthus;

and the stress laid on the confession of 'Jesus' as the Christ seems to indicate the severance which this heresiarch made between Jesus and Christ. If we could accept the very ancient Western reading in 1 Joh. iv. 3, 'Every spirit which dissolveth (ὃ λύει) Jesus,' for 'Every spirit which confesseth not (μὴ ὁμολογεῖ) Jesus,' this would be decisive; and, though this may not be the original reading, it perhaps represents an early tradition. On the other hand the stress laid on 'the flesh,' and on the testimony of the water and the blood (comp. Joh. xix. 34, 35), indicates rather the Ignatian type of Docetism; for Cerinthus did not deny the reality of the body or the passion of Jesus, but only the participation of the Christ in this fleshly passion. When Polycarp (l. c.) quotes the words of 1 Joh. iv. 2, 3, 'Whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist,' he doubtless applies it to the type of Docetism which appears in the Ignatian letters, but this is not decisive as to its original reference, since he would naturally apply the words to the form with which he himself was familiar. On the whole it is perhaps slightly more probable that Cerinthian Docetism is attacked in S. John's Epistles; and if so, the evidence only holds so far as to show the strength of Docetic speculation generally at a very early age.

From the foregoing discussion it will have appeared that *the strongly marked type of Docetism assailed in these letters, so far from being a difficulty, is rather an indication of an early date*[1], since the tendency of Docetism was to mitigation, as time went on.

(ii) The *negative* side of the subject remains to be considered. The author's direct statements have been examined; and it is time now to cross-question his silence. He is obviously a polemical writer. He takes a keen interest in the theological and ecclesiastical questions of his day. Such a man has no power of deliberate, sustained self-repression. Of him it may be said, as he himself says of others (*Ephes.* 15), δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκεται 'He is revealed by his silence.' If he betrays no interest in the controversies which agitated the Church in the middle and latter half of the second century, it may be inferred that he felt no interest in them.

Now one main controversy which troubled the Church from the middle of the second century onward, so as from time to time to threaten its disruption, was the proper day and mode of celebrating the Paschal festival. The main arenas of this struggle were the Churches of Asia and the Church of Rome—the very churches

[1] This point is justly insisted upon by Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 399.

with which Ignatius is represented as in close communication. The principal personage who figures in the first stage of this dispute is none other than Polycarp, the chief friend and correspondent of Ignatius. How irresistible must have been the impulse of our author to declare himself on this burning question. Was the festival to be kept always on the 14th Nisan or always on the same day of the week? Was the precedent of S. John and S. Philip to be followed with the Churches of Asia (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24), or the precedent of S. Peter and S. Paul with the Church of Rome? He has much to say against Judaism. The Quartodecimans were taunted by their opponents with Judaizing. Must he not have exculpated himself, if a Quartodeciman? And would he not have assailed the opposite party, if not a Quartodeciman? Two centuries later the writer of the spurious *Life of Polycarp*, bearing the name of Pionius, must needs represent S. Paul as condemning by anticipation the practice of the Quartodecimans (§ 2). Nay even in the latter half of the fourth century, when the fury of the storm was altogether spent and the question had been set at rest by the Council of Nicæa, the Ignatian forger of the Long Recension cannot altogether hold his hands off this subject (*Philipp.* 14). Yet here not a word, not a hint, which could be turned to any use on either side. Is not the natural inference that the writer lived before the controversy arose?

Again; another controversy which concentrated upon itself the interest of the Church in the latter half of the second century was the Montanist. The theatre of this controversy was the very region with which these epistles are concerned. The Churches of Proconsular Asia and Phrygia were alive with synods and counter-synods discussing the question. Philadelphia more especially, with which our author corresponds, is mentioned in connexion with the Montanist disputes, as the residence of Ammia a reputed forerunner of the Montanist prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla (Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 17). Has our author then no interest in these disputes? Does he say nothing which betokens either approval or disapproval of this 'new dispensation'? Is there not a word which betrays his opinion of these prophetesses? Is there no mention at all of the Paraclete, no reference whatever to the New Jerusalem? How is it that we cannot put our finger on a single expression which decides his position respecting the two opposing views of the prophet's inspiration? Yet writing to the Philadelphians, he claims for himself that he was moved to speak by the Spirit (§ 7). Why did he not seize with avidity the opportunity of declaring himself on this leading question of the day?

But again; when we turn to the region of speculative theology, the result is the same. Three great heresiarchs tower above the rest during the last three quarters of the second century. If our author had written during that period, we should have expected to find in a man of such rigid and outspoken orthodoxy some reference or at least some hint bearing on one or other of these more flagrant forms of heresy. But there is nothing of the kind.

BASILIDES flourished during the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117—138), but his sect maintained a somewhat vigorous life for some generations after. He taught indeed in Alexandria, but he seems to have been educated in Syria and the East. How is it that there is no allusion in these letters to the Non-existent Being, to the World-seed, to the Great Archon, to the Ogdoad and the Hebdomad, to the Threefold Sonship, to the Abrasax, to the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, to the prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph, to the 'Expositions', to the depreciation of martyrdom, to the compromise with idolatrous sacrifices, to any book or any tenet of Basilides and the Basilideans?

Again; some years before the middle of the century MARCION appears on the scene. Marcion was a native of Asia Minor, and he taught in Rome. At Rome he came in contact with Ignatius' friend and correspondent Polycarp, who then and there denounced him as 'the first-born of Satan' (Iren. iii. 3. 4). Thus he trod the very same ground, as it were, with the author of these epistles. His reputation was world-wide for good or for evil. His adherents were found in most parts where Christianity had spread. For some generations later the Marcionites were sufficiently powerful to call forth elaborate polemical treatises from champions of orthodox Christianity. It must therefore be regarded as a significant fact, that here too our author betrays not the faintest sign of any knowledge of his doctrine or his existence. There is no allusion whatever to his trenchant dualism, to his 'antitheses', to his views of the conflict between the work of the Creator and the work of Christ, between the Just God and the Good God, between the Old Testament and the New, between the Apostles of the Circumcision and the Apostle of the Gentiles; none to his mutilated Gospel, to his tortuous exegesis, to his rigid asceticism. Yet this silence is not explicable on the ground that our author's polemics are concentrated on subjects alien to Marcion's theology. More than once he discusses the relations of the Old Testament to the New, of the prophets and patriarchs to the Gospel (*Magn.* 8, 9, *Philad.* 5, 9, *Smyrn.* 5, 7). More than once he aims his blows at a Docetism identical in its main lines with the Docetism of Marcion (see above,

p. 366 sq.). But in both cases the only antagonists whom he sees before him are Judaizers, whereas Marcion was markedly Anti-judaic. Yet his theological position leaves no doubt that on such questions Marcion's views would have been even more intolerable to him than those of his Judaic antagonists. How then is this silence to be explained, except on the ground that Marcion was excluded from his range of vision by the impervious barrier of chronology?

Lastly; coeval with, and even prior to Marcion, VALENTINUS emerges into prominence, as a heresiarch. Though a native of Alexandria, he too taught at Rome (c. A.D. 140—160). Valentinus was the parent of many teachers and many schools of Gnostic theology. The Valentinian doctrine called forth refutations from all the ablest theologians of the time, notably Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. It was quite the most prominent among the heretical systems of the early ages, which challenged the supremacy of the Catholic Church. It was popular alike in the East and in the West. It had an extensive literature of its own. Here at all events we might expect some side thrust, even if there were no direct blow, at a rank and wide spread heresy. Yet there is not a word about the primal Bythos the Unutterable, about the successively generated pairs of æons, about the Ogdoad and the Decad and the Dodecad, about the sorrows and vicissitudes of Sophia Achamoth cast out of the pleroma and stranded in the world of shadow, about the story of creation and redemption, about the triple division of mankind into the spiritual, the psychical, and the material, about any of the fantastical myths of this highly imaginative system of speculative theology.

One passage however has been alleged by impugners of the genuineness of these letters, as containing a direct attack on Valentinian doctrine and therefore betraying a gross anachronism. No student of the Ignatian controversy will need to be reminded of the passage *Magn.* 8 ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, 'Who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Eternal Word not having proceeded from Silence'; for so it is read in the common editions.

This passage furnished assailants, such as Blondel and Daillé, with their strongest argument. The writer, it was urged, is clearly referring to the Valentinian doctrine of emanations which was not propounded till after the death of Ignatius. Pearson, replying to this objection (*Vind. Ign.* ii. 5), laid stress on the fact that in the earliest accounts of the Valentinian doctrine Logos is not said to be generated immediately from Sige, another æon being interposed. Bythos and Sige are there

represented as begetting Nous and Aletheia, who in turn beget Logos and Zoe. This answer however was far from decisive. Irenæus (i. 11. 5) and Hippolytus (*Haer.* vi. 29) state that the Valentinians disputed among themselves about the place which Bythos and Sige should occupy in their system. Moreover Cyril of Jerusalem[1] and Didymus of Alexandria[2] report Valentinus as making Sige the immediate parent of Logos; while the Valentinian Theodotus, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria[3], speaks of Sige as 'the mother of all the emanations (*τῶν προβληθέντων*) from Bythos', probably however meaning nothing more than that she was the first parent of the whole race of æons. Still less happy was the solution adopted by Pearson (p. 384 sq.) and Cotelier (*ad loc.*) and by other more recent writers, that the passage is directed against the Ebionites, the 'procession from silence' being thus regarded as equivalent to the denial of the pre-existence of the Son[4]; though this solution had one slender foot-hold of truth in the fact that our author in the context is plainly seen to be attacking Judaizers. Nor was Pearson successful in his attempt to show (ii. 7)

[1] *Catech.* vi. 17 (p. 98, Touttée) *ὁ Οὐαλεντῖνος... φησιν ὅτι ὁ Βυθὸς... ἐγέννησε Σιγὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σιγῆς ἐτεκνοποίει Λόγον· τοῦ παρ' Ἕλλησιν Διὸς οὗτος χείρων τοῦ τῇ ἀδελφῇ μιγνυμένου· τέκνον γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ Βυθοῦ ἐλέγετο ἡ Σιγή.* In the text which Pearson had before him, the words were read *ἐτεκνοποίει λόγου τοῦ παρ' Ἕλλησιν Διός· οὗτος χείρων τοῦ κ.τ.λ.*, and he conjectured *λόγῳ* 'ad modum vel similitudinem Jovis' (*Vind. Ign.* p. 402 sq.), though he mentions the reading *λόγον* in an Oxford MS. See the next note.

[2] *De Trin.* iii. 42 (p. 992, Migne) *Οὐαλεντίνου... μῦθον... ἀναπλασαμένου τοιόνδε, ὅτι ὁ Βυθὸς ἐγέννησεν τὴν Σιγήν, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τεχνοποιησαμένου λόγον τινὰ τοῦ παρ' Ἕλλησι Διός κ.τ.λ.*, quoted by Churton (Pearson *Vind. Ign.* p. 403, note), who remarks 'Quo sensu intelligendus sit iste *λόγος τις τοῦ παρ' Ἕλλησι Διὸς* nescire me non diffiteor', and then offers a tentative explanation. It is clear however from the whole context that the passage of Didymus is not independent of the passage of Cyril. He must therefore have misread or misheard (for he was blind) the words of Cyril or Cyril's authority, as the substitution of *τεχνοποιησαμένου* 'having artificially invented' for *ἐτεκνοποίησε* shows, and his text must have wrongly connected the words.

[3] *Exc. Theod.* 29 (*Op.* II. p. 976, Potter) *Ἡ σιγή, φασίν, μήτηρ οὖσα πάντων τῶν προβληθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βάθους (βυθοῦ?) κ.τ.λ.* The same is probably the meaning of the authority quoted by Epiphanius *Haer.* xxxi. 5 (p. 169) *αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς σιγῆς τετρὰς· ἄνθρωπος, ἐκκλησία, λόγος, ζωή.* Pearson suspects a lacuna in this passage of Epiphanius, *Vind. Ign.* p. 402.

[4] This same interpretation had been suggested by Petau (*de Theol. Dogm.* IV. p. 163, Antwerp. 1700); but he says nothing of a polemical reference to the Ebionites. Pearson's view is controverted by Bull *Defens. Fid. Nic.* iii. 1 (*Works* v. p. 476 sq.), who supposes the Cerinthians to be intended. The Docetism of Cerinthus however was, as I have pointed out, different in character from that of these heretics.

that, even if Valentinus were intended, the statement could not be regarded as an anachronism, since the errors of this heresiarch might have been known even to Ignatius. With greater effect he and others after him maintained that this Sige was by no means a creation of Valentinus; that it was borrowed from heathen cosmogonies; that it was found in a cosmical genealogy as early as the Comic poet Antiphanes[1]; and lastly that Gregory Nazianzen (in a very loose and highly oratorical passage, it must be confessed) gives Sige a place in the systems of Simon, Cerinthus, and others (*Orat.* xxv. § 8, i. p. 460), while Irenæus himself (*Haer.* i. 11. 1) states that Valentinus borrowed his theory with modifications from earlier Gnostics. The discovery of the treatise of Hippolytus has confirmed the justice of this reply. In one passage (vi. 22) this scourge of heretics speaks of 'that Silence on which the Greeks are always harping' (ἡ ὑμνουμένη ἐκείνη παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σιγή); in another (vi. 21) he states that Valentinus founded his system on that of Simon; and in a third (vi. 18) he quotes a passage from the *Great Announcement*, attributed to Simon himself but probably written by one of his followers, in which his primary power or emanation is styled Sige[2].

[1] Iren. *Haer.* ii. 14. 1 'Antiphanes in Theogonia'. From the context we may infer that the passage to which Irenæus refers under the name *Theogonia* was taken from the Ἀφροδίτης γοναί of this poet, as Grabe suggested. Meineke (*Fragm. Com.* i. p. 318 sq.) begs the question, when he impugns the explicit and detailed statement of Irenæus on the ground that Sige or Silence was first introduced by the Neoplatonists and Gnostics.

[2] Card. Newman (*Essays* i. p. 249) writes of this supposed reference to the Valentinian Sige; 'This was the only point discoverable in the text of the shorter Epistles which really had to be reconciled with the maintenance of their genuineness. *Illud non negaverim*, says Voss, *si locus hic sit sanus et haec desumpta sint ex haeresi Valentiniana, actum videri de Epistolis Ignatianis.* Accordingly Pearson devotes as many as forty-six folio columns of his great work to solve the apparent difficulty, at the end of which he says, *Quatuor assertiones attuli, omnes exploratae veritatis, ita tamen comparatae, ut si vel una earum vera sit, ea unica omnem argumenti adversariorum vim elidat* (p. 390). And after Pearson, Bull devotes another series of twenty columns to complete the explanation'. [I might add that Matt. de Larroque (see above, p. 321) occupies a hundred pages or more of his work in refuting Pearson on this point.] 'In our time the difficulty has solved itself; and consistently with the arguments of those Anglican divines. From the newly discovered work on Heresies, commonly attributed to Hippolytus, etc.'

Card. Newman correctly regards this as the one real point of difficulty; but the solution is different from and much more satisfactory than that which he adopts.

Hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.

A handful of critical small dust has quieted this conflict of giants.

At all events it ought to have been clear from the context that, if there be any polemical reference in the words, the heresy assailed cannot be the Valentinian, for the whole argument is directed, as I have already shown, against *Judaizing* Gnostics, and Valentinus was the very opposite of this. But the whole objection collapses, now that the true reading of the text is discovered. The words ἄϊδιος οὐκ must be struck out, as I have shown elsewhere (II. p. 125 sq.), alike on grounds of external authority and of intrinsic probability. Venema (*H. E.* Saec. ii. § 12, quoted by Jacobson on the passage) with a true appreciation felt that the sense required the negative to be omitted, even when there was no known authority for the omission. I pointed out as early as 1868 (see below, II. p. 127) that this was the true reading, as being the best supported, and it has been since adopted by both the recent editors of Ignatius, Zahn (1876) and Funk (1878).

But so corrected, the passage wears a very different aspect. No longer a polemic against Valentinus, it employs language closely resembling the terminology of Valentinianism and other Gnostic systems of the second century. Thus it points to a pre-Valentinian epoch; for no writer, careful for his orthodoxy as our author plainly is, would allow himself the use of such suspicious language, which seemed to favour the false systems then rife. Nor does this expression stand alone. Elsewhere the language of the writer is coloured with a Gnostic and more especially a Valentinian tinge. Thus the *pleroma* was a very favourite Gnostic term; and in the Valentinian system more especially it had a prominent place. Yet our author addresses the Ephesian Church as 'blessed through the *pleroma* of God the Father' (see II. p. 23), and in similar language he salutes the Trallian Christians 'in the *pleroma*' (see II. p. 152). So too, when he tells the Trallians (§ 1; comp. *Ephes.* 1) that they possess a right mind 'not by habit but by nature', he makes a distinction constantly heard on the lips of Valentinians and other Gnostics, who thus distinguished themselves as superior to other professed Christians (II. p. 153). Again, when he uses the word 'straining' or 'filtering' of the advanced Christian (*Rom.* inscr., *Philad.* 3), he adopts a significant and favourite term of the Valentinian vocabulary (see II. p. 193). And lastly, when he speaks of 'matter' (*Rom.* 6; comp. *ib.* 7 φιλόϋλον) as the source of temptation and so of evil, he is trenching upon Gnostic ground. All these expressions point in the same direction. He could use this language and indulge these thoughts, because they had not yet, at least in any marked way, been abused to heretical ends. And we may perhaps even go a step further. Will not the suspicion cross our minds that Ignatius may have moved

more or less in the same circles, out of which Valentinianism afterwards sprung? This suspicion is somewhat strengthened by another incidental fact. Among his companions was a much younger man, Agathopus by name, apparently a deacon of his own Church of Antioch. Now we find Valentinus writing to one Agathopus. Was he the same man, as many have supposed? For more on this subject, see the note, II. p. 280.

(iii) *Ecclesiastical Conditions.*

Under the head of *ecclesiastical arrangements* our first consideration will be the form of *government* which is revealed in these epistles. This is the ground which has been most fiercely contested by the combatants in the Ignatian controversy, at least in its earlier stages.

The name of Ignatius is inseparably connected with the championship of *episcopacy*. 'Every one', he writes, 'whom the Master of the house sendeth to govern His own household we ought to receive as Him that sent him; clearly therefore we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself' (*Ephes.* 6). Those 'live a life after Christ', who 'obey the bishop as Jesus Christ' (*Trall.* 2). 'It is good to know God and the bishop; he that honoureth the bishop is honoured of God; he that doeth anything without the knowledge of the bishop serveth the devil' (*Smyrn.* 9). He that obeys his bishop obeys 'not him, but the Father of Jesus Christ the Bishop of all'; while on the other hand he that practises hypocrisy towards his bishop 'not only deceiveth the visible one but cheateth the Invisible' (*Magn.* 3). 'Vindicate thine office', he writes to Polycarp, 'in things temporal as well as spiritual' (*Polyc.* 3). 'Let nothing be done without thy consent, and do thou nothing without the consent of God' (*Polyc.* 4). Then turning from Polycarp to the Smyrnæans he charges them, 'Give heed to your bishop, that God also may give heed to you' (*Polyc.* 6). Writing again to these same Smyrnæans he enjoins, 'Do ye all follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father' (*Smyrn.* 8). 'As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ', he writes to another church, 'are with the bishop' (*Philad.* 3). The members of a third church again are bidden to be 'inseparate from [God,] Jesus Christ, and the bishop, and the ordinances of the Apostles' (*Trall.* 7). The Ephesians again are commended, because they are so united with their bishop, 'as the Church with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ with the Father'. 'If', he adds, 'the prayer of one or two hath so much power, how much more the prayer of the bishop and of all the Church' (*Ephes.* 5). 'Wherever the bishop may appear, there let the people (πλῆθος) be, just as where Jesus Christ

may be, there is the universal Church' (*Smyrn.* 8). Consequently 'Let no man do anything pertaining to the Church without the bishop' (*ib.*; comp. *Magn.* 4, *Philad.* 7). 'It is not lawful either to baptize or to hold a love-feast without the bishop; but whatsoever he may approve, this also is well-pleasing to God, that everything which is done may be safe and valid' (*Smyrn.* 8). Those who decide on a life of virginity must disclose their intention to the bishop only; and those who purpose marrying must obtain his consent to their union, that 'their marriage may be according to the Lord and not according to concupiscence' (*Polyc.* 5). In giving such commands he is not speaking from human suggestion, but 'the Spirit preached saying, Do nothing without the bishop' (*Philad.* 7).

The prominence and authority of the office are sufficiently clear from these passages. Its *extension* may be inferred from others. He plainly regards himself as bishop of Antioch, for he describes himself as 'the bishop belonging to Syria' (*τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας Rom.* 2); and he speaks of the Antiochene Church, when deprived of his presence, as having no other pastor but God, no other bishop but Jesus Christ (*Rom.* 9). He mentions by name the bishops of Ephesus (*Ephes.* 1), of Magnesia (*Magn.* 2), and of Tralles (*Trall.* 1); and he refers anonymously to the bishop of Philadelphia (*Philad.* inscr., 1). Not only in the letters addressed to the Smyrnæans (§§ 8, 12) and to himself, but elsewhere also (*Magn.* 15), Polycarp is spoken of as bishop. Writing to the Philadelphians likewise, he says that the churches nearest to Antioch have sent thither bishops to congratulate the Antiochenes on the restoration of peace. It is plain therefore that in those parts of Syria and Asia Minor at all events, with which Ignatius is brought in contact, the episcopate, properly so called, is an established and recognised institution. In one passage moreover he seems to claim for it a much wider diffusion: 'The bishops established in the farthest parts (*οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες*) are in the counsels of Jesus Christ' (*Ephes.* 3).

In all such language however there is no real difficulty. The strange audacity of writers like Daillé, who placed the establishment of episcopacy as late as the beginning of the third century, need not detain us; for no critic of the Ignatian Epistles, however adverse, would venture now to take up this extreme position. The whole subject has been investigated by me in an Essay on 'The Christian Ministry'[1]; and

[1] See *Philippians* p. 181 sq. The Old Catholic Langen, *Geschichte der Römischen Kirche* 1881, p. 95 sq., gives an account of the origin of episcopacy precisely similar to my own, as set forth in this Essay. I do not know how far Card.

to this I venture to refer my readers for fuller information. It is there shown, if I mistake not, that though the New Testament itself contains as yet no direct and indisputable notices of a localized episcopate in the Gentile Churches, as distinguished from the moveable episcopate exercised by Timothy in Ephesus and by Titus in Crete, yet there is satisfactory evidence of its development in the later years of the Apostolic age; that this development was not simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom; that it is more especially connected with the name of S. John; and that in the early years of the second century the episcopate was widely spread and had taken firm root, more especially in Asia Minor and in Syria. If the evidence on which its extension in the regions east of the Ægæan at this epoch be resisted, I am at a loss to understand what single fact relating to the history of the Christian Church during the first half of the second century can be regarded as established; for the testimony in favour of this spread of the episcopate is more abundant and more varied than for any other institution or event during this period, so far as I recollect. Referring to the Essay before mentioned for details, I will content myself here with dwelling on some main points of the evidence.

Irenæus was a scholar of Polycarp, and Polycarp was a scholar of S. John. Irenæus remembered well the discourses of his own master, as Polycarp did those of the Apostle. Both these fathers delighted to recall such reminiscences of their respective teachers. Irenæus was probably the most learned Christian of his time. He certainly had an acquaintance with heathen, as well as with sacred literature. He had travelled far and wide. He was born and schooled in Asia Minor; he resided some time during middle life in Rome; he spent his later years in Gaul. He was in constant communication with foreign churches on various subjects of ecclesiastical and theological interest. The intercourse between Gaul and Asia Minor more especially was close and constant. An appreciation of the position of the man is a first requisite to the estimate of his evidence. Historic insight is the realization of the relations of persons and events.

The view of Irenæus respecting the subject before us is unmistakeable. The episcopate, as distinct from the presbyterate, is the only

Newman would agree with me in my historical investigation; but he uses language (*Essays* I. p. 251 sq.) which has many points of contact with mine. I need hardly say here, what I have said on other occasions, that I do not hold myself responsible for the interpretations which others (whether friends or opponents) have put upon my language or for the inferences which they have drawn from my views.

episcopate which comes within the range, not only of his personal acquaintance, but even of his intellectual and historical cognisance. This is so far the case that he entirely overlooks the identity of the terms 'bishop' and 'presbyter' in the New Testament[1], which later fathers discerned. This appears from his mode of handling the interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus, who are called 'presbyters' in one place and 'bishops' in another (Acts xx. 17 *πέμψας εἰς Ἔφεσον μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, ver. 28 *τῷ ποιμνίῳ ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους*). Ignorant of the New Testament usage, he regards S. Paul as 'summoning the bishops *and* presbyters who were from Ephesus *and the other neighbouring* cities' (*Haer.* iii. 14. 2 'convocatis episcopis et presbyteris qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus'). To this father accordingly it is an undisputed fact that the bishops of his own age traced their succession back in an unbroken line to men appointed to the episcopate by the Apostles themselves. To this succession of bishops he appeals again and again, as the depositaries of the Apostolic tradition, against the Gnostic and other false teachers. 'We can enumerate those', he writes, 'who were appointed bishops by the Apostles themselves in the several churches, and their successors even to our own day, who neither taught nor recognised any such madness as these men maintain'. Since it would be a tedious business, he continues, to enumerate the successions of all the churches, he singles out the Church of Rome founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul. Accordingly he gives the sequence of the Roman bishops from the Apostolic age to Eleutherus who occupied the see when he wrote. From Rome he turns to Smyrna, and singles out Polycarp who had 'not only been instructed by Apostles and conversed with many that had seen Christ, but had also been appointed by Apostles in Asia as bishop in the Church of Smyrna' (*ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος*), 'whom' he adds, 'we ourselves have seen in our early years' (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*). To this Apostolic tradition 'all the churches in Asia bear witness, and [especially] the successors of Polycarp to the

[1] On this identity of the terms in the New Testament see *Philippians* p. 95 sq. After the establishment of the episcopate proper the designation *ἐπίσκοπος* is confined to it. A bishop may still be called *πρεσβύτερος*, but a presbyter is not now called conversely *ἐπίσκοπος*. In Irenæus for instance *πρεσβύτερος* has a very wide significance, being used of antiquity or of old age, as well as of office. In this wider sense the *πρεσβύτεροι*, 'the elders,' are the primitive fathers (irrespective of office), whose views of Christian doctrine and practice are especially valuable by reason of their proximity to the Apostles; e.g. iii. 2. 2, iv. 26. 2, 5, v. 5. 1, v. 36. 1, 2. On the other hand he always employs *ἐπίσκοπος* with precision of the episcopal office alone.

present day (*καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον*)'. So also the Church of Ephesus, where John survived to the time of Trajan, is a trustworthy witness of the Apostolic tradition (*Haer.* iii. 3. 1 sq.). Later on again he writes, 'We ought to listen to those elders in the Church who have their succession from the Apostles, as we have shown, who together with the succession of the episcopate have received the sure gift of the truth according to the good pleasure of the Father' (iv. 26. 2). In a third passage also, speaking of the heretical teachers, he writes, 'All these are much later (valde posteriores) than the bishops to whom the Apostles committed the churches, and this we have shown with all diligence in our third book' (v. 20. 1). After every reasonable allowance made for the possibility of mistakes in details, such language from a man standing in the position of Irenæus with respect to the previous and contemporary history of the Church leaves no room for doubt as to the early and general diffusion of episcopacy in the regions with which he was acquainted.

The notices in Irenæus are further confirmed by the language of his contemporary Polycrates. Polycrates was himself bishop of Ephesus, and the letter of which fragments are preserved (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24) was written by him to Victor bishop of Rome, consequently between the years A.D. 189 and A.D. 198 or 199. He there mentions his 'hoar head' (*πολιάς*) and speaks of himself as 'numbering sixty-five years in the Lord' (*ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν Κυρίῳ*). Even if this period dates from his birth and not from his conversion, he must have been born within about a quarter of a century after the death of the last surviving Apostle, who passed his later years in the Church of Ephesus where Polycrates ruled. He appeals to the tradition of his relatives with some of whom, he says, he associated on intimate terms (*παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκολούθησά τισιν αὐτῶν*). He adds that he had had seven relatives bishops, so that he himself was the eighth bishop of his kindred (*ἑπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος*). In an earlier part of the same fragment he mentions Polycarp as bishop of Smyrna, Thraseas as bishop of Eumenia, Sagaris as bishop apparently of Laodicea (*Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον...ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται*), and inferentially also Melito as bishop of Sardis (*ἐν Σάρδεσι περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπήν*)[1]. Altogether this fragment, not occupying more than an octavo page in all, is charged with notices testifying to the early and wide spread of the episcopate in these regions of Asia Minor.

A passage in Clement of Alexandria also points in the same direction. In the well-known story of S. John and the young robber, for

[1] See the note on *Polyc.* inscr (II. p. 332).

the truth of which he vouches, Clement represents the Apostle during his later life, when he resided at Ephesus, as going about on invitation to the neighbouring nations (ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν) to appoint bishops in some places, to establish whole churches in others, and to ordain certain clergy in others (*Quis Div. Salv.* 42, p. 959 Potter). This Clement had travelled far and wide, and had received instruction from six or more different Christian teachers in Greece, in Italy, in Egypt, in Palestine and Syria and the farther East; among whom was one called by him an 'Ionian', that is, a native of these very parts of Asia Minor (*Strom.* i. 1, p. 322). In accordance with this statement also the author of the Muratorian Canon (about A.D. 170 or later) speaks of the aged Apostle as writing his Gospel 'at the urgent entreaty of his fellow-disciples and bishops' (*Canon Muratorianus* p. 17, 'cohortantibus condescipulis et episcopis suis', ed. Tregelles).

It will be sufficient here to have called attention to these passages of more general reference. Notices of particular bishops in early times will be found collected together in the Essay to which I have already referred. One such person alone deserves special mention here. Polycarp, as we have seen, is more than once designated bishop of Smyrna in these Ignatian Epistles. So also he is described both by Irenæus and by Polycrates in the passages already referred to. But we have more direct testimony to his episcopate even than these witnesses. Only a few months at the outside, probably only a few weeks, after these Ignatian Epistles purport to have been written, he himself addresses a letter to the Philippians. The heading of the letter, indirectly indeed, but plainly enough, indicates his monarchical position. He does not write 'Polycarp and the other presbyters', but 'Polycarp and the presbyters with him' (see II. p. 905), though even the former mode of address would not have been inconsistent with his episcopal rank. As it is, the position assigned to him in this passage corresponds exactly with the representations in the Ignatian Epistles, as for instance in *Philad.* 8, where 'the council of the bishop' (συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου) is equivalent to 'the bishop together with his presbyters as assessors and counsellors'.

Nor again is there any real difficulty in the extended area over which the Ignatian letters assume the episcopal constitution to prevail. I have given reasons in my Essay for believing that the spread of the episcopate was not uniform throughout Christendom, and that some churches, as for instance Philippi, had not yet adopted it. But throughout Asia Minor and Syria, so far as we know, it was universal. Probably also this was the case in the farther East. So likewise, if the Gospel

had already been carried into Gaul[1], as seems fairly probable, the Gallican Churches would naturally adopt the organization which prevailed in the communities of Asia Minor from which they were spiritually descended. Again, though there are grounds for surmising that the bishops of Rome were not at the time raised so far above their presbyters as in the Churches of the East, yet it would be an excess of scepticism, with the evidence before us, to question the existence of the episcopate as a distinct office from the presbyterate in the Roman Church. With these facts before us, we shall cease to regard the expression, *Ephes.* 3, 'the bishops established in the farthest parts (*κατὰ τὰ πέρατα*)', as a stumblingblock. At the most it is a natural hyperbole, not more violent than the language of S. Paul when, writing to the Thessalonians only a few months after their conversion, he declares that their faith is 'spread abroad in every place', so that it is superfluous for him to speak of it (1 Thess. i. 8)[2].

It should be observed also that the conception of the episcopal office itself is wholly different from the ideas which prevailed in the later years of the second century. There is not throughout these letters the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry[3]. The only passage in which a priest or a high-priest is mentioned at all is *Philad.* 9; 'The priests likewise are good, but the High-priest is better, even He to whom is entrusted the holy of holies, who alone hath been entrusted with the hidden things of God, being Himself the door of the Father, etc.' Here a careless exegesis has referred the priests to the Christian ministry; but the whole context resists this reference. The writer is contrasting the Old dispensation with the New. He allows the worth of the former, but he claims a

[1] See *Galatians* p. 31 on the probability that European Gaul is meant by 'Galatia' in 2 Tim. iv. 10. Moreover, if S. Paul himself went to Spain, as there is good reason to believe he did, it is not likely that a country lying intermediate between Italy and Spain would remain long without the Gospel. Irenæus, writing soon after A.D. 175, speaks of 'the churches established in the provinces of Germany (*Γερμανίαις*) and Iberia (*Ἰβηρίαις*) and among the Celts' (i. 10. 2), thus bearing witness to the wide spread of the Gospel north of the Alps and west of Italy in his time.

[2] So too Rom. i. 8 *ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ*: comp. xvi. 19 *ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπακοὴ εἰς πάντας ἀφίκετο.*

[3] Nothing can be farther from the truth than the view of Heumann who, as represented by Fabricius (*Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 36, ed. Harles), argues that these epistles must have been written after the age of Cyprian, 'probatque judicium Dodwelli (*Diss. Cyprian.* vii. § 13 et 33) non esse ovum ovo similius quam Ignatianae totam Cypriani de episcoporum auctoritate ratiocinationem.' The essential difference between the two views is pointed out in my Essay, pp. 250 sq., 258 sq.

superiority for the latter (*ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον...τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας*). Plainly therefore by the 'priests' here is meant the Levitical priesthood, the mediators of the Old Covenant; while the High-priest is Christ, the mediator of the New[1]. Nor again is there any approach even to the language of Irenæus, who, regarding the episcopate as the depositary of the doctrinal tradition of the Apostles, lays stress on the Apostolical succession as a security for its faithful transmission. In these Ignatian Epistles the episcopate, or rather the threefold ministry, is the centre of order, the guarantee of unity, in the Church. 'Have a care for union' is the writer's charge to Polycarp (*Polyc.* 1); and this idea runs throughout the notices (*Ephes.* 2—5, 20, *Magn.* 6, 13, *Trall.* 7, *Philad.* inscr., 3, 4, 7, 8, *Smyrn.* 8, 9). Heresies are rife; schisms are imminent. To avert these dangers, loyalty to Church rulers is necessary. There is no indication that he is upholding the episcopal against any other form of Church government, as for instance the presbyteral. The alternative which he contemplates is lawless isolation and self-will. No definite theory is propounded as to the principle on which the episcopate claims allegiance. It is as the recognised authority of the churches which the writer addresses, that he maintains it. Almost simultaneously with Ignatius, Polycarp addresses the Philippian Church, which appears not yet to have had a bishop, requiring its submission 'to the presbyters and deacons' (*Phil.* 5). If Ignatius had been writing to this church, he would doubtless have done the same. As it is, he is dealing with communities where episcopacy had been already matured, and therefore he demands obedience to their bishops.

It is worthy of notice likewise that, though the form of government in these Asiatic Churches is in some sense monarchical, yet it is very far from being autocratic. We have seen already that in one passage the writer in the term 'the council of the bishop' (*Philad.* 8) includes the bishop himself as well as his presbyters. This expression tells its own tale. Elsewhere submission is required to the presbyters as well as to the bishop (*Ephes.* 2, 20, *Magn.* 2, 7, *Trall.* 13). Nay sometimes the writer enjoins obedience to the deacons as well as to the bishop and presbyters (*Polyc.* 6; comp. *Magn.* 6, *Trall.* 3, *Philad.* 7, *Smyrn.* 8). The 'presbytery' is a 'worthy spiritual coronal' (*ἀξιοπλόκου πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου*) round the bishop (*Magn.* 13). It is the duty of every one, but especially of the presbyters, 'to refresh the bishop unto the honour of

[1] See below, II. p. 274. Daillé (p. 383) goes wrong on this point. He is corrected by Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 532 sq.). The right view is also taken by Bull (*Works* IX. p. 575) and by Baur (*Ursprung d. Episcopats* p. 173).

the Father [and] of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles' (*Trall.* 12). They stand in the same relation to him 'as the chords to the lyre' (*Ephes.* 4). If obedience is due to the bishop as to the grace of God, it is due to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ (*Magn.* 2). If the bishop occupies the place of God or of Jesus Christ, the presbyters are as the Apostles, as the council of God (*Magn.* 6, *Trall.* 2, 3, *Smyrn.* 8). This last comparison alone would show how widely the idea of the episcopate differed from the later conception, when it had been formulated in the doctrine of the Apostolical succession. The presbyters, not the bishops, are here the representatives of the Apostles.

There is yet another feature in the notices of the episcopate in the Ignatian letters which deserves remark. Of a diocese, properly so called, there is no trace. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Ignatius is called 'bishop of Syria' in *Rom.* 2 (see the note II. p. 201). Episcopacy has not passed beyond its primitive stage. The bishop and presbyters are the ministry of a city, not of a diocese. What provision may have been made for the rural districts we are not told. The country folk about Ephesus or Smyrna were probably still *pagans*, not only in the original sense of the word, but also in its later theological meaning. This fact however can hardly be used as a criterion of date, as it would hold throughout the second century, and no critic would now think of assigning a later date than this to the Ignatian letters.

One point especially calls for a notice when we are considering the unequal development of the episcopate in different parts of Christendom. Of the seven letters bearing the name of Ignatius, six are addressed to Asia Minor, the remaining one to Rome. The six are full of exhortations urging obedience to the bishops; the letter to Rome is entirely free from any such command. Indeed, if Ignatius had not incidentally mentioned himself as 'the bishop of' or 'from Syria', the letter to the Romans would have contained no indication of the existence of the episcopal office. It is addressed to the Church of Rome. It assigns to this church a preeminence of rank as well as of love (inscr.). There are obviously in Rome persons in high quarters so influential that the saint fears lest their intervention should rob him of the crown of martyrdom. With all this importance attributed to the Roman Church, it is the more remarkable that not a word is said about the Roman bishop. Indeed there is not even the faintest hint that a bishop of Rome existed at this time. To ourselves the Church of Rome has been so entirely merged in the Bishop of Rome, that this silence is the more surprising. Yet startling as this omission is, it entirely accords with the information derived from other trustworthy sources. All the ancient notices point

to the mature development of episcopacy in Asia Minor at this time. On the other hand, all the earliest notices of the Church in Rome point in the opposite direction. In the Epistle of Clement, which was written a few years before these Ignatian letters purport to be penned, there is no mention of the bishop. The letter is written in the name of the Church; it speaks with the authority of the Church. It is strenuous, even peremptory, in the authoritative tone which it assumes; but it pleads the authority not of the chief minister, but of the whole body[1]. The next document emanating from the Roman Church after the assumed date of the Ignatian Epistles is the Shepherd of Hermas. Here again we are met with similar phenomena. If we had no other information, we should be at a loss to say what was the form of Church government at Rome when the Shepherd was written[2]. Thus the contrast between Asia Minor and Rome in the Ignatian letters exactly reproduces the contrast to be found elsewhere in the earliest and most authentic sources of information. This contrast moreover admits of an easy and natural explanation. As S. Jerome said long ago, the episcopal government was matured as a safeguard against heresy and schism. As such it appears in the Ignatian letters. But Asia Minor was in the earliest ages the hot-bed of false doctrine and schismatical teachers. Hence the early and rapid adoption of episcopacy there. On the other hand, Rome was at this time remarkably free from such troubles. It was not till the middle of the second century that heresiarchs found it worth their while to make Rome their centre of operations. The Roman Church is described in the Ignatian letter as 'strained clear from any foreign colour' of doctrine. Hence the episcopate, though doubtless it existed in some form or other in Rome, had not yet (it would seem) assumed the same sharp and well-defined monarchical character with which we are confronted in the Eastern churches. But what explanation could be given of this reticence, if the Ignatian letters were a forgery? What writer, even a generation later than the date assigned to Ignatius, would have exercised this self-restraint? The Church of Rome is singled out by Hegesippus and Irenæus in the latter half of the second century for emphatic mention in this very connexion. The succession of the bishops of Rome is with them the chief guarantee of the transmission of the orthodox doctrine. Much mention of the Church of Rome and yet no mention of the Bishop of Rome—this would be an inexplicable anomaly, a stark anachronism, in their age[3].

[1] See *S. Clement of Rome, Appendix*, p. 252 sq.

[2] See *Philippians* p. 219 sq.

[3] Yet with a bold disregard of all his-

Renan has remarked that apocryphal writings betray themselves by the prominence of a 'tendency.' Applying this test to the Ignatian Epistles he pronounces them spurious, 'always excepting the Epistle to the Romans.' 'The author wishes to make a great stroke in favour of the episcopal hierarchy[1].' This touchstone is altogether fallacious. In all great crises of the Church, ecclesiastical leaders manifest, cannot help manifesting, some tendency. The utterances of Luther or of Pio Nono are marked by this feature as strongly as the False Decretals, and even more strongly than the Ignatian Epistles. Moreover Renan's test is condemned by his exception; for it is demonstrable, I believe, that the Epistle to the Romans issued from the same pen as the other six letters (see pp. 301, 410 sq., 413).

From the ministry of men we turn to the *ministry of women;* and here a notice in these letters, as commonly interpreted, seems to point to a later date than the age of Ignatius. In *Smyrn.* 13 the saint sends a salutation to 'the virgins that are called widows' (τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας). This is generally supposed to imply that at the time when the letter was written the order of so-called widows was composed chiefly or solely of virgins. I have pointed out however in the notes on the passage (II. p. 322) that the language of ancient writers elsewhere suggests a wholly different interpretation; that it was customary to speak of those widows who maintained a chaste widowhood as 'virgins a second time,' 'virgins in God's sight,' and the like; and that therefore the expression in *Smyrn.* 13 implies nothing more than that these persons, though widows in common designation and in outward condition, were virgins in heart and spirit. This is indeed the only explanation of the passage unattended by serious historical difficulties, whatever date be assigned to the Ignatian letters. In no age, however late, in the history of the Church was the 'viduatus' composed solely or chiefly of virgins. Even in Tertullian's time (*de Virg. Vel.* 9) only one virgin here and there had been admitted into the order, so that he regards a 'virgo vidua' as a monstrous irregularity; and no one now would place the Ignatian Epistles as late as Tertullian.

From the ministry of the Church we turn to its *liturgy.* And here our evidence is chiefly negative. The absence of any references to a developed ritual in the public services of the Church is an argument

toric probability Baur unhesitatingly affirms that these Ignatian letters were forged in Rome itself about this time (*Ursprung d. Episcopats* p. 184). So too Schwegler *Nachapost. Zeitalter* II. p. 178.

[1] *Les Évangiles* p. xix.

in favour of the early date, though not a strong argument, since the omission might be accidental.

One notice however has a more direct and positive bearing as an indication of the writer's age and deserves special attention. In S. Paul's time (A.D. 57, 58) the eucharist was plainly part of the agape (1 Cor. xi. 17 sq.; comp. Acts xx. 7). The Christian festival, both in the hour of the day and in the arrangement of the meal, was substantially a reproduction of Christ's last night with His Apostles. Hence it was called 'the Lord's Supper'—a name originally applied to the combined eucharist and agape, but afterwards applied to the former when the latter had been separated or even abolished. On the other hand in Justin Martyr's time (about A.D. 140) the two were no less plainly separate (*Apol.* i. §§ 65, 67), the eucharistic celebration apparently taking place in the early morning. When was the change brought about?

The notice in the letter of the younger Pliny (Plin. et Traj. *Epist.* 96) throws some light on the subject. It is plain from his language that these festivals of the Christians had begun to provoke unfavourable comments. The stigma of 'Thyestean banquets' and 'Œdipodean pollutions' was already fastened or fastening upon them. What was to be done in order to disarm criticism? The eucharist was the core of Christian worship: this at all events could not be sacrificed. On the other hand the agape was not essential, though valuable in itself as a bond of brotherhood. A severance therefore was the obvious course. The eucharist was henceforward celebrated in the early morning, whereas the agape continued to be held, like other social meals, in the evening. It is not quite clear from Pliny's language (see above, p. 52 sq.), whether this severance had actually taken place before Pliny interposed with his enquiry into the affairs of the Christians, or whether it was the immediate consequence of this interposition; though the former seems the more probable alternative. But anyhow it is a reasonable inference from his language, that the severance was due to these charges of immorality brought against the Christian festivals in the age of Trajan and to the persecutions ensuing thereupon. When the eucharist was cut adrift from the agape, the agape might be discontinued, as circumstances dictated. As a matter of fact, we learn from Pliny's language that it was suspended in Bithynia in the age of Trajan, and we know from history that it was finally abandoned throughout the Church, though at a much later date.

Now in the Ignatian Epistles there is an expression which can only be interpreted naturally as implying that, when they were written, the eucharist still formed part of the agape. 'It is not permitted,' says

the writer, 'without the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love feast' (*Smyrn.* 8 οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν). In such a connexion the omission of the most important function in the Christian Church—the eucharist—is inconceivable. Therefore the eucharist must be implicitly contained in the agape. The expression here in fact is equivalent to the '*tinguere et offerre*', which are mentioned by Tertullian (*de Exh. Cast.* 7; comp. *de Virg. Vel.* 9) as the chief functions of the priestly office (see below, II. p. 313). It is true that the eucharist has been mentioned previously in this Ignatian letter; but the previous mention does not dispense with its presence here. A sentence has intervened. Moreover the form of the expression suggests that these particulars, 'baptizing and holding an agape,' are not particulars superadded to the eucharist, but are intended to be comprehensive in themselves. He does not write 'Neither again is it permitted,' but absolutely 'It is not permitted[1].' Here then we have a valuable indication of date. Whether Ignatius was martyred before or after the persecution in Bithynia to which Pliny's letter refers (A.D. 112; see above, p. 56, and below, II. p. 532), it is impossible to decide without further evidence. Nor again have we a right to say that the severance between the agape and the eucharist took place at Antioch or in Smyrna at the same time as in the Churches of Pontus and Bithynia. But there can be little doubt that the union of the two did not generally survive the persecution of Trajan, and when Justin wrote, some thirty years later, the severance seems to have been complete everywhere.

(iv) *Literary Obligations.*

An important criterion of date in the case of an unknown author may in many cases be found in his quotations or plagiarisms[2], and generally in his *literary obligations*, whether acknowledged or not, to those who have gone before him. In the present instance however the direct evidence under this head is exceptionally meagre. The author of

[1] The Ignatian interpolator in the fourth century felt the necessity of a mention of the eucharist here, but the eucharist was no longer a part of the agape and the primitive custom in this respect had passed out of memory. Accordingly he substitutes other words: 'It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptize or to make an oblation or to offer sacrifice or to celebrate an entertainment (οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν),' where the oblation and sacrifice signify the eucharist, and the entertainment (δοχή) is a synonyme for the agape (see the note, II. p. 312).

[2] The Ignatian writer of the fourth century betrays his date very clearly by his plagiarisms; see above, p. 249 sq.

these epistles—whether Ignatius or another—is a man of an essentially independent mind. We should not therefore look for many quotations or adaptations; and, as a matter of fact, his obligations are confined to the Scriptures, with the exception of some slight coincidences with the Epistle of S. Clement, on which no stress can be laid[1]. But the Scriptural references afford evidence of the highest value, though for the most part negative.

A primary test of age in any early Christian writing is the relation which the notices of the words and deeds of Christ and His Apostles bear to the Canonical writings. Tried by this test the Ignatian Epistles proclaim their early date. There is no sign whatever in them of a Canon or authoritative collection of books of the New Testament. The expression 'It is written' (γέγραπται) is employed to introduce quotations from the Old Testament alone (*Ephes.* 5, *Magn.* 12). In one passage it is evidently used by Ignatius, in controversy with his Judaizing opponents, of the Old Testament as *distinguished* from the New (*Philad.* 8). In this same passage 'the archives' (ἀρχεῖα) are opposed to 'the Gospel' (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), as the Old Testament to the New (see the notes, II. p. 270 sq.). Such language is highly archaic. Nor does it stand alone. There are frequent references to the facts of Christ's life, the miraculous incarnation, the baptism, the crucifixion, the resurrection, etc. There are even Gospel sayings embedded in these letters, though not directly cited, e.g. *Polyc.* 2 'Be thou prudent as the serpent in all things and harmless always as the dove' (Matt. x. 6), thus showing that the writer was acquainted with some of our Canonical Gospels. But there is not so much as a single reference to written evangelical records, such as the 'Memoirs of the Apostles' which occupy so large a place in Justin Martyr. Still less is there any quotation by name from a canonical Gospel, though such quotations abound in Irenæus. It is important also to observe that some incidents of Christ's life seem to have been derived either from oral tradition or from apocryphal written sources. This is the case with the saying in *Smyrn.* 3 'Take hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit'—language corresponding to but different from Luke xxiv. 36 sq., which refers to the same event (see II. p. 294 sq.). Daillé (p. 338 sq.) ventured to affirm that this quotation showed the late date of the Ignatian writer, because it was unworthy of an Apostolic father to quote from apocryphal

[1] e.g. *Ephes.* 15 compared with Clem. Rom. 27 (see II. p. 70). On the other hand there seems to be a tacit reference to Clement's Epistle in *Rom.* 3 (see above p. 357 sq., and II. p. 203).

writings. No reasonable critic now would for a moment use such an argument. An evangelical saying not found in the Canonical Gospels is rather suggestive of an early date, when oral tradition was still active and the evangelical narrative was not yet confined within any well-marked boundaries. The same is true, though not to the same extent, of the exaggerated account of the star at the nativity in *Ephes.* 19, where again it is impossible to say whether the writer was drawing upon oral tradition or upon some unknown written narrative (see II. p. 80 sq.). Again there is good reason for surmising that the words, 'He that is near the sword is near God,' in *Smyrn.* 4 were adopted or adapted from some evangelical saying current in earlier times (see the note II. p. 299 sq.).

The same holds good also of the Apostolic Epistles. Though the writer is evidently acquainted with several of S. Paul's Epistles, he never directly quotes any one. Addressing the Ephesians however (*Ephes.* 12), he says that this Apostle makes mention of them in every letter (*ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν*). These words are a stumbling-block to Daillé (pp. 351, 352), who argues that the statement is 'most clearly false,' and therefore the writer was 'anything rather than Ignatius' (nihil...esse minus quam Ignatium). False indeed it is, in the sense of being hyperbolical. As a matter of fact, S. Paul mentions the Ephesians in six of his thirteen epistles (see below II. p. 65) and he refers to individual members of the Church of Ephesus in two others (Col. iv. 7, Tit. iii. 12). But the question for us is not how true or how false the statement is; but whether it was more likely to be made by an early than a late writer. And to this question I think there can only be one answer. The Pauline Epistles were not, we have reason to believe, bound up in one volume so as to be convenient for reference, when Ignatius lived. We have no right even to assume that just the same epistles—neither more nor fewer—were accessible to him which are accessible to us. And this being so, he was much more likely to have indulged in such a statement than a writer situated like ourselves.

I would ask any reader, who desires to apprehend the full force of these arguments, to read a book or two of Irenæus continuously, and mark the contrast in the manner of dealing with the Evangelical narratives and the Apostolic letters. He will probably allow that an interval of two generations or more is not too long a period to account for the difference of treatment. If, reading the two documents side by side, he is not himself impressed with the wide gulf which separates them, his opinion is not likely to be affected by any arguments of others.

Directly connected with this subject is the reference in the Igna-

tian Epistles to New Testament personages. No little difficulty has been occasioned by the fact that the writer, addressing the Ephesians (§ 12), adverts to their connexion with S. Paul, but is silent about their connexion with S. John. As I have explained in the notes (II. p. 64), there was a special reason why S. Paul should be mentioned, which did not apply to S. John. It is as one who, like Ignatius himself, had been received by the Ephesians on his way to Rome and to martyrdom, that the Apostle of the Gentiles is singled out for mention. The difficulty however—such as it is—affects not the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles but the credibility of the tradition of S. John's sojourn at Ephesus during his later years. So far as it has any bearing at all on the Ignatian question, the omission of S. John's name is rather favourable to the genuineness of these letters than otherwise. In the age of Irenæus (*Haer.* ii. 22. 5, iii. 3. 4) and Polycrates (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24), when the traditions of S. John's residence at Ephesus were rife in the Church, the temptation to a forger writing to the Ephesians to say something about him would be almost irresistible. Even the later Ignatian writer of the fourth century cannot withstand this impulse. In the previous chapter (§ 11) Ignatius mentions the obedience of the Ephesians 'to the Apostles'. This Ignatian interpolator must needs give their names, Paul, John, and Timothy.

But the reticence of the writer with regard to Ignatius himself would be still more remarkable if these letters had been a forgery. A forger generally betrays himself by his too great eagerness to claim the highest authority for his utterances. Ignatius was well known as an 'Apostolic' father. He was the friend of S. John's disciple Polycarp. The writer of these epistles has occasion to mention S. Peter and S. Paul by name (*Ephes.* 12, *Rom.* 4). He speaks also generally of those Apostles with whom the Ephesians were connected (*Ephes.* 11), thus by implication referring to S. John. Polycarp is directly addressed in one letter and mentioned by name in two others (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 15). While thus moving about among Apostles and Apostolic men, how could our supposed forger have resisted the temptation to affiliate the hero whose mask he wears on one or other of these Apostles, and to throw some light on his spiritual parentage and relations? Yet so far is this from being the case that these letters contain no suggestion of any connexion between the writer and the Apostles, that on the contrary he is placed in direct contrast with them (*Trall.* 3, *Rom.* 4), and that in consequence grave doubts have been entertained by critics whether Ignatius was in any strict sense an 'Apostolic' father after all (see above, p. 30).

(v) *Personality of the Writer.*

Objections have been taken to the Ignatian letters on the ground that the character of the writer, as he represents himself, is inconsistent with the position of an Apostolic father. Objections of this class rest for the most part on the assumption that an Apostolic father must be a person of ideal perfections intellectually as well as morally—an assumption which has only to be named in order to be refuted.

Thus, for instance, offence has been taken at the *angelology* of the author of these epistles. He represents himself in one passage as possessing an exceptional insight into the mysteries of the unseen world, a knowledge of the orders and dispositions of the angels, which he fears to communicate to his readers lest it should be too strong meat for them (*Trall.* 5). In another passage likewise (*Smyrn.* 6) he speaks in such a manner as to show that such speculations had a great fascination for him. But what then? He only shared the mystical tendencies of his age. The air was full of angelology at this time. Jewish and Christian writers alike abound in fantastic reveries respecting the angelic hosts—reveries which are stated with as much definiteness and precision as if they enunciated scientific facts[1]. We need not stop to ask whether such speculations are edifying or the reverse. It is sufficient for our purpose to point out that, though far from uncommon in other ages, they were especially characteristic of the first and second centuries. It is recorded of a later divine who is the very type of calm and judicious reasoning, that when asked on his death-bed how his thoughts were occupied, he replied that he was 'meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven—and oh that it might be so on earth'[2]. Why should that be thought incredible at any time in an Ignatius, which was true of a Hooker in the solemnity of his dying hours?

Another ground of objection is the extravagant *humility* and *self-depreciation*, which the writer assumes. He declines to place himself on the same level as the Apostles (*Rom.* 4, *Trall.* 3). He will not set himself up as a teacher of others (*Ephes.* 3). He does not regard himself even as a disciple (*Ephes.* 1, *Trall.* 5, *Rom.* 5); he is still only a probationer. His discipleship will only then be complete, when his life is crowned with martyrdom (*Rom.* 4, *Polyc.* 7; see II. p. 31). Nor is this

[1] See II. p. 164; comp. *Colossians* pp. 89, 101, 103, 110, and the notes on i. 16, ii. 18. See also Edersheim *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* II. p. 745 sq.

[2] Walton's *Life of Hooker* (Hooker's *Works* I. p. 85, ed. Keble).

all. Again and again he speaks of himself as the last of the Antiochene Christians, as ashamed to be called one of them, as not worthy to have a place among them (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 14, *Trall.* 13, *Rom.* 9, *Smyrn.* 11).

This language may surprise us. It may appear to savour of fanaticism or of unreality. It may be thought to fall short of the true saintly temper. These however are points which we need not discuss. The only question, which we have here to ask, is whether such language was more likely to have been used by a false impersonator of Ignatius than by Ignatius himself. And we are constrained to answer in the negative. What forger, desirous of exalting Ignatius in the eyes of his readers, would go out of his way to make him vilify himself? There is also one point worthy of notice in connexion with this subject. The only church to which he does not use this language of self-depreciation is the Philadelphian. It is also the only church in which he had encountered opposition. Not only had he been assailed himself (§§ 7, 8); but his opponents had carried their hostility so far as to treat his followers, Philo and Agathopus, with contumely (§ 11). Writing to the Philadelphians therefore, he could not compromise his position by any words of self-humiliation. The case is somewhat analogous to S. Paul's attitude towards the Galatians, as distinguished from his language addressed to churches in which his authority was undisputed. But what forger would have possessed the insight, or have exercised the self-restraint, which this exceptional treatment in the Philadelphian letter supposes?

Moreover this humility is explained, at least in part, by language which Ignatius uses of himself on one occasion (*Rom.* 9). Like S. Paul he describes himself as an ἔκτρωμα, a sudden, violent, immature birth. Like S. Paul also he had 'found mercy' (ἠλέημαι). It was the sense of an unwonted, unexpected rescue from a previous state of unbelief, or of immorality, or of both, which overwhelmed him with thanksgiving and stung him with reproaches[1]. In the light of this fact the extravagance of his self-depreciation no longer wears an appearance of unreality. It is the intensely sincere outpouring of a sensitive conscience brooding over a painful memory.

Exception has been taken also to the extravagant eagerness for martyrdom which these letters betray. Such fanaticism, it is urged, is inconceivable in an Apostolic father. On this subject something has been said already (p. 38 sq.). It seems to me impossible to question that the cause which Ignatius had at heart—the cause of Christ—gained

[1] For more on this subject see above, p. 28, and below, II. p. 229 sq.

incomparably more by his death, than it could have gained by his life. If so, he was far wiser than his critics. But, if the end was thus praiseworthy, who shall blame the means? He had not courted death in the first instance. His condemnation was not his own choice. But once condemned, he would not accept his life back as a concession. The acceptance of a pardon would have been the acknowledgement of an offence. But let us grant for a moment that this eagerness for martyrdom was fanatical, was unreasonable, was culpable in the highest degree. What ground have we for assuming that an Apostolic father would escape liability to error—more especially when that error was an exaggeration of zeal, an excess of self-devotion? It is a well-known fact that during the age of persecution not a few Christians threw themselves in the way of martyrdom. The heathen satirist Lucian tells us (*de Morte Peregr.* 13; see above, p. 130) that in their contempt of death the greater number surrendered themselves voluntarily (ἑκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί). We have ample evidence from other quarters that this courting of martyrdom was by no means uncommon. In the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* on the death of Polycarp (§ 4) mention is made of certain persons who delivered themselves up voluntarily to death. One of these, Quintus, recanted at the last moment, and this recantation gives occasion to the writers of the letter to condemn the practice, which obviously was far from uncommon. Of another, Germanicus, who is highly commended by them, it is recorded that he actually did what Ignatius expresses his intention of doing (*Rom.* 5); he drew the wild beast to him by force, that he might be released the sooner from the miseries of life (§ 3). The bold and defiant conduct of the martyrs at Vienne and Lyons again (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, §§ 9, 49) shows the temper in which the Christians faced death in the age of the Antonines. In the later persecutions, those of Decius and Diocletian for instance, it was very common for zealous enthusiasts thus to challenge martyrdom[1], and the sober sense of the Church was again and again needed to rebuke and discourage this spirit, which tended to degenerate into a fanaticism of self-immolation.

But as regards Ignatius, one point deserves special attention. As the objection is often stated, we might suppose that this inordinate thirst for martyrdom appeared throughout all the seven letters. As a matter of fact, the charge is founded on the Epistle to the Romans alone. Of the six remaining epistles two say not a word about martyrdom, though in one of these he speaks of his chains (*Magn.* 1), while

[1] For more on this subject see Pearson *Vind. Ign.* p. 477 sq.

in the other he alludes to his approaching death indirectly (*Philad.* 5) in language which we should be at a loss to interpret if we had no other sources of information. The other four do indeed mention martyrdom (*Ephes.* 1, 3, *Smyrn.* 4, 10, 11, *Polyc.* 7, *Trall.* 3, 4, 10, 12) incidentally as the desired consummation of his life; but in one only out of the four—the Trallian Epistle—is it referred to with anything like emphasis. But for the exceptional treatment in the letter to the Romans there was an exceptional reason. His fear lest the intervention of influential Romans should procure a reversal or mitigation of the sentence obliged him to dwell on the subject and betrayed him into a very natural exaggeration of language. Here again we are constrained to ask what forger, bent on enforcing his own view of martyrdom, would have observed these proportions, thus gagging himself during the greater part of his work.

The Ignatian letters do indeed present a picture of an unusual personality. But it is a picture much more explicable as the autotype of a real person than as the invention of a forger.

(vi) *Style and Character of the Letters.*

The attacks on the *style and character of the letters* need not detain us very long. Such arguments can at best be reckoned as make-weights, and have not an appreciable value in themselves. The attack was led by Blondel (p. 40 sq.) and followed up by Daillé (pp. 377 sq., 405 sq.), whose arguments have been repeated by later writers. The images, it is argued, are forced and unnatural, the language is confused, the diction is bombastic. Thus the letters are altogether unworthy of an Apostolic father.

But assuming that these criticisms are just, why should not Ignatius have been guilty of all these faults? What security did his position as an Apostolic father give that he should write simply and plainly, that he should avoid solecisms, that his language should never be disfigured by bad taste or faulty rhetoric? As a matter of fact however, not a few of these charges have arisen from a misunderstanding of his words. Thus Blondel (p. 41) complains of the confused simile in *Polyc.* 6 τὸ βάπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὅπλα, ἡ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία κ.τ.λ. 'Quid enim,' he asks, 'fides, dilectio, patientia, conferunt *jam per baptisma armato?*' His language convicts him of ignorance that in this passage ὅπλα does not mean 'arms' but 'shields' (see the note II. p. 353). Then again both Blondel (p. 40) and Daillé (p. 406) attack the passage in *Ephes.* 9 σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι,

κ.τ.λ., and it has also been assailed by more recent opponents. It is clear however that the assailants have not entered into the spirit, probably have not apprehended the meaning, of the metaphor. To the Ephesians in the age of Ignatius, as I have shown elsewhere (II. pp. 17 sq., 55 sq.), this language would speak with singular force and aptitude, owing to a fresh developement which the practice of bearing images and sacred vessels in solemn procession had recently received in their city. No metaphor therefore could have been more expressive or well-timed. The same is the case with several other expressions to which exception has been taken. Ignatius is not an easy writer. The ideas seldom lie on the surface of the language. His images more especially are almost always unusual and sometimes obscure. They require some little patience to master their significance. In other cases they may not commend themselves to the critical judgment. But what then? It may not be considered very good taste for instance to draw out the metaphor of a hauling engine (*Ephes.* 9)—to compare the Holy Spirit to the rope, the faith of the believers to the windlass, and so forth (Daillé, p. 409). But on what grounds, prior to experience, have we any more right to expect either a faultless taste or a pure diction in a genuine writer at the beginning of the second century, than in a spurious writer at the end of the same?

The more special accusations under this head are fourfold: (1) Elaborate Compounds; (2) Latinisms; (3) Reiterations; (4) Anachronisms.

(1) On the first head little need be said. Even if the charges were proved to the full, it would be no argument against the genuineness of the letters. The writer would have been convicted of bad taste, but bad taste is not forgery. The charge however has been much overstated. With the exception of the accumulated compounds of φορος, more especially in the passage already quoted from *Ephes.* 9, and of the derivatives of ἄξιος, which elsewhere occur with some frequency and are accumulated in the opening of the Epistle to the Romans, it is not probable that this feature would have provoked comment. It is indeed in no way specially characteristic of Ignatius. The examples of such compounds are more numerous, as Pearson has pointed out (*Vind. Ign.* p. 578), in the Epistle of Clement of Rome which (not reckoning the Scriptural quotations) is about the same length as our seven Ignatian Epistles. Of the derivatives of ἄξιος Pearson writes (p. 580 sq.); "Αξιαγάπητος is used by Ignatius, but also by Clement of Rome; ἀξιοθαύμαστος, ἀξιομνημόνευτος, ἀξιοπρεπέστατος, ἀξιομακαριστότατος, ἀξιέπαινος, are found in our author, but they are also found in Xenophon, in whom

we find these words besides, ἀξιάγαστος, ἀξιάκουστος, ἀξιακρόατος, ἀξιεπαίνετος, ἀξιέραστος, ἀξιοβίωτος, ἀξιόεργος, ἀξιοθέατος, ἀξιόκτητος, ἀξιολογώτερος, ἀξιόνικος, ἀξιόπιστος, ἀξιόσκεπτος, ἀξιοσπούδαστος, ἀξιοτέκμαρτος, ἀξιοφίλητος, ἀξιοχρεώτατος. Yet Xenophon, whose works abound in these words, was judged by the ancient critics καθαρὸς τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ἐναργής 'pure and perspicuous'; whose language the Graces themselves seemed to Quinctilian to have framed and in which also he observes *an unaffected and agreeable style* (jucunditatem inaffectatam).' This is a direct answer to the objection in the form in which it is urged. But no one would describe the style of Ignatius as 'pure and perspicuous.' These Ignatian letters have indeed a vigour and a savour of their own, but they cannot be credited with a 'jucunditas inaffectata.' The fact remains that, though the words individually may be justified by classical authority, yet they are piled, or rather tumbled, together in a manner altogether ungraceful. But why should the style of an Apostolic father not be ungraceful?

(2) The *Latin* words used in these epistles need not detain us long. They are four in all; *exemplarium* in *Ephes.* 2, *Trall.* 3, *Smyrn.* 12, and *desertor*, *deposita*, *accepta*, in *Polyc.* 6.

But why should not a genuine writer in the early years of the second century have used Latin words as freely as a forger towards its close? It is only necessary to ask this question, and the objection falls to the ground. Latin words certainly were used with great freedom by Greek writers even earlier than the age of Ignatius. They abound in the New Testament; they are not less frequent in Epictetus (see the note on *Polyc.* 6, II. p. 353). The purest writers among the Greek fathers indulge in them without scruple. Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* p. 576) points to the fact that a single letter of S. Chrysostom (*Epist.* 14, *Op.* III. p. 594) contains twice as many such foreign words as we find in the whole of these Ignatian Epistles. Why then should these Latinisms be denied to Ignatius? The terms in *Polyc.* 6 are all military. They are therefore very natural from the pen of one who was bound night and day to a Roman soldier. The only remaining word, *exemplarium*, was a common law term (see II. p. 34). As such, it would readily be picked up by a man in the position of Ignatius.

(3) Much again has been said about the *reiterations* in these letters, as if this were an argument against their genuineness. But what are the facts? The letters are presumably written within a few weeks at most —probably some of them on the same or successive days. They are addressed to churches belonging to the same districts, exposed to the same dangers, needing the same warnings. They are dictated to scribes

and are intended to serve an immediate purpose. Probably the last idea which crossed the mind of the author was that they could have any permanent literary value. To himself, as to S. Paul, to say the same things was not grievous, while to the several churches it would be profitable. Is it any marvel if under these circumstances he occasionally repeats the same image more or less modified (e.g. *Ephes.* 4, *Philad.* 1)? If we compare any two of these epistles together, the repetitions are not nearly so great as in the two epistles of S. Paul written at the same time—the letters to the Ephesians and Colossians. It is a striking and significant fact also, that, when he addresses himself to a new audience, he introduces a wholly new set of topics. The Ignatian letter to the Romans stands quite apart from the rest. This fact shows that the repetition arises not from poverty of thought in the author, but from similarity of circumstance in the persons addressed. If the epistles had been a forgery, and the reiterations had arisen from want of originality, they would have appeared not less in the Epistle to the Romans than in the other letters. The same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the Epistle to Polycarp. Indeed we may say generally that a forger, who has his time altogether at his disposal and works with a literary aim, is much more likely to avoid repetition than a person writing under the conditions under which Ignatius is assumed to have written.

(4) A far more serious ground of attack than any of those which have hitherto been dealt with is the charge of *anachronisms* in the vocabulary of these epistles. If this attack could be sustained, we should be constrained to confess that they were either spurious or interpolated. For the moment it has seemed to yield signal triumphs to the assailants; but in every instance the victory has been reversed.

One such anachronism was discovered in the use of the word 'leopard' (*Rom.* 5 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις), which Bochart confidently asserted to have been unknown before the age of Constantine, thus charging the supposed forger of these letters with ante-dating the word by two centuries or thereabouts; and the objection has been revived by later antagonists. The question will be found treated at some length in my note on the passage, II. p. 212 sq. It is sufficient here to say that Pearson at once proved the extravagance of this assertion by producing an example of the word as early as Severus (c. A.D. 202) and thus convicting Bochart of an error of a whole century at all events. I have been able to carry the evidence much farther back. The word occurs in a rescript of the emperors Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 177—180) and also in an early treatise of Galen. In neither passage is there any indication that the word is new, but on the contrary it is used as a

perfectly familiar term. The passage in Galen carries back the direct evidence of its use within about half a century of Ignatius. As a very imperfect knowledge and casual research have enabled me to supply these important passages which have hitherto escaped notice, it is not unreasonable to surmise that in the extant literature of the intervening period other examples may occur which have not yet been brought to light. But even if no more evidence is forthcoming, the facts before us are amply sufficient to refute the objection. For what is the state of the case? Half a century before Ignatius, Pliny uses language (*N. H.* viii. 17 'leones quos pardi generavere') which shows that the word, if not actually created, was already on the eve of creation; while half a century later than this date it is obviously a familiar word. The presumption therefore is altogether in favour of its existence in the age of Ignatius[1]. Where the remains of contemporary literature are so few and fragmentary, intervals far longer than half a century constantly occur between the producible instances of the use of particular words. One example will suffice. The Ignatian letter to the Ephesians on any showing was written before the middle of the third century when it is quoted by Origen. Yet the next example, after this Ignatian letter, of the use of the word ἀναγωγεύς in the same sense as '*a lifting-engine*' (*Ephes.* 9), which the lexicographers produce, is in Eustathius (see II. p. 54), a writer of the twelfth century.

Another alleged anachronism is the expression 'Catholic Church' as used in *Smyrn.* 8. 'Let no one', writes our author, 'do anything that pertaineth to the Church without the bishop...Wherever the bishop appeareth, there let the people (τὸ πλῆθος) be; just as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church' (ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία). The earliest extant example of the use of the theological term 'Catholic Church', meaning the orthodox and apostolically descended Church, as distinguished from sectarian and heretical communities, is in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (§ 16 ἐπίσκοπος

[1] Strangely enough Daillé had found in this same sentence a wholly different anachronism. With characteristic audacity he asserted that in the age of Ignatius a certain company or regiment of soldiers bore in common parlance the name of 'leopards', but that two centuries later, when the Ignatian forger lived, this sense of the word had become obsolete. He therefore felt himself obliged to explain the term by the addition, 'which is a military band' (ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα). So, he concluded, 'Ignatii simulator *leopardorum* quidem nomen ad antiquitatis speciem retinuit; sed ne ob obscuritatem lectores turbaret, etiam interpretandum putavit, ac se ita nimia diligentia ipse prodidit' (p. 313). This band of leopards is a mere figment of Daillé's brain, for which there is not a tittle of evidence.

τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας), and even here the recently discovered Moscow MS reads ἁγίας with the Latin Version. It occurs also in the *Muratorian Fragment* and in Clement of Alexandria. 'A period therefore,' writes Cureton (*Corp. Ign.* p. 337), 'of full fifty years or more must have intervened between the time when Ignatius wrote and the first trace we find of the term Catholic Church.' Nor does Cureton stand alone in advancing this argument.

This objection is founded on the confusion of two wholly different things.

(1) The word 'catholic' (καθολικός) means neither more nor less than 'universal.' It is found some centuries at least before the Christian era. Both before and after the age of Ignatius it is commonly used by classical and ecclesiastical writers alike; e.g. 'catholic history', 'a catholic truth', 'the catholic resurrection', where we should say 'universal history', 'an absolute truth', 'the general resurrection'. A few examples are gathered together in my note on the passage (II. p. 310 sq.), where also I have discussed fully its meaning as employed by Ignatius. It is clear that in this sense the word might have been used at any time and by any writer from the first moment when the Church began to spread, while yet the conception of its unity was present to the mind. The idea involved in the epithet 'catholic', so employed, is as distinct in S. Paul's Epistles as it is in the ages of Tertullian and Origen, of Athanasius and Basil; and—the word itself being in common use from the first—it is a wholly unimportant matter, as a chronological test, whether a writer does or does not express the idea by this epithet.

(2) But at a later date 'catholic' came to connote other ideas. The Catholic Church in this sense has a technical meaning. It implies orthodoxy as opposed to heresy, conformity as opposed to dissent. How it came to acquire this sense, I have explained elsewhere (II. p. 311). In this later meaning a community in a particular city or district is called the Catholic Church in that locality, as distinguished (for example) from a Gnostic or Ebionite community there. In this sense, and this only, has the term Catholic Church any value as a chronological note.

Now clearly in the passage before us (*Smyrn.* 8) the word is used in the former sense. Jesus Christ is here said to stand to the universal Church, in the same relation as the bishop to the particular Church. Similarly elsewhere (*Magn.* 3) the Father is styled 'the Bishop over all' (ὁ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος), as contrasted with Damas the bishop over the Magnesians. Here then 'the Catholic' or 'Universal Church' is opposed

to the Smyrnæan Church, the particular community over which Polycarp presides.

But in the later sense of the term 'catholic' such a contrast would have been impossible. In the passage from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* for instance, which has been quoted already (assuming for a moment that the reading is correct[1]), the Church in Smyrna over which Polycarp presides is itself styled the 'Catholic Church'. It is so called in distinction to the heretical or separatist bodies which had sprung up meanwhile. Thus the two passages present a direct contrast, the one to the other, in the use of the term.

The word therefore, as used in the Ignatian Epistle to the Smyrnæans, is not indicative of a later date. But we are entitled to go a step further than this. The engine of the assailant recoils on himself. After the word 'Catholic' had acquired its later ecclesiastical sense of 'orthodox and apostolic', no writer could have employed it in its earlier meaning without considerable risk of confusion. When 'Catholic' was applied alike to the universal Church and the particular Church, it could no longer be used safely to designate the universal Church as contrasted with the particular Church. The archaic sense therefore suggests an early date for this Ignatian Epistle.

One other alleged anachronism deserves notice, if only on account of the important issues which depend upon it. Not only does the name 'Christian' occur several times in these epistles, but the derived word 'Christianity' (χριστιανισμός) is also found in them (*Magn.* 10, *Rom.* 3, *Philad.* 6). Supposing them to be genuine, this is the earliest occurrence of the latter word, which next appears (about A.D. 156) in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (§ 10). It has been contended however[2], that

[1] This point will be discussed in a later chapter on the Letter of the Smyrnæans; see also II. p. 311.

[2] Lipsius *Ueber den Ursprung u. den aeltesten Gebrauch des Christennamens* 1873. He contends that it may possibly have been invented at the end of Nero's reign, though probably it arose after the destruction of Jerusalem (p. 19); and he seems to regard the middle of the second century (to which date he assigns Justin Martyr's *Apology*) as the turning point, when it began to be adopted by the Christians themselves, though even then chiefly in relation to heathen charges and in apologetic writings (p. 8 sq.). But, setting aside the Apologists, how scanty is the whole amount of extant Christian literature during the first seventy years of the second century; and if the Ignatian Epistles and the Martyrdom of Polycarp are to be discredited and their testimony rejected, because they represent believers as using the term familiarly among themselves, what a slender foundation remains for any induction after these are withdrawn.

The view of Lipsius is opposed by Keim *Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 174 sq. (1878), who however makes concessions not warranted by the facts. See also Wieseler *Christenverfolg.* p. 8 sq.

the name Christian only came into common use during the last decades of the first century; that a long time elapsed after its general usage among the heathen before the Christians themselves adopted it; and that the derivative *χριστιανισμός* therefore must be placed later still. To maintain these positions, it is necessary to reject the convergent evidence of various independent witnesses.

(i) The Latin historians are explicit in their language. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44), describing the outbreak of the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64), speaks of the sufferers as those whom 'the common-folk called Christians' (quos...vulgus Christianos appellabat). These words imply that this was already a habitual designation. The tense, 'appellabat', as I have remarked elsewhere (p. 9 sq.), precludes the supposition that Tacitus is infusing into the reign of Nero the experiences and the language of his own day. The word 'vulgus', the common-folk, moreover shows that the name was not only known at that time, but was in all mouths. Tacitus is supported by Suetonius. Suetonius (*Nero* 16) describes the Neronian persecution in the words, 'afflicti suppliciis Christiani'. Whence came this agreement in using a term first coined many years after the events recorded, when both writers had grown or were growing up to manhood? Moreover Pliny, writing under Trajan (A.D. 112), betrays no knowledge that it was a recent creation. He uses the word again and again; he speaks of the 'judicial investigations respecting the Christians' (cognitionibus de Christianis), as if they had been going on for a long period; he mentions persons who had ceased to be Christians more than twenty years; and he asks whether the 'name itself', even though no crimes are proved against a person, is sufficient ground for condemnation[1].

(ii) The testimony of the historians is confirmed from a wholly different quarter. A graffito has been found at Pompeii, which, if rightly deciphered and interpreted, must be regarded as decisive. This inscription is given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV. 679[2], with all particulars respecting the decipherment. It cannot reasonably be questioned that the traces of the letters give HRISTIAN, and the only

[1] See above, p. 50; 'ipsum nomen, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur'. Pliny had treated the name alone as a sufficient ground and Trajan approved (see p. 14 sq., p. 56). Comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 11 (p. 598) *διώκουσι τοίνυν ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἀδίκους εἶναι καταλαβόντες ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῷ Χριστιανοὺς εἶναι τὸν βίον ἀδικεῖν ὑπολαμβάνοντες κ.τ.λ.*

[2] See also Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* III. p. 529. The interpretations which de Rossi and others have put on the context, and on other inscriptions found in the same house, are too shadowy and fanciful to command assent. See on this subject an article by V. Schultze *Christeninschrift in Pompeii* in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* IV. p. 125 sq. (1881).

word of which these letters can have formed part is 'Christianus' or some oblique case of the same. It has been suggested indeed that this may have been a proper name Christianus or Chrestianus; but no such proper name is known to have existed, or indeed is probable in itself, prior to the use of the word to designate 'a follower of Christ'. Before A.D. 79 therefore—the year in which Pompeii was destroyed—the name was sufficiently common to be scratched on the wall of an edifice in a small provincial town by some passer by.

(iii) I have left to the last the evidence of early Christian writings, not because I entertain any doubt of the validity of this evidence, but because it has been contested by others. No critical result relating to the New Testament seems to me more certain than that the Acts of the Apostles was written by a companion of S. Paul. Again, few books in the New Testament are better authenticated than the First Epistle of S. Peter, which was known to Clement of Rome, to Polycarp, and to Papias, which was never contested in the ancient Church, and of which therefore it would be an excess of scepticism to question that it was written by the Apostle whose name it has always borne.

The name is twice mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. The earlier passage (xi. 26) contains an account of the preaching of Barnabas and Saul at Antioch, about A.D. 44, concluding with the words, 'It came to pass that...they taught a large multitude (*ὄχλον ἱκανόν*) and that the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch' (*χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς χριστιανούς*)[1]. It has been commonly assumed that the writer here states the name to have been given simultaneously with the preaching of Paul and Barnabas in this city. It would indeed be difficult to show any valid reason why this might not have been the case; but it does not seem to be required by the language of the narrative itself. The mission of Barnabas and Saul had gathered together a considerable church at Antioch; the Gospel now for the first time obtained a firm footing on heathen ground; and so the historian naturally records in connexion with these incidents the fact that the name Christian was first given in this city. But whether this was an immediate or an ulterior result of the success of this mission, we are not told. The word seems to have been in the first instance a nickname fastened by

[1] The correct reading is *πρώτως*, not *πρῶτον*; see *Ps-Magn.* 10. A later tradition ascribed the origin of the name to Euodius (see Joann. Malalas *Chron.* p. 247, ed. Bonn.; comp. Suidas p. 1675, ed. Bernhardy). This is explained by the fact that Euodius was reputed the first bishop of Antioch after S. Peter and according to the received chronology entered on his episcopate A.D. 42, so that he would already be occupying the see at this time.

the heathen populace of Antioch on the followers of Christ[1], who still continued to style themselves the 'disciples' or the 'saints' or the 'brethren' or the 'believers', and the like. The biting gibes of the Antiochene populace which stung to the quick successive emperors—Hadrian, M. Aurelius, Severus, Julian—would be little disposed to spare the helpless adherents of this new 'superstition'. Objection indeed has been taken to the Antiochene origin of the name on the ground that the termination is Roman[2], like Pompeianus, Caesarianus, and the like. But this termination, if it was Latin, was certainly Asiatic likewise, as appears from such words as Ἀσιανός, Βακτριανός, Σαρδιανός, Τραλλιανός, Ἀρειανός, Μενανδριανός, Σαβελλιανός[3]. The next occurrence of the word in a Christian document is on the occasion of S. Paul's appearance before Festus (A.D. 60). It is not however put in the mouth of a believer, but occurs in the scornful jeer of Agrippa, 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian' (Acts xxvi. 28)[4]. The third and last example occurs a few years later. In the First Epistle of S. Peter, presumably about A.D. 66 or 67, the Apostle writes 'Let not any of you suffer as a murderer or a thief..., but if (he suffers) as a Christian, let him not be ashamed but glorify God' (iv. 15). Here again the term is not the Apostle's own, but represents the charge brought against the believers by their heathen accusers. In the New Testament there is no indication that the name was yet adopted by the disciples of Christ as their own. Thus Christian documents again confirm the statement of Tacitus that as early as the Neronian persecution this name prevailed, and the same origin also is indirectly suggested by these notices, which he directly states—not 'qui sese appel-

[1] See Conybeare and Howson *Life and Epistles of St Paul* I. p. 148.

[2] So Baur, Renan, and others. Farrar (*S. Paul* I. p. 296 sq.) adopts an intermediate course and contends that, 'though *ηνὸς* and *ωνὸς* are Greek terminations', yet '*anus* is mainly Roman', and ascribes the origin of the name 'to the prevalence of Roman terminology at Antioch'. Similarly Lewin *Life and Epistles of St Paul* I. p. 97.

[3] See Lipsius *l.c.* p. 13 sq., who has satisfactorily disposed of this question.

[4] Lipsius, *l.c.* p. 4, objects to the account in Acts xxvi. 28, 'The narrator assumes that the expression *χριστιανός* was common not only among the heathen but among the Jews'. I do not know why it should not have been used commonly by the Jews at this time, more especially in a city with a mixed population like Cæsarea. But two points may be noticed; (1) Agrippa, though a Jew, spent some time in Rome in his earlier years, had mixed largely with the heathen, was at this moment speaking before a heathen audience, and would be likely to use heathen modes of speech; (2) S. Paul himself in his reply does not adopt the term Christian, but seems studiously to avoid using it.

labant Christianos', but 'quos vulgus appellabat Christianos'. It was a gibe of the common people against 'the brethren'.

Some apology is due for occupying so much space in controverting an opinion which future generations will probably be surprised that any one should have maintained. But the fact that it has found a champion in an able and learned critic like Lipsius must be my excuse. One is tempted sometimes to despair of the intellectual temper of an age in which such a phenomenon is possible. But extravagances like this are the price paid for the lessons which the critical activity of our time has taught us.

The Epistles of Ignatius show an advance upon the language of the New Testament in two respects. *First;* The designation, which arose as a scoff of the heathen, has been adopted as an honourable title by the believer. The forty or fifty years which have elapsed since the Neronian persecution give more than ample time for this adoption. The believers gloried in suffering for 'the Name'[1], and this term embodied the Name. They were indicted as 'Christians', and they exulted in the indictment. *Secondly;* From the adjective χριστιανός have been formed the substantive χριστιανισμός, and presumably therefore the verb which is intermediate between the two, χριστιανίζειν 'to live as a Christian'. These derivatives might have been formed at any moment after the word χριστιανός had finally established itself. Given the opposition between Ἰουδαῖος and Χριστιανός, or between Ἕλλην and Χριστιανός, and remembering also that the words ἰουδαΐζειν, ἰουδαισμός, and ἑλληνίζειν, ἑλληνισμός, existed long before the time of Ignatius, and indeed before the Apostolic age[2], we shall regard the appearance of χριστιανίζειν, χριστιανισμός, in the reign of Trajan as a perfectly natural phenomenon. Nor is it any surprise that, having thus appeared, it should not be found again till the *Letter of Smyrnæans* giving the account of Polycarp's death which happened A.D. 155. The Christian remains of the intervening period are scanty, and it is a mere accident whether the word occurred or not in one of these.

Thus the style and character of these epistles suggest no valid arguments against their genuineness. But the subject may be pursued with advantage further. Some characteristics furnish evidence which tells in the opposite direction.

To this category belongs the *allusiveness* which marks these

[1] See the note on *Ephes.* 3 (II. p. 37).

[2] The words ἑλληνισμός (2 Macc. iv. 13) and ἰουδαισμός (2 Macc. ii. 21, xiv. 38) both occur in the LXX. The first passage, ἀκμή τις ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ, shows how easily words of this form could be coined, where there was a provocation.

epistles from time to time. I have already had occasion more than once to note passages where the writer assumes certain facts which are not recorded in the letter itself. Of this characteristic the notice of his personal intercourse with the Philadelphians perhaps affords the best example. His language on this subject (*Philad.* 7, 8) is quite unaccountable, except on the supposition that the facts to which he refers were known to the persons addressed. Thus for instance there is the allusion to certain persons who 'desired to mislead' him (§ 7), which springs from nothing and leads to nothing in the epistle itself. There is again the account of the dispute with the false teachers (§ 8), told graphically indeed, but altogether fragmentarily, so that we are left largely to conjecture as to its import. So likewise later in the same epistle (§ 11) there is an allusion to those who had treated his followers with disrespect at Philadelphia. In like manner in the Epistle to the Romans (§ 10) he mentions incidentally certain persons as having preceded him from Syria to Rome, but he tells us nothing about them. Of this same character also is the reference in *Ephes.* 9 to 'certain persons' as 'having passed through from yonder place' (παροδεύσαντάς τινας ἐκεῖθεν), where the place is not named and the whole incident is wrapped in obscurity. Again the expression in *Rom.* 8 'the churches in front' (ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις) is not without its value from this point of view. Here the due orientation is observed, and the relative positions of the writer and his correspondents with reference to Antioch are not forgotten. But it is very unlikely language to have been invented by a forger. It stands in direct contrast, for instance, to the blunder of the Ignatian forger of the fourth century (*Philipp.* 8), who, forgetting that Ignatius is supposed at the time to be writing from Italy, represents the return of Joseph and Mary with the child Jesus from Egypt to Nazareth (Matt. ii. 19—23) as a 'return to the parts *hereabouts*' (ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε ἐπάνοδος: see above, p. 261, and below, II. p. 779).

And here perhaps it may not be out of place to speak of the conditional promise which Ignatius holds out to the Ephesians (§ 20), that he will send them a 'second tract' (ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλιδίῳ ὃ μέλλω γράφειν ὑμῖν), continuing the subject on which he has touched. There is no reason to think that this promise was ever fulfilled. The hurry of his subsequent movements (*Polyc.* 8), as it prevented him from writing to other churches which had a prior claim upon him, might well have stood in the way of its fulfilment. If this second letter was ever written, it has been lost. In either case the notice is intel-

ligible, as the genuine utterance of a genuine man. But, as the device of a forger to throw the reader off his guard, it is not so conceivable. The later Ignatian interpolator, wise after the event, has cast out this unfulfilled promise from the text, as a stumbling block.

Connected with this allusiveness is the *impulsive* and *disjointed* character of the utterances. A forger, sitting down deliberately to write this body of letters in the name of Ignatius and having some deliberate purpose in view, would keep this aim distinctly before his eyes and would leave no doubt about his meaning. What more unlike the treatment of a forger for instance than such expressions as *Ephes.* 12 πάροδός ἐστε τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων κ.τ.λ., or *Magn.* 3 καθὼς ἔγνων καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους κ.τ.λ., or *Trall.* 4 οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι μαστιγοῦσίν με κ.τ.λ., or *Rom.* 3 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί κ.τ.λ., or *Philad.* 5 προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ κ.τ.λ., or *ib.* 7 οἱ δ' ὑποπτεύσαντές με κ.τ.λ., or *ib.* 8 καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι Γέγραπται κ.τ.λ., or *ib.* 9 καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς κ.τ.λ., or *Smyrn.* 5 ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες κ.τ.λ.?

Again the style is *anacoluthic.* This also indicates a hastily written letter rather than a deliberate literary forgery. Of these Ignatian letters generally we may say that they consist either of short epigrammatic sentences, or (where greater continuity is attempted) of unfinished paragraphs, the apodosis being forgotten in the string of subordinate clauses attached to the protasis, or the grammar being broken in some other way. In the opening of the Epistle to the Romans for instance the protasis (§ 1 Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν κ.τ.λ.) is followed by seven successive sentences, each hanging on to the preceding and each linked by γάρ, till the grammar is altogether dislocated and the original idea of the sentence lost (see II. p. 194). In like manner in the Magnesian letter the protasis, which begins with § 2 Ἐπεὶ οὖν, is lengthened out through four chapters, various topics being meanwhile introduced and the apodosis altogether forgotten, until the protasis is resumed again in the same word at the beginning of § 6 Ἐπεὶ οὖν (see II. pp. 110, 118). So too the Ephesian letter begins with a participial clause (§ 1 Ἀποδεξάμενος κ.τ.λ.), the finite verb being forgotten in a string of subordinate clauses, so that the sentence is never completed (see II. pp. 28, 29, 31). Such imperfect sentences as these are exactly analogous to the phenomena in S. Paul, especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians which likewise was written amidst the restraints of a captivity. In like manner also in the opening of the Epistle to the Philadelphians the greeting runs on continuously without any break into the main body of the letter by means of

a relative (*σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ...ὃν ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνων κ.τ.λ.*), so as to produce a wholly ungainly and intractable sentence.

Before leaving the subject it is worth while also to direct attention to the *archaic* character of many of the expressions. Such for instance is 'the Work', *τὸ ἔργον* (*Ephes.* 14, *Rom.* 3), as a synonyme for the Gospel (see II. pp. 68, 205); 'the Name', *τὸ ὄνομα*, *Ephes.* 3, 7, *Philad.* 10, referring to Christ (see II. p. 37); 'the Will', *τὸ θέλημα* or *θέλημα* alone (*Ephes.* 22, *Rom.* 1, *Smyrn.* 1, 11, *Polyc.* 8), meaning God's purpose (see II. p. 85); *μαθητὴς* 'a learner', 'a disciple' (*Ephes.* 1, *Trall.* 5, *Rom.* 5), signifying a follower of Christ (see II. p. 31); and similar modes of expression. Though some or all of these uses are not without parallels in subsequent times, yet the frequency of such expressions in these epistles can hardly be regarded otherwise than as pointing to the primitive ages of the Gospel.

The facts then are these:

(1) No Christian writings of the second century, and very few writings of antiquity, whether Christian or pagan, are so well authenticated as the Epistles of Ignatius. If the Epistle of Polycarp be accepted as genuine, the authentication is perfect.

(2) The main ground of objection against the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp is its authentication of the Ignatian Epistles. Otherwise there is every reason to believe that it would have passed unquestioned.

(3) The Epistle of Polycarp itself is exceptionally well authenticated by the testimony of his disciple Irenæus.

(4) All attempts to explain the phenomena of the Epistle of Polycarp, as forged or interpolated to give colour to the Ignatian Epistles, have signally failed.

(5) The external testimony to the Ignatian Epistles being so strong, only the most decisive marks of spuriousness in the epistles themselves, as for instance proved anachronisms, would justify us in suspecting them as interpolated or rejecting them as spurious.

(6) But so far is this from being the case that one after another the anachronisms urged against these letters have vanished in the light of further knowledge. Thus the alleged refutation of the Valentinian doctrine of æons in *Magn.* 8 depends on a false reading which recently discovered materials for the text have corrected. The supposed anachronism of 'the leopards' (*Rom.* 5) has been refuted by the production of passages overlooked by the objector. The argument from the

mention of the 'Catholic Church' (*Smyrn.* 8) has been shown to rest on a false interpretation which disregards the context.

(7) As regards the argument which Daillé calls 'palmary'—the prevalence of episcopacy as a recognized institution—we may say boldly that all the facts point the other way. If the writer of these letters had represented the Churches of Asia Minor as under presbyteral government, he would have contradicted all the evidence, which without one dissentient voice points to episcopacy as the established form of Church government in these districts from the close of the first century.

(8) The circumstances of the condemnation, captivity, and journey of Ignatius, which have been a stumbling block to some modern critics, did not present any difficulty to those who lived near the time and therefore knew best what might be expected under the circumstances; and they are sufficiently borne out by examples, more or less analogous, to establish their credibility.

(9) The objections to the style and language of the epistles are beside the purpose. In some cases they arise from a misunderstanding of the writer's meaning. Generally they may be said to rest on the assumption that an apostolic father could not use exaggerated expressions, overstrained images, and the like—certainly a sandy foundation on which to build an argument.

(10) A like answer holds with regard to any extravagances in sentiment or opinion or character. Why should Ignatius not have exceeded the bounds of sober reason or correct taste? Other men in his own and immediately succeeding ages did both. As an apostolic father he was not exempt from the failings, if failings they were, of his age and position.

(11) While the investigation of the contents of these epistles has yielded this negative result, in dissipating the objections, it has at the same time had a high positive value, as revealing indications of a very early date, and therefore presumably of genuineness, in the surrounding circumstances, more especially in the types of false doctrine which it combats, in the ecclesiastical status which it presents, and in the manner in which it deals with the evangelical and apostolic documents.

(12) Moreover we discover in the personal environments of the assumed writer, and more especially in the notices of his route, many subtle coincidences which we are constrained to regard as undesigned, and which seem altogether beyond the reach of a forger.

(13) So likewise the peculiarities in style and diction of the

epistles, as also in the representation of the writer's character, are much more capable of explanation in a genuine writing than in a forgery.

(14) While external and internal evidence thus combine to assert the genuineness of these writings, no satisfactory account has been or apparently can be given of them as a forgery of a later date than Ignatius. They would be quite purposeless as such; for they entirely omit all topics which would especially interest any subsequent age.

On these grounds we are constrained to accept the Seven Epistles of the Middle Form as the genuine work of Ignatius.

Sylloge Polycarpiana.

We have seen that Polycarp (§ 13) replying to a request of the Philippians, sends them a collection of the Epistles of Ignatius (see above, pp. 128, 323). What letters then were comprised in this *Sylloge Polycarpiana*, as following Ussher and Pearson we may conveniently style it?

All the Seven Vossian Epistles, is the reply of Pearson and of most critics who hold these to represent the genuine Ignatius. Six Epistles only, is Ussher's answer to this question, the Epistle to Polycarp being regarded by him as spurious. This condemnation of the Epistle to Polycarp has been considered already (pp. 232, 301) and need not trouble us again. Six Epistles only is also Zahn's answer (*I. v. A.* p. 110 sq.); but with him the letter excepted is the Epistle to the Romans, which he receives indeed as genuine but supposes to have been circulated apart from the rest. He even goes so far as to say that a collection of all the Seven Epistles in one volume was probably never in circulation among Greeks ('auf griechischem Boden'). With this view I am unable to agree.

It seems highly probable indeed that the Epistle to the Romans would be circulated separately as well; for being, as I have said elsewhere (see above, p. 38), a sort of *vade mecum* for martyrs and confessors, it would have attractions for persons who would take little or no interest in the other letters: but that it had its place also in the *Sylloge Polycarpiana* I cannot doubt.

In the first place the *a priori* probability is strongly in favour of this view. It was written during the martyr's stay at Smyrna, when he was in some sense Polycarp's guest. It would probably have a higher attraction for Polycarp than the others, for his letter to the

Philippians shows the interest with which he watched all the incidents bearing on the martyrdom. Of all the letters of Ignatius therefore, except those addressed to the Smyrnæans and to Polycarp himself, it was the most likely to have been preserved by him. And this inference drawn from *a priori* probabilities is borne out by his own letter. One of the closest coincidences which it presents to the Ignatian Epistles is a parallel to the Epistle to the Romans (see above, p. 128, and below, II. p. 922).

Moreover, when we follow the stream of testimony lower down, the inference is the same. The letter of the Smyrnæan Church, giving an account of Polycarp's death, presents a marked coincidence with this Roman letter (see above, p. 129). So also when we step beyond the borders of Polycarp's own church. Who after the Smyrnæans was so likely to have possessed the *Sylloge Polycarpiana* as Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp? But Irenæus, while showing a knowledge of the other letters, directly quotes the Epistle to the Romans alone (see pp. 135, 324 sq.). The phenomena also in the extant Letter from the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, with which Irenæus was connected, bear out this same conclusion (pp. 133, 330). When again we travel beyond the circle of Polycarp's spiritual relationships, the evidence still points in the same direction. After Irenæus the earliest direct quotations—in fact the only direct quotations during the Antenicene age —are found in Origen and Eusebius. But the Epistle to the Romans and the other epistles are alike quoted by Origen (p. 136) and by Eusebius (p. 138 sq.). It is difficult to resist this same conclusion in the case of Ephrem Syrus (see p. 142), who was a younger contemporary of Eusebius. It is certainly true likewise of Timotheus of Alexandria (p. 165 sq.) and Severus of Antioch (p. 169 sq.) in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Zahn however is impressed with the fact that, while some writers quote only the Epistle to the Romans, others quote only from the remaining epistles; and he can only explain this fact on the supposition that the two were circulated separately (*I. v. A.* p. 110). But it is pertinent to ask in these cases, whether the explanation may not be sought in the character of the writings themselves. Thus for instance in Acts of Martyrdom and the like, we should expect to find resemblances to the Epistle to the Romans. On the other hand in works relating to ecclesiastical order or to doctrinal verity, such as the *Apostolic Constitutions* or the *Dialogues* of Theodoret or the Syriac collection of patristic passages which have the force of canons (see above, p. 90), we naturally look for quotations from the other letters but not from the Epistle to the

Romans. This epistle contains nothing at all bearing upon ecclesiastical order. There is not very much even of doctrinal significance beyond the expression § 6 'the suffering of my God', which, though a favourite text with Monophysites, was viewed with suspicion beyond the range of Monophysite circles. Theodoret (see p. 161 sq.) only quotes three of the seven epistles; and all the passages quoted by him have a direct doctrinal bearing. It is therefore not only no surprise, but altogether natural that the Roman letter should have escaped quotation. Moreover, if the erroneous heading 'Romans' for 'Smyrnæans' (p. 162) be a slip of his own, and not a blunder of a transcriber, this is almost conclusive evidence that the Epistle to the Romans formed part of his collection. Again, Zahn adverts to the fact that the gnomologers of the seventh and following centuries, while quoting the other epistles, abstain from any quotation from Romans. These are mainly three—the two sets of *Sacra Parallela* bearing the name of John Damascene (p. 204 sq.) and the *Melissa* of Antonius (p. 215 sq.). But in the first place these are not altogether independent authorities. Antonius for instance runs on the same lines with the *Parallela Vaticana* (see p. 217). Secondly; though all these writers had thirteen Ignatian Epistles before them (if we include the Epistle to the Romans), yet the three together only quote seven out of the thirteen (Antonius, four; *Par. Vat.*, five; *Par. Rupef.*, seven), so that five others besides the Epistle to the Romans are altogether unquoted. Lastly; as Antonius and the *Parallela Vaticana* quote the Epistle to the Trallians from the Long Recension, and as the Long Recension comprised the Epistle to the Romans, either they or the earlier collectors of extracts from whom they borrowed must have had this epistle in their collection. Zahn indeed has given reasons for supposing that the Epistle to the Romans originally formed no part of the collection in the Long Recension. If this were true, it would be a strong argument for his view that Polycarp's *Sylloge*, on which this Recension would naturally be founded, only contained six epistles and omitted the Roman letter. But it has been shown above (p. 263 sq.) conclusively, as I venture to think, that this view is untenable.

Again the order of the epistles in the Middle Form, as represented by the Greek and Latin copies, seems to Zahn to indicate the same fact. The Epistle to the Romans in this collection (see the table, p. 222) is embedded in the Acts of Martyrdom which forms a sort of appendix to the letters; and hence he infers that this epistle had no place there until the Martyrdom was added. But the more probable account of the matter is suggested by a comparison with the Armenian Version of this Middle Form. Doubtless it originally stood in the Greek collection

last, as it stands in this version of the seven genuine epistles; but when, either simultaneously with or later than the addition of the six spurious epistles, the redactor thought fit to append the Acts of Martyrdom, its removal from its original place was a matter of obvious expedience, since otherwise it would occur twice.

The *Sylloge Polycarpiana* therefore seems to have contained all the Seven Epistles. But what was their order? The order in Eusebius may be at once dismissed from our consideration. There is no reason for supposing that it represents any manuscript authority. It is a chronological sequence which he himself establishes on critical grounds from an examination of the letters themselves. There remain the Armenian and the Greek and Latin orders respectively. The Armenian stands thus (see above, p. 85);

1. Smyrnæans
2. Polycarp
3. Ephesians
4. Magnesians
5. Trallians
6. Philadelphians
7. Romans.

The Greek and Latin order only differs from the Armenian in transposing Trallians and Philadelphians. Of the two the Armenian order claims the preference. Historically the Armenian Version can be traced much farther back than the extant Greek and Latin copies (see above, p. 85 sq.) Moreover its order is confirmed by the quotations in the *Parallela Rupefucaldina* (p. 205 sq.), which belongs apparently to the earlier half of the seventh century (see p. 210). In more than one instance several passages are quoted under the same title in this collection, and we are thus enabled to compare the order;

α. lxxvii. p. 772	ε. xlviii. p. 779	π. xxv. p. 785
Smyrnæans	Smyrnæans	
	Polycarp	
Ephesians	Ephesians	Ephesians
	Magnesians	Magnesians
Trallians	Trallians	
Philadelphians	Philadelphians	

Either order is consistent with the sequence in Theodoret (p. 162, Smyrn. Ephes. Trall.), in Timotheus (p. 165, Smyrn. Rom.; p. 167, Ephes. Magn.), in an anonymous Syriac writer (p. 187, Smyrn. Ephes.),

and in the *Parallela Vaticana* (p. 204, Smyrn. Polyc.), though in these cases the data are too slight for any safe inference. On the other hand in Severus (p. 172 sq.) the order of quotation is different (Rom. Polyc. Ephes. Magn. Trall. Smyrn.), but this was doubtless determined by other considerations than the sequence of the epistles in his manuscripts. The desire to place at the head of the extracts the favourite Monophysite text *Rom.* 6 'the suffering of my God' would be paramount. So likewise in an anonymous Syriac writer (p. 188 sq., Rom. Ephes.), where the same motive has been active. Nor again can any inference be drawn from the order in Antiochus (p. 197 sq.); for his are not direct quotations, and he moves backwards and forwards at pleasure (e.g. p. 200, Polyc. Ephes. Polyc.). There remain the sequences in the two sets of Syriac Fragments, S_1 (I. p. 90, II. p. 677 sq.) and S_2 (I. p. 91, II. p. 684 sq.). The order of the former is Ephes. Magn. Trall. Polyc. Philad. Smyrn. Magn. Trall. Polyc.; of the latter, Rom. Ephes. Magn. Smyrn. Hero. It is difficult to suppose that this represents the order of any MS. The original sequence in the Syriac Version may be more safely gathered from the Armenian which was translated from it.

The *Sylloge Polycarpiana*, as was natural and as we may infer from Polycarp's language (see pp. 128, 323), began with 'the letters sent by him [Ignatius] to us', i.e. with the Epistles to the Smyrnæans and to Polycarp; and the others would be attached. The Epistle to the Romans, as internal probability and external evidence alike indicate, would close the Seven. For the intermediate letters the two main authorities are agreed except in one point; and for the reasons stated here the preference should probably be accorded to the Armenian. It has moreover this further recommendation, that the letters written from the same place Troas to the three cities on the same line of route, Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles, are kept together.

The results of this investigation have an indirect bearing of some importance. Starting from Zahn's theory that the Epistle to the Romans did not originally form part of the same collection with the other six, Renan maintains the substantial genuineness of this one letter, but rejects the rest (*Les Évangiles* pp. xvii, xix, xxi sq., xxxi, 488 sq.). He observes that, unlike the others, it is free from any suspicion from advocacy of the claims of episcopacy. On this last point I have already spoken (p. 385). It has been shown also that in diction this letter is intimately connected with the others (p. 301), so that no separation is possible. What Renan means by saying, 'Le style de l'épître aux Romains est bizarre, énigmatique, tandis que celui du reste

de la correspondance est simple et assez plat', I am altogether at a loss to understand. What shall we say to such passages as *Ephes.* 9, 11, 15, *Magn.* 10, *Trall.* 4, 5, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 4, *Polyc.* 2, 3? Do not these deserve to be described by the same two epithets, 'bizarre', 'énigmatique'? Thus the internal evidence pronounces the seven epistles to be homogeneous. This result is now confirmed by the investigation of the documentary or external evidence, which resists the separation of the Epistle to the Romans from the rest. All the Seven Epistles therefore must stand or fall together.

S. POLYCARP.

I.

POLYCARP THE ELDER.

IN the days of Bucolus the bishop there lived at Smyrna a certain pious widow, Callisto by name, rich in worldly substance, but richer still in good works. One night in a vision she saw an angel of the Lord, who bade her go to the Ephesian Gate, where she would meet two men, having with them a young lad called Polycarp. 'Ask them', said the angel, 'if he is for sale; and when they say Yes, give them the price which they demand and take and keep him by thy side; the child is an Eastern by birth'. She arose and did as she was bidden. It came to pass even as the angel had said. She brought the boy home and reared him carefully; and as he grew up, she gave him charge over all her substance.

At length it befel that she must leave home for a long time, and she placed Polycarp as steward over her household. Beset by widows and orphans and by all the needy of the neighbourhood, he dispensed to everyone freely corn and wine and oil and whatsoever they asked, so that the stores were emptied. After a time, when Callisto returned, one of her servants met her and charged Polycarp with robbing her of her substance; and she, full of anger (for she knew not that he had distributed her goods in charity), demanded of him the keys of the store-rooms. Then he, groaning and lifting up his voice, prayed to the Lord God who replenished the vessels of the widow of Sarepta, entreating Him in the name of Christ that this widow's stores also might be found full. His prayer was answered. The miracle sunk deep into the heart of Callisto. She treated Polycarp thenceforward as her son, and when she died, she left him heir of all she possessed.

After Callisto's death, Polycarp grew daily in faith and godly living. The love of knowledge and the fondness for the scriptures, which distinguishes the people of the East, bore rich fruit in him. He offered

himself a whole offering to God, by prayer and study of the scriptures, by spareness of diet and simplicity of clothing, by liberal almsgiving. He was bashful and retiring, shunning the busy throngs of men and consorting only with those who needed his assistance. When he met an aged wood-carrier outside the walls, he would purchase his burden, would carry it himself to the city, and would give it to the widows living near the gate. The bishop Bucolus cherished him as a son, and he in turn requited his love with filial care and devotion.

When he was of sufficient age, Bucolus ordained him deacon with the approval of the whole church. As a deacon, he was rich in good works and powerful in preaching, though such was his modesty that Bucolus could with difficulty persuade him to speak in public. He wrote many treatises and discourses and letters (*συγγράμματα καὶ ὁμιλίαι καὶ ἐπιστολαί*), which were destroyed by the heathen during the persecution that arose upon his martyrdom; but their character may be seen from his extant writings, especially from his Epistle to the Philippians. He also took care in his exhortations to recommend virginity, not as a matter of necessity or of commandment, but as a state voluntarily chosen and bearing the promise of a higher reward.

At length the time arrived when he should be promoted to a higher office. His hairs were now whitening with his advancing years. His age was sufficient, and his godly life was in advance of his age. Bucolus therefore, seeing that he was a fit counsellor and fellow labourer, ordained him presbyter to the great joy of the whole church, but with much reluctance on his own part.

The moment came at length when Bucolus must leave this present world. It had been foretold him more than once in visions that he would have one like Polycarp for his successor. At the hour of his departure therefore he took hold of Polycarp's hand and pressed it on his own breast and face, to signify that the graces which reside in these organs—the graces of heart and eyes and ears—were all committed to him. This done, he cried 'Glory to thee, O Lord', and fell asleep. After he was laid in his grave, the bishops gathered together from the neighbouring cities, and the church was thronged with crowds from the towns and villages round about. Then a glory of heavenly light shone about them all, and wonderful visions were seen by certain brethren. One beheld a white dove in a circle of light hovering over the head of Polycarp; another saw him, before he had taken his seat, as if seated already. To one he appeared to have the form of a soldier and to be girded with a belt of fire; to another to be robed in purple, his face gleaming with an unwonted light; while to a third, a holy virgin,

he seemed to be double his proper stature and to have a scarlet cloke on his right shoulder, while a seal was on his neck which glistened like snow. The eyes of all were fastened upon him, and when the passages from Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, describing what is required in a bishop were read, they said one to another that he was lacking in none of these things. So then after the lessons were read and due exhortation was made, when the deacons were sent to ask the laity whom they would have, they cried out with one voice 'Let Polycarp be our shepherd and teacher'.

Of his doings as a bishop many miracles are recorded. On one occasion when he was at Teos, the bishop Daphnus complained of the scarcity. But Polycarp invoked the name of Jesus Christ over the empty barrels and immediately they were filled, so that there was grain enough, not only for seed and for the supply of the house, but also to give to others. On a later day he was in this same place; a small cask of wine was miraculously replenished again and again through his intercession; a maid servant lightly laughed at this inexhaustible supply from one little vessel; immediately the wine disappeared from it, and Polycarp rebuked her for her levity. Another day he and his deacon Camerius were lodging in a certain house on one of his pastoral rounds. An angel appeared at dead of night once and again, warning them to leave the place. Camerius, heavy with sleep, refused to obey. The angelic warning was repeated a third time—now not in vain. They rose from their beds and left the house. They had not gone far, when the house fell to the ground, and all the inmates were buried in the ruins. At another time a fire burst out at night in Smyrna, spreading from a baker's shop. The wonted means failed to quench the flames. Then the mayor, instructed in a dream, sent for Polycarp. Polycarp looked up to heaven and prayed, and the flames were extinguished in a moment. After this again there was a terrible drought and famine in the city. It was only natural that the mayor and the citizens, remembering what he had done for them formerly, should again appeal to him for aid. Polycarp answered their appeal. He gathered the clergy and laity together to the house of God. There they all, led by the bishop, prayed earnestly to the God who opened the heavens at the prayer of Elijah, when they had been shut three years and six months. The petition was answered, and the rain came.

So ran the story of Polycarp, current at the close of the fourth century, as it was told in the saint's life which professes to have been written by Pionius. Unhappily it has no points of contact with authentic tradition. If it contains any grains of truth, we have no means of

sifting them from the huge heap of falsehood. Of the real Polycarp we know very little—far too little to satisfy our interest, though somewhat more than is known of any eminent Christian from the age of the Apostles to the close of the second century.

The word πολύκαρπος, as an adjective, is found as early as the Homeric poems (*Odyss.* vii. 122, xxiv. 221). Not unnaturally it is applied as an epithet to the goddess Demeter (*Anthol. Graec.* II. p. 95, ed. Jacobs; comp. Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2175)[1]. As a proper name, it appears not to occur in extant monuments and writings before Roman times. A graffito on the walls of Pompeii (*Inscr. Lat.* IV. 2351) has POLVCARPVS FVGIT. This, so far as I have noticed, is the earliest extant occurrence of the name (comp. *ib.* 2470). It is more common however in the age of the Antonines and later (*Inscr. Att.* III. 1122, 1163, 1171, 1193, 1259). The first of these Attic inscriptions (A.D. 156—158) is nearly coincident with our Polycarp's death, as the Pompeian inscriptions must have been nearly coincident with his birth. So far as we may trust the evidence from monuments hitherto discovered, the name does not appear to have been at all common in Asia Minor or the East, though it occurs in an inscription at Parium (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3654 e). Its geographical range however is wide; for it is found not only in Italy (*Inscr. Lat.* IX. 92, X. 2973) and Sardinia (*ib.* X. 7523), but in Spain (*Inscr. Lat.* II. 4342, 4463)[2]. An epigram also by Automedon, who appears to have written during the first century of the Christian era, is aimed at a certain bankrupt banker of Cyzicus who bore this name (*Anthol. Graec.* II. p. 191, ed. Jacobs). Applied to a person it would describe what the Romans called 'homo frugi'. Hence it is especially a slave's name, like Carpus, Carpophorus, Chresimus, Chrestus, Eucarpus, Fructus, Fructuosus, Onesimus, Onesiphorus, Pancarpus, Symphorus, and the like (see *Philippians* p. 310). Thus in the two Spanish inscriptions the persons named are both freedmen. In the Pompeian inscription also, which is quoted above, the runaway Polycarp mentioned there is evidently a gladiator or a slave—if the former, then probably the latter also. On the whole the name is not very common, like Onesimus or Chresimus, and (if the known inscriptions

[1] In the *Acta Joannis* p. 129 (ed. Zahn) bearing the name of Prochorus, a woman Phora (Produce) is introduced, who has two sons Rhox (Grape, Vintage) and Polycarpus (Much-fruit, Harvest). Though the story is connected with S. John, the name has no reference to our Polycarp.

[2] The Roman inscriptions in the collection are as yet incomplete and without an index. I have not found time to go through them.

may be taken as a criterion) was more frequent at Athens than elsewhere. In one of the inscriptions already referred to a Polycarp is mentioned in connexion with a Daphnus (*Inscr. Att.* III. 1230) and in another with an Agathopus (*Inscr. Lat.* II. 4463)—both names occurring in the Ignatian Epistles in connexion with the Smyrnæan Church (Ign. *Smyrn.* 10, 13). The coincidence however must be regarded as fortuitous. In Garrucci (*Dissert. Archeol.* II. p. 172) it appears on a monument in a Jewish Cemetery, ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟ[C] . ΠΑΤΗΡ . ΚΑΙ . ΚΡΗ[C]-ΚΕΝΤΕΙΝΑ . ΜΗΤΗΡ. etc.

After Polycarp's time it not unnaturally becomes more frequent in Christian circles. Thus an epitaph in his own city Smyrna records a namesake who was a subdeacon (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr.* 9281 ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΩ ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΩ). In the Syriac Martyrology again (pp. 4, 7, 10, Wright), which probably dates about the middle of the fourth century (see II. p. 417 sq.), besides our Apostolic father (Feb. 23), three others bearing the same name are mentioned as suffering martyrdom, one at Nicæa (Jan. 27), one at Eumenia (Oct. 27), and one in a place of which the name is not preserved (May 24). About a century after our Polycarp's death a namesake, a bishop of Hadrumetum, and a person of consideration in the African Church, has a somewhat prominent place in Cyprian's writings (Cyprian *Op.* pp. 437, 606, 650, 735, 766, ed. Hartel).

As important considerations depend on the date of Polycarp's birth, we are fortunate in being able to fix it within a year or two on grounds which must be regarded as satisfactory. At the time of his martyrdom he speaks of himself as having 'served Christ fourscore and six years' (*Mart. Polyc.* 9). The expression in the original (see II. p. 963) may leave some doubt whether these eighty-six years should be reckoned from his birth or from his conversion, though the former would be the more natural interpretation[1]. But if the language is not decisive in itself, the probabilities of the case hardly leave much room for hesitation. Polycarp had paid a visit to Rome shortly before his death; and during the martyrdom itself he shows very considerable activity for a man advanced in age. This would be possible in a man of eighty-six;

[1] Halloix (*Ill. Eccl. Orient. Script.* I. p. 587) was the first to interpret this expression not of his actual age but of the years of his Christian profession; and he was followed by Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* pp. iv, 61 sq.). In order to bring this interpretation into harmony with the traditions of Irenæus and with the received date of Polycarp's martyrdom, Ussher supposes that he was bishop of Smyrna more than 70 years. Blondel is still more extravagant and speaks of him as 'exactis in sacro ministerio annis lxxxvi' at the time of his death. Against all these excessive estimates Pearson with good reason enters his protest; *Minor Theological Works* II. p. 532 sq.

but we could not add even a few years to his age without transgressing the bounds of probability[1]. As the date of his martyrdom is now shown with tolerable certainty to be about A.D. 155 or 156[2], he must have been born about the year 69 or 70.

His birth was thus coincident with a momentous epoch in the history of the Church. Jerusalem was taken in the autumn A.D. 70. Before its fall the Christians had left the doomed city. While the greater part retired beyond the Jordan and founded Christian colonies at Pella and the neighbourhood, the principal leaders of the Church—the surviving Apostles and other personal disciples of the Lord—sought a new home in proconsular Asia. Henceforward we find the head-quarters of Christendom no more at Jerusalem, nor even at Antioch, but (for the time at least) in Ephesus. Here S. John fixed his abode after his temporary banishment in Patmos. Here also—if an ancient tradition may be credited—lived Andrew, the friend of John's youth[3], a native, like himself, of Bethsaida, and a fellow disciple with him of John the Baptist. Thus the two were linked together in the latest years of their ministry, as they had been united in the first moment of their conversion (Joh. i. 35). In this same neighbourhood also resided a third fisherman Apostle of Bethsaida, Philip, whose name is especially connected with Andrew's in the evangelical narrative (Joh. i. 44, vi. 7, 8, xii. 22). Philip died and was buried at Hierapolis in Phrygia. He left three daughters, of whom two, like their father, died and were buried at Hierapolis, while the third, 'having lived in the Holy Spirit', was laid to her rest in Ephesus[4]. This last fact would suggest that in previous years Philip himself had resided in the same city with John. Besides these three Apostles we read also of two other personal disciples of Christ in these parts, Aristion and a second John, with whom, as with the daughters of Philip, Papias had conversed respecting the human life of the Saviour and the earliest days of the Church[5].

[1] The argument however cannot be pressed too far. We have seen a veteran philanthropist undertaking (A.D. 1875) his seventh journey to Palestine at the advanced age of 91, publishing a detailed account of his visit (Sir Moses Montefiore's *Forty Days' Sojourn in the Holy Land*), and notwithstanding his active and arduous labours still living in the enjoyment of his faculties (A.D. 1884), though in his hundredth year.

[2] See a subsequent chapter on the date.

[3] *Canon Muratorianus* p. 33 (ed. Tregelles) 'revelatum Andreae ex apostolis ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret'.

[4] The passages relating to Philip and his daughters are, Papias in Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39, Polycrates in Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 31, v. 24, Gaius (Hippolytus?) in Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 30. See *Colossians* p. 45 sq. for the confusion between Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist.

[5] Papias in Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39.

If Polycarp's words have been correctly interpreted, they point to another important fact. He was not a convert to Christianity, but was born of Christian parentage[1]. This supposition is at all events consistent with the fact that he draws his quotations almost entirely, not from the ancient Scriptures but from the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, thus presenting a direct contrast to Clement of Rome and bearing testimony to his early Christian training. This view is not contradicted by his own language, where he speaks of S. Paul as praising the Philippians in all the churches at a time when 'we had not yet known Christ (§ 11)', for he writes in the name of the Smyrnæan elders as well as of himself. Thus the first person plural here, as the context shows, denotes the Smyrnæan Church, as contrasted with other Christian communities, like the Philippian, founded at an earlier date. But was Polycarp himself a Smyrnæan? If not a Smyrnæan, was he a native of proconsular Asia? Or is there any truth in the Pionian story, which represents him as a slave-lad brought from the farther East and sold at Smyrna? We must be content to ask this question, and leave it without an answer. The story may contain possibly a true tradition in this particular; but its surroundings are not such as to entitle it to any credit.

In one respect however the Pionian legend seems to deserve consideration. Polycarp is represented in it as a man of substance. This agrees with notices in a more authentic document. In the Acts of Martyrdom he is spoken of as possessing two servant lads, apparently slaves (§ 6); and as this fact is only mentioned incidentally, it may point to a larger household. Moreover the house and farm whither he retires and on which he is apprehended (§§ 6, 7) would seem from the narrative of the incidents to have been his own, though this is not certain.

The Pionian story insists with great emphasis (§§ 9, 14, 15) on his celibacy. On the other hand a passage in the letter of Ignatius (*Polyc.* 5) has been thought by some to point to the opposite conclusion. Ignatius there bids any one who chooses a life of virginity to beware of arrogance, adding (as the words are commonly interpreted) that, 'if he is better known', becomes more famous, than the bishop, he is defiled by that very fact. If this were the right explanation, it would imply that the bishop himself could not lay claim to a celibate life. But reasons

[1] The expression in Irenæus (iii. 3. 4), *ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθείς*, might seem at first sight to be opposed to this view; but *μαθητεύειν* is not confined to converting disciples, and may denote any systematic instruction in the doctrine and practice of the faith; comp. e.g. Justin Martyr *Apol.* i. 15, ii. 4.

are given in the notes on the passage (II. p. 349 sq.) for adopting a wholly different interpretation of the words ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, 'if his vow of chastity go beyond the ears of the bishop', as the context suggests. If this be the correct meaning, the inference falls to the ground, and the point must be left undetermined. Under any circumstances the conjecture that Alce, who is saluted in the letters of Ignatius to Polycarp (§ 8) and to the Smyrnæans (§ 13), was the wife of Polycarp, has nothing to recommend it. The manner in which she is mentioned in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom (§ 17) is alone sufficient to set it aside. In this case, as in the similar instance of Renan's conjecture that Lydia (Acts xvi. 14) was S. Paul's wife[1], the absolute silence of the writer about any such intimate relationship seems fatal to the hypothesis. Silence is often a very precarious guide, but here we may safely trust ourselves to its leading.

More important for our purpose, than these considerations of country or rank or wealth or condition of life, are his Christian relationships: *first* with the Apostles and earliest founders of the Church; *secondly* with his contemporaries, the fathers of the sub-apostolic age; and *lastly* with his younger friends and disciples.

(1) It has been stated that coincidently with the birth of Polycarp, proconsular Asia, the province in which Polycarp resided continuously from the first moment when we have any authentic notice of his life, became the spiritual centre of Christendom. Here S. John lived and taught for more than a quarter of a century after the destruction of Jerusalem, dying at length in extreme old age in the early years of Trajan's reign (c. A.D. 100)[2]. The other Apostles and personal disciples of Christ, who had migrated to these parts, were carried off first one and then another by death, until at length (it would appear) he was left alone[3]. Here he gathered disciples about him, ordained bishops and presbyters, founded new churches, making Ephesus his head-quarters, but visiting the neighbouring districts as occasion required[4]. Of this circle of disciples Polycarp was the most famous.

[1] *Saint Paul* p. 148 sq.

[2] Irenæus *Haer.* iii. 3, 4 μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων.

[3] *Canon Muratorianus* p. 33 'cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis', where the 'condiscipuli (συμμαθηταί)' are those who like himself had been personal disciples of Christ.

[4] Clem. Alex. *Quis Div. Salv.* 42 (p. 958) ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν [ὁ Ἰωάννης] ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῄει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων, after which follows the well-known story of the Apostle and the young robber. Clement describes the city to whose bishop S. John had entrusted the

Long years afterwards it was his delight in old age to relate to his younger friends what he had heard from eye-witnesses of the Lord's earthly life, and more especially to dwell on his intercourse with the Apostle S. John. His own disciple Irenæus speaks of his master as having 'not only been taught by Apostles and lived in familiar intercourse with many that had seen Christ, but also' as having 'received his appointment in Asia from Apostles as bishop in the Church of Smyrna' (iii. 3. 4). We need not press the plural. Tertullian (*de Praescr.* 32) definitely names S. John as having appointed him to this office; and, though the co-operation of other Apostles cannot be pronounced impossible on chronological grounds, it is at all events not likely. On the other hand in S. John's case there is no improbability. Polycarp was thirty years old, or possibly more, before the death of this last surviving Apostle. The examples of Timothy at Ephesus in a previous generation, and of Damas in Magnesia (Ign. *Magn.* 3) among his own contemporaries, or of Athanasius at a still later epoch, bear testimony to the practice of placing young men in the highest offices of the Church in the earliest centuries. When Ignatius writes to Polycarp—presumably some ten years later—he can still address him in language which is most appropriate on the lips of an old man speaking to one who is many years his junior. On the other hand, the Pionian story is wholly irreconcilable with the statement of Irenæus, and indeed condemns itself. It speaks of his 'hoary head', the 'forerunner of old age,' when he is admitted to the priesthood;

young man, as τινα τῶν οὐ μακρὰν πολέων, ἧς καὶ τοὔνομα λέγουσιν ἔνιοι. In the *Chron. Pasch.* p. 470 (ed. Bonn.) under A.D. 101, after referring to the passage of Clement just quoted as an authority for S. John's activity in organizing the churches in Asia, the writer continues ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ὃν παρέθετο ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἰωάννης τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Σμύρνης κ.τ.λ. Whether this chronicler gave the name Smyrna on the authority of one of those earlier narrators whom Clement mentions, or whether it was a conjecture of his own, we cannot say. Halloix accepts his statement (p. 569) and identifies the bishop with Polycarp. Clement however calls him not only ὁ πρεσβύτερος, which might be a designation of office, but also ὁ πρεσβύτης, which must designate old age. But Polycarp can have been little more than thirty, when S. John died. If therefore this person is rightly entitled bishop of Smyrna, he must have been a predecessor of Polycarp—Bucolus for instance, if Bucolus is a historical person.

Antiochus *Hom.* 122 (p. 1813, ed. Migne) tells this story of S. John and the young robber, giving his authority, τοιοῦτόν τι εὑρίσκομεν παρὰ τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ· φησὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου κ.τ.λ. It is not probable that Antiochus could have got the story from Irenæus; and we must therefore suppose with Halloix that he obtained it from Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 23) and that he is guilty of a confusion, as Irenæus is quoted by Eusebius in the same context in which he gives this story from Clement of Alexandria.

and from the sequel of the narrative we should infer that a considerable interval elapsed before he was finally raised to the episcopate —not however by S. John, but by Bucolus. Irenæus is easily reconcilable with Ignatius; but neither the one nor the other can be made to harmonize with the Pionian account. If Polycarp was appointed to the episcopate by S. John, he must have held the office more than half a century. The other personal disciples of Christ with whom Polycarp in early life was brought in contact are probably to be sought among the persons known from other sources, more especially from Papias, to have settled in these parts. But they may not have been confined to this circle. If Polycarp really was born in Palestine or Syria, his opportunities of intercourse with immediate hearers of Christ might have been much wider.

(2) Among the contemporaries of Polycarp three names stand out prominently as fathers of the sub-apostolic age, Clement, Ignatius, and Papias. With Clement himself it is not probable that Polycarp ever came into personal contact; but with his extant letter, written to the Corinthians, he shows an intimate acquaintance. On the other hand, for his personal intercourse with the other two we have direct evidence.

Irenæus (v. 33. 4) speaks of Papias as 'the scholar of John and companion of Polycarp' (ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς). This language is precise, but nevertheless it cannot be accepted with absolute confidence. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39) criticizes the statement that Papias was a disciple of the Apostle S. John; he infers from the language of Papias himself that his master was not the Apostle, but the Elder (πρεσβύτερος) of the same name; and he therefore charges Irenæus with a confusion in this passage. If however Irenæus went astray on the one point, he may have gone astray on the other also. The statement that Papias was a companion of Polycarp might have been his own inference from the fact that they were both disciples of the same master. But, whether Eusebius be correct or not, it seems highly improbable that Polycarp and Papias should have been unknown to each other. Being strictly contemporaries and living at no greater distance than the interval which separates Smyrna from Hierapolis, they could hardly fail—as the two most famous Christian teachers in those parts—to have been in frequent communication the one with the other.

The evidence for the connexion of Polycarp with Ignatius is open to no such question. Ignatius, now on his way to Rome and to martyrdom, halts at Smyrna, where he receives assiduous attentions from the Smyrnæans and from Polycarp their bishop. In the letters which he

writes from Smyrna he speaks in affectionate terms of Polycarp (*Ephes.* 21, *Magn.* 15). Moving forward from Smyrna to Troas he despatches thence two letters—one to the Smyrnæan community generally, and another addressed especially to Polycarp but intended (as the closing injunctions show) to be read publicly in the Church. The language which he uses in the latter manifests his estimate of Polycarp's character and work. After expressing his thanksgiving that he was permitted to see Polycarp face to face, he continues as follows:

'I exhort thee in the grace wherewith thou art clothed to press forward in thy race.....Vindicate thine office in all diligence of flesh and of spirit.....Bear all men as the Lord also beareth thee. Suffer all men in love, as also thou doest. Give thyself to unceasing prayers. Ask for larger wisdom than thou hast.....Bear the maladies of all, as a perfect athlete..... Be thou prudent as the serpent in all things, and guileless always as the dove.....The season requireth thee, as pilots require wind, and as a storm-tossed mariner a haven, that it may attain unto God. Be sober as God's athlete.....In all things I am devoted to thee.....Stand thou firm as an anvil when it is smitten. It is the part of a great athlete to receive blows and to conquer.....Be thou more diligent than thou art. Mark the seasons.'

The words were in some sense prophetic. Half a century rolled away before the athlete received the crown of victory. Meanwhile he had stood firm and immoveable, unshaken by the license of theological speculation within and undaunted by the terrors of persecution from without. A recent writer describes him as 'ultra-conservative'[1]. His was an age in which conservatism alone could save the Church. Ignatius had rightly divined that he was the one man whom the season demanded.

Ignatius had charged Polycarp with the fulfilment of a task which, owing to his hurried departure from Troas, he himself was unable to execute. He had bidden him write to the churches lying eastward and instruct them to send letters and delegates to Antioch (*Polyc.* 8). The Smyrnæans themselves also were directed to write to the Antiochene Church, and to place their letter in the hands of some exceptionally trustworthy representative (*Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7). This business brings Polycarp into correspondence with the Philippians. Ignatius, after leaving Troas, had sailed to Philippi, where he had halted for a time. Receiving from him the same instructions as the other churches and acting under his directions about writing to Antioch, the Philippians communicated with Polycarp, requesting that the Smyrnæan messenger might carry their letter also to Antioch. Polycarp replies. He con-

[1] Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 433.

gratulates the Philippians on their attention to Ignatius and others on their way to martyrdom (§ 1), and urges them to imitate the faithfulness and courage of the martyrs (§ 9). At the same time he sends them, appended to his own epistle, copies of all the letters of Ignatius which he had in his hands, including those addressed to himself and his church; and he asks them in turn to communicate to him any later news which they may have respecting the martyr and his companions (§ 13). He grants their request as to the despatch of their letter to the Antiochene Church; and he intimates that he himself may perhaps go to Antioch with it in person[1]. Whether this project was ever carried out or not, we have no means of ascertaining. The visits of Melito, Abercius, and Pionius to the East[2] show how readily Christian teachers of proconsular Asia undertook these long journeys. These relations with Ignatius were comprised within a few weeks in the late summer of a single year, not long before or not long after A.D. 110, and therefore somewhere about the middle point of his long life.

(3) From his intercourse with his contemporaries we pass on to his relations with a younger generation. During the remainder of the century Asia Minor was the focus of activity in the Christian Church. The famous writers of this period, Melito and Claudius Apollinaris and Polycrates, would all probably have come under his personal influence; for they lived at no great distance from Smyrna and must have grown into full manhood, or even attained middle age, before he died. Nor would his influence be confined to the fathers of Asia Minor. Some years before his death Justin Martyr came to proconsular Asia. The scene of his *Dialogue with Trypho* is fixed at Ephesus; and a visit to this renowned disciple of the Apostles residing in a neighbouring city would naturally form part of his programme. Clement of Alexandria again mentions among his many teachers one who lived in these parts of Asia Minor[3]. It is not likely indeed that he can have been personally acquainted with Polycarp, for his date is somewhat too late; but he must have visited these regions while Polycarp's influence was still fresh, and the instructor whom he thus mentions anonymously would probably have been directly influenced by this Apostolic father. But of two notable men more especially we have direct information, as students together under Polycarp, though their after-lives were parted wide as the poles asunder—Irenæus who stands out as the great

[1] For more respecting this epistle see II. p. 897 sq.

[2] For Melito see Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26; for Abercius, *Anal. Sacr. Solesm.* III. p. 169; for Pionius, *Acta Pionii* 4 in Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 190.

[3] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 1 (p. 322) ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Ἰωνικός.

champion of orthodoxy against the Gnostic schools, and Florinus who lapsing into more than one heresy called down upon himself the rebuke of his old comrade. The description of those earlier days cannot be given better than in the words of Irenæus remonstrating with his former fellow-student after his defection[1];

'These opinions, Florinus, that I may speak without harshness, are not of sound judgment; these opinions are not in harmony with the Church, but involve those who adopt them in the greatest impiety; these opinions even the heretics outside the pale of the Church have never ventured to broach; these opinions the elders before us, who also were disciples of the Apostles, did not hand down to thee. For I saw thee, when I was still a boy (*παῖς ἔτι ὤν*), in Lower Asia in company with Polycarp, while thou wast faring prosperously in the royal court and endeavouring to stand well with him. For I distinctly remember (*διαμνημονεύω*) the incidents of that time better than the events of recent occurrence; for the lessons received from childhood (*ἐκ παίδων*), growing with the growth of the soul, become identified with it; so that I can tell the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people (*πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος*), and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord and about His miracles and about His teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures. To these things I used to listen at the time with attention by God's mercy which was bestowed upon me, noting them down not on paper but in my heart; and constantly, by the grace of God, I ruminate upon them faithfully (*γνησίως*). And I can testify in the sight of God, that if that blessed and apostolic elder had heard anything of this kind, he would have cried out, and stopped his ears, and would have said after his wont, 'O good God, for what times hast Thou kept me, that I should endure these things,' and would have fled from the very place where he was sitting or standing when he heard such words. And indeed this can be shown from his letters, which he wrote either to the neighbouring churches for their confirmation or to certain of the brethren for their warning and exhortation.'

[1] Quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20. In the *Contemporary Review*, May 1875, p. 834, I had urged the probability that the *Letter to Florinus* was an earlier writing than the extant work of Irenæus *On Heresies*, but the Syriac fragment xxviii (Irenæus II. p. 457, ed. Harvey), as pointed out by R. A. Lipsius (*Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* III. p. 263 sq., s.v. 'Irenaeus'), shows that it must be placed during the episcopate of Victor, and therefore not before A.D. 189. This point however does not materially affect the question of the time when the intercourse of Polycarp with Irenæus and Florinus took place.

This vivid picture from an eye-witness enables us to realize the aged Polycarp surrounded by his youthful disciples. The place, says a modern writer, was 'without doubt one of the terraces on the slope of Mount Pagus, whence we descry the sparkling bay and its beautiful girdle of mountains.....An echo of Galilee thus made itself heard, at a distance of a hundred and twenty years, on the shores of another sea[1].'

The subsequent life of the narrator bears testimony to the wide influence of Polycarp. The South of Gaul had been colonized originally from the Eastern shores of the Ægæan. Its Christianity came from the same regions as its colonization. The Church of Gaul was the spiritual daughter of the Church of proconsular Asia. Irenæus—the first systematic champion of Catholic orthodoxy, as based on the apostolic tradition and distinguished from the unbridled speculations of the sects—the most competent of the fathers of the second century—received his early education in Asia Minor, partly under the direct influence of Polycarp. He became bishop of Lyons in A.D. 177, but had already resided there some years. The see had been vacated on this occasion by the death of the aged Pothinus, who fell in the persecution which raged in the Churches of Vienne and Lyons under M. Aurelius. Pothinus is stated in the contemporary account of his martyrdom to have been over ninety years of age[2]. If this be true (and at most the exaggeration can only be slight), he was a young boy when the Apostle John died, and junior to Polycarp by some twenty years at the outside. It is frequently stated that he too had migrated from Asia Minor into Gaul; and though the statement is based on a misinterpretation of a late authority[3], the circumstance is highly probable in itself. Of those whose names are given as sufferers in this persecution two at least, Attalus of Pergamus and Alexander the physician from Phrygia, were themselves natives of this part of Asia Minor, while several others bear Greek names. The circular letter, giving an account of these martyrdoms, was addressed 'to the brethren in Phrygia and Asia' (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1); and individual martyrs and confessors in

[1] Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* pp. 438, 439.

[2] *Letter of the Gallican Churches* § 24 *ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ποθεινὸς ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας γεγονὼς κ.τ.λ.*

[3] This statement is made by Routh, following previous writers, *Rel. Sacr.* I. p. 328; see also the Bollandist *Act. Sanct.* Jan. 26 (II. p. 694). The authority quoted is Gregory of Tours *Hist. Franc.* i. 24 'Beatissimus vero Irenaeus hujus successor martyris [Pothini], qui a beato Polycarpo ad hanc urbem directus est etc.'; but the whole complexion of the passage shows that the antecedent to 'qui' is not 'martyris' but 'Irenaeus'. The statement is founded on Euseb. *H.E.* v. 5.

this persecution likewise addressed various letters to these same parts (*ib.* v. 3). Plainly therefore proconsular Asia was considered to be hardly less interested than Gaul itself in these glories of the arena at Vienne and Lyons.

With Pothinus we have reached the outer verge of authentic history. But beyond these limits romance is busy with the fame and influence of Polycarp in the West. Benignus, afterwards the patron saint of Dijon, was despatched by the aged bishop of Smyrna—so says the legend—together with his companions Andochius the presbyter and Thyrsus the deacon, to evangelize Gaul. So far at least there is no improbability in the story. These names might possibly have occurred in the documents relating to the persecutions in Gaul under M. Aurelius (A.D. 177) of which Eusebius has preserved large portions (*H.E.* v. 1—4). But when we are told further that the converts of this Benignus—the three twin brothers, 'sancti tergemini', Speusippus, Elasippus, and Melesippus—suffered martyrdom at one time together with their grandmother Leonilla and her comrade Ionilla, when we read that Benignus himself was tried and condemned by the emperor Aurelian in person, and that a succession of the most horrible tortures—enough to destroy ten human lives—was inflicted upon him in the imperial presence, till the emperor howled and raved like a maniac at their futility, we feel that we have left the region of history and are breathing the atmosphere of pure fable[1].

[1] Full information respecting the doings of S. Benignus and his companions will be found in Tillemont *Mémoires* III. pp. 38 sq., 603 sq.; comp. II. pp. 320 sq., 343. For the 'Tergemini', whose day is Jan. 17, see the Bollandist *Act. Sanct.* Jan. II. p. 73 sq. The three names are variously written, but I have endeavoured to extract from the confusion the probable forms as given in the original story. In the earliest form of the legend they are Cappadocian martyrs, as they still appear in the Greek Menæa; and their connexion with Benignus and Polycarp, as the spiritual fathers of Gaul, is a later accretion. The later Acts, sent by Warnaharius to Ceraunius Bishop of Paris (c. A.D. 615), in which they are already transferred from Cappadocia to Gaul and this connexion with Polycarp through Benignus is established, have a certain interest as illustrating the legendary fame of Polycarp, and I have therefore given an extract in the next chapter. The emperor named in connexion with the martyrdoms of these saints, as also of Benignus himself, is Aurelian. This however would not have been a serious difficulty in itself, as the names Aurelius and Aurelianus are frequently confused.

The day of S. Benignus is Nov. 1. The story of this saint's connexion with Polycarp, and the legend of the Gallic Tergemini, are recognized in the Martyrologies of the 9th century, Florus-Bede, Ado, Rabanus Maurus, Usuard, and Notker. The day of the 'Tergemini' (τρίδυμοι) is a day earlier (Jan. 16) in the Greek Calendar than in the Latin.

Of the exact date when Irenæus and Florinus were fellow-pupils of Polycarp we cannot speak with confidence; but it was probably during the later years of the old man's life. So far as our knowledge of the chronology of Irenæus goes, it might be anywhere between about A.D. 135 and A.D. 150[1]. The mention of the 'royal court' (*ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ*) should lead to some more definite conclusion[2]; but we

[1] Irenæus in his *Letter to Florinus* speaks of himself as *παῖς ἔτι ὤν* at this time. Elsewhere (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4) he describes this intercourse with Polycarp as taking place *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*. Renan (*L'Église Chrétienne* p. 439) designates him at this time 'un jeune Grec d'une quinzaine d'années'. Not very differently R. A. Lipsius (l.c. p. 254), arguing from the language of Irenæus elsewhere (*Haer.* ii. 22. 4, ii. 24. 4) respecting the successive stages of human life, argues that 'the age of the *παῖς* will commence...say about the 18th year', and this age he considers to accord well with the other expression *πρώτη ἡλικία*. But the expression is consistent with a maturer age than this. In the *Epistle of the Gallican Churches* (Eus. *H.E.* v. 1) Ponticus (§ 53) is called *παιδάριον ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν*; and Constantine (Eus. *V. C.* ii. 51) styles himself *κομιδῇ παῖς* when he observed the embitterment in Diocletian towards the Christians, though he must have been 30 years old or more when the persecution broke out, and did not go to reside at court till he was at least 16. Polybius (xvii. 12. 5) speaks of Flamininus as *νέος κομιδῇ* 'very young', because, as he explains, 'he was not more than thirty years old'; and he uses this same expression of Hiero (i. 8. 3) who seems to have been then close upon thirty-five, and of Philopœmen (ii. 67. 5) who was then over thirty. Philopœmen was called *μειράκιον* by his contemporaries at this same time; Plutarch *Vit. Philop.* 6. So likewise Galen in one passage (*Op.* XIII. p. 599) describes himself as *νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν*, when he was entering upon his 29th year, and in another (*Op.* XIX. p. 15) as *νέος ὢν ἔτι*, though he was in his 34th year at the time.

But, even if this point were established satisfactorily, we should still be at fault, since the date of Irenæus' birth is not determinable except within somewhat wide limits. The subject has been discussed with great care by R. A. Lipsius (l.c. p. 253 sq.), who places it about A.D. 130. It can hardly be placed later, if the story in the Appendix to the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* in the Moscow MS (see II. p. 986) be true, that Irenæus was teaching in Rome at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom (A.D. 155); and there is no valid reason against dating it some ten years earlier, as I have done in the *Contemporary Review*, August 1876, p. 415. On the whole we are obliged to confess that with the evidence before us only the very roughest approximation to a date is possible.

[2] Dodwell and Grabe explain the reference by a visit of Hadrian to Asia, which the former places A.D. 122 and the latter A.D. 127 or A.D. 129 (Grabe *Proleg.* Sect. i, Iren. *Op.* II. p. 32 sq., ed. Stieren). Recently discovered inscriptions show beyond question that Hadrian was in these parts (at Ephesus and at Laodicea) in A.D. 129 (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 1883, p. 407). But even this last date seems too early. On the other hand the visits of L. Verus (A.D. 162 and in subsequent years) are too late, as Polycarp's death must now be placed about A.D. 155. Between Hadrian and L. Verus it has been generally supposed that no emperor visited the East. Reasons however will be given in a subsequent chapter (on the Date of the Martyrdom) for believing

have only a very imperfect knowledge of the imperial visits to Asia Minor at this epoch, nor indeed is it quite certain that the expression requires the actual presence of the emperor in these parts at the time.

We have caught three glimpses of the man at three different epochs of his life—in youth as the disciple of S. John, in middle age as the companion of Ignatius, in declining years as the master of Irenæus. But these three periods exhibit a continuous life. His days are 'linked each to each by natural piety.' There is no dislocation here, as in the life of Ignatius. He repeats with emphasis in extreme old age the same lessons which he had learned with avidity in his tenderest years.

One incident more completes our knowledge of his career, till the final catastrophe comes. In the closing years of his life he paid a visit to Rome, where he conferred with the bishop Anicetus. They had other points of difference to discuss, but one main subject of their conference was the time of celebrating the Passion. Polycarp pleaded the practice of S. John and the other Apostles with whom he had conversed, for observing the actual day of the Jewish Passover, the 14th Nisan, without respect to the day of the week. On the other hand, Anicetus could point to the fact that his predecessors, at least as far back as Xystus, who succeeded to the see soon after the beginning of the century, had always kept the anniversary of the Passion on a Friday and that of the Resurrection on a Sunday, thus making the day

that Antoninus Pius was in Syria about A.D. 154, 155, and he seems to have visited Asia Minor likewise (Joann. Malalas p. 280, ed. Bonn.). But this date also is too late. Massuet *Diss. in Iren.* ii. § 2 (II. p. 183, Stieren) considers that the expression does not imply the presence of the imperial court in Asia, but signifies merely that Florinus was a courtier in high favour with the emperor. Irenæus however could hardly have expressed himself so, if he had meant nothing more than this.

As no known visit of a reigning emperor will suit, I ventured (*Contemporary Review*, May 1875, p. 834) to offer a conjectural interpretation. About the year 136 T. Aurelius Fulvus was proconsul of Asia (Waddington *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques* p. 724). Within two or three years of his proconsulate he was raised to the imperial throne, and is known as Antoninus Pius. Even during his proconsulate omens marked him as the future occupant of the imperial throne; Capitolin. *Pius* 3 'Cum sacerdos femina Trallis ex more proconsules semper hoc nomine salutaret, non dixit *Ave proconsul*, sed *Ave imperator*. Cyzici etiam de simulacro Dei ad statuam ejus corona translata est.' Florinus may have belonged to his suite, and Irenæus in after years might well call the proconsul's retinue in a loose way the 'royal court' by anticipation, especially if Florinus accompanied him to Rome on his return and continued to serve him after his elevation to the sovereignty. Though not altogether satisfied with this explanation, I have no better to offer. Inscriptions hereafter discovered may perhaps help us to a more satisfactory solution.

of the month give place to the day of the week. Neither convinced the other, but they parted good friends. This difference of usage did not interfere with the most perfect cordiality; and, as a token of this, Anicetus allowed Polycarp to celebrate the eucharist in his place. About forty years later, when the Paschal controversy revived in a more virulent form, and Victor, a successor of Anicetus, excommunicated the Asiatic Churches, Irenæus, though himself an observer of the Western usage, wrote to remonstrate with Victor on this harsh and tyrannical measure. An extract from his letter is preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 24), in which this incident in the life of his old master is recorded.

To this visit to Rome Irenæus makes another reference in his extant work, where the sterner side of Polycarp's character appears. If he was prepared to treat leniently any ritual differences, such as the time and mode of celebrating the Paschal festival, he was stubborn and uncompromising in his dealings with the heresies. After speaking of the succession of the Roman bishops, through whom the true doctrine had been handed down to his own generation without interruption, Irenæus continues (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4);

'And (so it was with) Polycarp also, who was not only taught by Apostles and lived in familiar intercourse (*συναναστραφείς*) with many that had seen Christ, but also received his appointment in Asia from Apostles, as bishop in the Church of Smyrna; whom we too have seen in our early years (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*), for he survived long and departed this life at a very great age (*καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος*) by a glorious and most notable martyrdom, having ever taught these very things which he had learnt from the Apostles, which the Church hands down, and which alone are true. To these testimony is borne by all the churches in Asia and by the successors of Polycarp up to the present time, who was a much more trustworthy and safer witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and all such wrong-minded men. He also, when on a visit to Rome in the days of Anicetus, converted many to the Church of God from fo lowing the aforenamed heretics, by preaching that he had received from the Apostles this doctrine, and this only, which was handed down by the Church, as the truth. And there are those who have heard him tell how John, the disciple of the Lord, when he went to take a bath in Ephesus, and saw Cerinthus within, rushed away from the room without bathing, with the words 'Let us flee, lest the room should even fall in, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.' Yea, and Polycarp himself also, when Marcion on one occasion (*ποτε*) confronted him and said 'Recognize us,' replied 'Ay, ay, I recognize the first-born of Satan.' So great care did the Apostles and their disciples take not to hold any communication, even by word, with any of those who falsify the truth, as Paul also said, 'A man that is a heretic, after a first and second admonition,

avoid; knowing that such a one is perverted and sinneth, being self-condemned' (Tit. iii. 10).'

At this epoch Rome was the general meeting point of Christendom. Hither flocked Christian teachers, orthodox and heretical, from all parts of the world. Here Polycarp might have fallen in with Eleutherus, at this time or soon after acting as deacon under the bishop Anicetus—the earliest recorded instance of an archdeacon—but destined himself to ascend the papal throne the next but one in succession[1]. Here may still have survived the author of the earliest Christian allegory, Hermas, himself a slave by birth but brother to the immediate predecessor of Anicetus in the Roman episcopate[2]. About this same time also—within a few years earlier or later—among the foreigners resident in Rome were Hegesippus, the earliest historian of Christianity, a native of Palestine and a Hebrew by birth, who interested himself in the succession of the Roman see, intent, like Irenæus in the next generation, on showing the permanence of the orthodox tradition through the continuity of the Roman episcopate[3]; and Justin Martyr, a Samaritan by race, the typical apologist of the Church, the champion of the Gospel against Jew and Gentile alike[4]. Here also he would find his own earlier pupil Irenæus, the greatest Christian writer of his age, destined hereafter to be the father of the Gallican Churches, but now apparently and for some time afterwards residing in Rome[5], where (though probably several years later) he appears to have given lectures on his favourite subject heresiology, and to have numbered among his hearers Hippolytus the future bishop of Portus[6].

Heretical teachers likewise gathered in great force in the metropolis of the world. Here taught, or had taught, Cerdon the forerunner of the dualism of Marcion[7]. Here was established the renowned heresi-

[1] Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22 *γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος.*

[2] *Canon Muratorianus* p. 58 sq. (ed. Tregelles). The servile origin of the author of the Shepherd appears from the work itself, Hermas *Vis.* i. 1, unless indeed he is assuming a fictitious character.

[3] Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22.

[4] Justin *Apol.* ii. 3, Tatian *Orat.* 19, Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 11. If the *Acta Justini* 1 sq. (Just. Mart. *Op.* II. p. 266 sq., ed. Otto) relate to Justin the apologist, they furnish precise evidence (§ 3) as to his residence in Rome.

[5] At all events the supplement to the *Mart. Polyc.* 22 in the Moscow MS represents him as being in Rome at the time of Polycarp's death (see II. p. 985 sq.). Renan (*L'Église Chrétienne* pp. 447, 451) suggests that Irenæus and Florinus accompanied Polycarp to Rome, and remained there when he left.

[6] Photius *Bibl.* 121.

[7] Iren. *Haer.* i. 27. 1, iii. 4. 3, both which passages are quoted by Eusebius *H. E.* iv. 11. Irenæus assigns his arrival in Rome to the episcopate of Hyginus.

arch Valentinus, the greatest of the Gnostic teachers and the most formidable rival of Catholic Christianity, whose school in its various ramifications spread throughout the length and breadth of Christendom[1]. Here was to be found the 'Pontic wolf' himself, Marcion, whose thwarted ambition (so said ill-natured critics) led to a quarrel with the Roman presbyters, and who was already teaching at Rome the heresy which invested his name with a questionable fame[2]. Here, at this time or at all events during this same episcopate, a lady heretic, Marcellina by name, a disciple of Carpocrates, taught a sort of eclecticism, which placed Christ on a level with Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle as objects of reverence, arrogating to herself and her adherents the name of Gnostic[3]. Here likewise studied Tatian, still the orthodox disciple of the orthodox Justin, but better known by his later heresy as the founder of the Encratite sect[4]. It must have been a strange and sad experience for one whose memory travelled back to the first ages of the Church, to witness this rank and rapid growth of excrescences on the pure teaching of the Gospel.

At length—not many months after his return from Rome—the end came. Unlike the aged Apostle his master, the disciple was not permitted to close his long and active life in peace. A persecution was raging—we know not for what cause or under what circumstances. It was apparently the season when the community of Asia held its great anniversary festival at Smyrna. The proconsul Statius Quadratus[5], the sophist and friend of the rhetorician Aristides, was present on the occasion. The Asiarch Philip, whose munificence sustained the reputation of his native city, the wealthy Tralles, and whose renown had already procured for him a monument at Olympia[6], presided at the games by virtue of his office. Eleven others had already fallen victims to the rage of the persecutor, and made food for the wild beasts. Most of them—if not all—were Philadelphians. It would seem that they had been brought to Smyrna, because the presence of the proconsul secured the legal tribunal necessary for their condemnation, while the celebration of the games furnished means for their prompt execution. A fresh attraction would thus be added to the festival by the sacrifice of these human victims. One more especially, Germanicus

[1] Iren. *Haer.* iii. 4. 5 Οὐαλεντῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ἤκμασε δὲ ἐπὶ Πίου, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως Ἀνικήτου.

[2] Iren. *Haer.* iii. 4. 3 'Marcion autem illi (Cerdoni) succedens invaluit sub Aniceto'; comp. i. 27. 2. See also Justin *Apol.* i. 26.

[3] Iren. *Haer.* i. 25. 6 'Unde et Marcellina, quae Romam sub Aniceto venit' etc.

[4] Tatian. *Orat.* 18, 19; comp. Iren. *Haer.* i. 28. 1, Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 29, v. 13.

[5] See II. p. 967 sq.

[6] See II. p. 952 sq.

by name, had distinguished himself by his zeal and courage. He had dragged the wild beast to him by main force and so had perished.

The appetite of the populace was whetted by this butchery. A cry rose; 'Away with the atheists. Let search be made for Polycarp'. Polycarp retired into the country. He was followed thither by a force of mounted police, accompanied by a servant boy, who under torture had betrayed his master's hiding-place. It was Friday evening about supper time. They found the old man in the upper room of a small cottage. He might have escaped, but preferred to remain, saying 'God's will be done'. When apprehended, he requested his captors to allow him a short interval for prayer. His request was granted, and for two hours he stood praying, so that all present were moved by his fervent utterances. Then, seated on an ass, he was led to the city. Saturday morning had now broken, and it happened to be a high sabbath so that the Jews were keeping holiday. He was met on his way to the city by the captain of the police who bore the ominous name of Herod. With Herod was his father Nicetes. Seating Polycarp in the chariot beside them, they plied him with entreaties to pronounce the virtual words of recantation, 'Cæsar is Lord', and to throw a few grains of incense on the altar. Failing to move him, they thrust him out from the vehicle with such violence that he bruised his leg. The one the brother, the other the nephew, of Alce, a devout and renowned member of Polycarp's flock[1], they must have felt ill at ease in this untoward work, and there was doubtless real sincerity in their attempt to rescue Polycarp from his fate.

In the stadium meanwhile a great uproar arose which drowned every attempt to speak. As the old man entered, a voice came from heaven, 'Polycarp, be strong and play the man'. It was audible to certain believers who were present, but the speaker no man could see. Again Polycarp was plied with entreaties. Again he resisted all overtures. The proconsul urged him to swear by the genius of Cæsar and say 'Away with the atheists'. He caught up the last words of his judge. With solemn visage looking up to heaven and waving his hand, he cried 'Away with the atheists'. The proconsul, perhaps mistaking this as a sign of yielding, pressed him further; 'Swear, and I will set thee free; revile Christ'. His answer is memorable; 'Fourscore and six years have I served Him, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I speak evil of my King, who saved me?'

All threats and seductions alike having proved powerless, the proconsul announced to the assembled multitude that Polycarp had con-

[1] See I. p. 353, II. pp. 325 sq., 978.

fessed himself a Christian. A howl of savage vengeance arose from the mixed throng of Jews and Heathens. They cried to the Asiarch to let a lion loose upon him. This Philip declined to do, for the festival had lasted some days and these sports were now over. Then they clamoured that he should be burnt alive. Three days before his apprehension he had dreamed that his pillow was on fire, and this dream he had interpreted as foretelling the manner of his death. His vision was now to be fulfilled.

Timber and faggots were hastily gathered together from the workshops and the baths—the Jews working with exceptional zeal at this unholy task. The pyre was heaped up; the old man threw aside his cloke and girdle; he tried also to take off his shoes, but his strength failed him; he had long been accustomed to depend on the eager aid of those around him for such kindly offices. The executioners would have nailed him to the stake, but at his own request they desisted, and he was tied with cords. To the simple bystanders, who afterwards narrated the incident, he seemed like some goodly ram, the leader of the flock, bound and ready for sacrifice. Then he offered his last prayer—words of praise and thanksgiving that God had deigned to accept him that day as a sacrifice well-pleasing to Himself.

No sooner had he uttered the final Amen, than the fire was lighted and blazed up. Then the bystanders witnessed a marvellous occurrence. The fire arched itself around him, like the bellying sail of a ship; and he appeared in the centre, like precious metal in the refiner's furnace. At the same time a fragrant scent was perceived, as of costly spices.

At length, seeing that the fire refused to do its work, they called for the officer of the arena whose duty it was to despatch wounded or dangerous beasts, and bade him thrust a dagger into the old man. To the marvel of the spectators a quantity of blood flowed from the wound, sufficient to extinguish the flames.

The Christian brethren were anxious to secure the remains of the martyred victim, but they were thwarted in their wishes. The Jews, here as ever, were their chief enemies. Guarding the body, they induced Nicetes to intercede with the proconsul that it might not be surrendered, 'lest the Christians, abandoning the worship of the crucified one, should begin to adore this man'. 'They knew not', say the narrators, 'that we can never either desert the Christ or worship any other'. The centurion therefore placed the body in the centre of the flames, and it was consumed. Then the brethren gathered up the bones, more precious than jewels, and laid them in a suitable place, where they might year by year celebrate the day of the martyr's heavenly

birth, as an act of piety towards those athletes who had fought and conquered in the past, and an incentive and training for those who should hereafter contend in the same lists.

With the death of Polycarp the sufferings of the Christians for a time ceased. He thus, as it were, set his seal to the persecution by his martyrdom.

The narrative of these incidents is contained in a letter written not long after by the Smyrnæan Church to the Christians of Philomelium. The Philomelians had requested a detailed account of the events. This letter is offered by the writers as a summary statement, such as the circumstances allowed. With regard to Polycarp's last hours however it is full enough; and any amplification, which might have been expected or contemplated, must have dealt with the fate of the other sufferers. It is sent by the hands of one Marcianus; and as Irenæus, who was connected with Polycarp and the Smyrnæans in early life, is found addressing a treatise to one bearing this name, it is not unreasonable to surmise that the same person is meant[1]. The Philomelians are charged to circulate the letter among the more distant Christian communities.

It is related by Dion Cassius that, on the day and hour when the dagger of Stephanus ridded the world of the tyrant Domitian, Apollonius of Tyana, then residing in Asia Minor, mounted a lofty rock, and gathering the multitude about him, cried; 'Well done, Stephanus; excellent, Stephanus; smite the blood-stained wretch; thou hast struck, thou hast wounded, thou hast slain'. 'This did so happen', adds the historian gravely, 'though one disbelieve it ten thousand times over' (*τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κἂν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ*)[2]. A somewhat similar story is told of Polycarp's death. Irenæus, then sojourning in Rome, at the precise hour when Polycarp suffered, heard a voice as of a trumpet saying, 'Polycarp has been martyred'. This was related, we are told, in Irenæus' own writings[3]. The analogies of authenticated records of apparitions seen and voices heard at a distance at the moment of death have been too frequent in all ages to allow us to dismiss the story at once as a pure fiction[4]. The statement indeed is not

[1] See II. p. 982.

[2] Dion Cass. lxvii. 18.

[3] See the concluding paragraph of the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* § 22 in the Moscow MS (II. p. 986).

[4] Some recent examples are brought together in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, April 1883, p. 123 sq. Other illustrations will be found in R. D. Owen's *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World*, Philadelphia 1860. As this sheet is passing through the press, an article on *Visible Apparitions* has appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, July

contained in any extant writing of Irenæus, but it is by no means certain that the story would not have escaped Eusebius, either from inadvertence or from ignorance.

Thus the reign of the most humane, most beneficent, and most upright of the Roman emperors—the Numa of the imperial regime[1]—was stained with the blood of an innocent and blameless man, whose extreme old age, if nothing else, might have exempted him from such a fate. The fact is a striking comment on Roman polity; for the result was inevitable. If the view which has been taken in a previous chapter (p. 7 sq.) be correct, Christianity had never been anything else but an illicit religion, and Trajan by his famous rescript only formulated the mode of dealing with it. At all events from his time onward to the end of the second century it was directly forbidden by the law, and its adherents were punishable by death. On this point there is no divergence of opinion. But, though the law remained unaltered, the disposition and attitude of the reigning emperor might materially affect the position of the Christians. The temper of Trajan's immediate successor would not be unfavourable to them. Easy, versatile, inquisitive, cosmopolitan in his sympathies and his tastes, Hadrian would at all events regard Christianity as an interesting study in the history of religions. Half sceptic, half devotee[2], a scoffer and a mystic by turns,

1884, p. 68 sq., giving other curious instances. Such narratives at all events testify to a wide spread belief.

[1] Fronto p. 206 (ed. Naber) 'Numae regi aequiperandus', Capitol. *Pius* 13 'Rite comparatur Numae, cujus felicitatem pietatemque et securitatem caerimoniasque semper obtinuit', Aurel. Victor. *Epit.* 15 'quamvis eum Numae contulerit aetas sua', Eutrop. *Brev.* viii. 4 'qui merito Numae Pompilio conferatur, ita ut Romulo Trajanus aequetur'.

[2] For the sceptical side of his character see the letter to Servianus, Vopiscus *Saturnin.* 8 (given below, p. 464); and the sportive verses to his departing soul, 'Animula, vagula, etc.,' Spartian. *Hadr.* 25. For his superstitious tendencies see Julian's character of him, *Caesares* p. 311 *εἰς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα*; comp. Dion Cass. lxix. 5 *ἠτιῶντο μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβὲς τό τε περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον, ἰδ.* 11 *τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότερος Ἀδριανός, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντείαις μαγγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἐχρῆτο* [after which Dion tells the story of Antinous], § 22 *Ἀδριανὸς δὲ μαγγανείαις μέν τισι καὶ γοητείαις ἐκενοῦτό ποτε τοῦ ὑγροῦ κ.τ.λ.* [during his last illness]; Ammianus xxv. 4. 17 'praesagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus [Julianus], ut aeqüiparare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum; superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parcimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos; Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accepimus; *Οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι· Ἂν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα*; Pausanias i. 5. 5 *κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς τε εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθόντος κ.τ.λ.*; Spartian. *Hadrian.* 20 'Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelem fuisse et idcirco multa

this paradox of humanity[1] would be less disposed than most rulers to deal hardly with a movement which he must have viewed with mingled respect and amusement. The adherents of the new faith had indeed much less to fear from the man of the world who wrote the satirical letter to Servianus, than from the student philosopher who penned the one bitter sentence of condemnation in the *Meditations*[2]. It is stated indeed that Hadrian, while he patronized Roman rites and duly exercised his functions as chief-pontiff, looked with contempt on foreign religions[3]. The statement however can only be received with much limitation. Spending the larger part of his time in the provinces, Hadrian is found everywhere encouraging local rites, building temples, dabbling in magic, and seeking initiation into mysteries. This emperor had no innate love for war, whoever the enemy might be. He preferred settling his differences by management and diplomacy, rather than by the employment of force. It is not improbable therefore that he would have made peace with the Christians—the religious foes of his predecessor—just as he made peace with the Eastern nations on the frontier—the military foes of Trajan—if he could have done so on his own terms. A historian, writing some two centuries later, states that in divers cities he built temples void of any images, which were called to his own time 'Hadrian's', the emperor having designated them for Christian worship[4]. The story in this exaggerated form may well be questioned. But he was just the man to have offered a place to Christ in his pantheon, if there were any chance of his offer being accepted. Christian writers at all events regard him as anything but hostile to Christianity. His accession was the signal for the first outburst of apologetic literature, addressed to the emperor himself—a manifest

pie fecisse, quod timeret ne sibi idem quod Domitiano accidit eveniret'; Spartian. *Ael. Ver.* 3 'Fertur...Hadrianum Veri scisse geniturum...fuisse enim Hadrianum peritum matheseos Marius Maximus usque adeo demonstrat, ut eum dicat cuncta de se scisse etc.'

[1] Spartian. *Hadrian.* 14 'Idem severus, laetus, comis, gravis, lascivus, cunctator, tenax, liberalis, simulator, saevus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius'.

[2] For Hadrian's Letter to Servianus see below p. 464; for the passage in the *Meditations*, p. 517.

[3] Spartian. *Hadr.* 22 'Sacra Romana diligentissime curavit; peregrina contempsit; pontificis maximi officium peregit'.

[4] Lamprid. *Alex.* 33 'Christo templum facere voluit [Alexander], eumque inter deos recipere, quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri; quae hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quae ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab is qui consulentes sacra reppererant omnes Christianos futuros, si id fecisset.' The words 'prohibitus est, etc.' are commonly referred to Hadrian; but they seem more naturally to apply to Alexander Severus himself. Are not these the temples mentioned in Spartian. *Hadrian.* 13 'Apud Athenienses dedicavit. ... Jovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi; eodemque modo per

token that they looked upon the new reign as the dawn of a better day for Christianity[1]. His rescript to Minucius Fundanus proconsul of Asia (see p. 460), by which the proceedings against the Christians are regulated, tends in the same direction. He does not in any point rescind the ordinance of his predecessor, but he forbids the magistrates to proceed against a person in deference to popular clamour, where there is no responsible accuser, and he imposes the severest penalties on false accusations. The effect of such an ordinance would stretch far beyond the formal enactment itself. It would show that the emperor discouraged persecutions, and thus it would procure comparative immunity for the Christians, though the law which made Christianity a crime was not erased from the statute book. Objections have been raised to the genuineness of this rescript. But its existence helps to explain the phenomena of the time. Christianity was a capital crime in the eye of the law; the Christians might be reckoned by hundreds of thousands within the Roman empire at this time. Every one of these was liable to death. Yet only one recorded martyrdom under Hadrian is absolutely certain, and we can count on the fingers all those of whom it can be maintained with any plausibility that they suffered for the faith during this reign. The rescript to Minucius Fundanus, Melito tells us[2], was only one of several documents to the same effect which this emperor issued to the provincial magistrates; and we can well believe this statement. The one well authenticated martyrdom which is ascribed to this reign—the death of the Roman bishop Telesphorus[3]—belongs to its close, when the emperor's mind was already unhinged by his malady, and the suspicions with which he was haunted proved fatal to his most trusted friends. Whether the emperor himself was responsible for this martyrdom, we know not. But the frenzy of a disordered intellect, which shed the blood of the aged Servianus, a near connexion and a long-tried friend whom he had loaded with honours[4], might well have singled out the chief ruler of the Christians as a victim to appease the angry gods.

The even temper of Antoninus Pius would not on the whole be so favourable to the Christians as the restless versatility of Hadrian. Certain it is, that during his reign we hear more of martyrdoms than under his predecessor. Yet it is not probable that he himself was directly responsible for these sufferings. 'Almost alone of all emperors,'

Asiam iter faciens, *templa sui nominis consecravit*'?

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 3.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26; see p. 520.

[3] Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3. 4; see p. 486.

[4] Spartian. *Hadrian.* 25, Dion Cass. lxix. 17.

says Capitolinus, 'he lived without any bloodshed either of citizen or of foe,' notwithstanding his protracted reign of twenty-two years; but he adds significantly—and the qualification covers these persecutions of the Christians—'quantum ad se ipsum pertinet,' 'so far as it rested with himself' (*Pius* 13). He was clement even to indulgence both by temper and on principle[1]. The Christian apologists praise his tolerant spirit. Melito more especially, addressing his successor M. Aurelius, states that he wrote to the Greek towns generally (πρὸς πάντας Ἕλληνας), among which he especially mentions Larissa, Thessalonica, and Athens, prohibiting any irregularities and excesses (μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν) in the treatment of the Christians[2]. We are reminded by the mention of this last city, that Dionysius of Corinth names Publius bishop of Athens as having suffered martyrdom, apparently during this reign[3]. The letter of Antoninus to the Athenians may have been written on the occasion of a popular outbreak which led to the death of Publius. A rescript to the Confederation of Asia is extant bearing the name of this emperor in which he goes to greater lengths in the direction of tolerance; but the authenticity of this document is justly disputed[4]. Yet, though certainly spurious, it represents the conception of him entertained by Christians in the generations next succeeding his own. At the same time, though his natural humanity would lead him to treat the Christians with some tenderness, he would have no religious sympathy with them. When he is compared with Numa, the comparison does not stop short at his clemency and justice, but extends also to his patronage of religious ceremonies[5]. In accordance with this representation, the inscriptions commemorate his benefactions for these purposes[6]. The

[1] M. Antonin. i. 16 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἤμερον κ.τ.λ.; Capitol. *Pius* 2 'moribus clemens'...'vere natura clementissimus', 10 'ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit', 13 'cum omnes ejus pietatem, clementiam... laudarent'; Aurel. Victor *Epit.* 15 'Tantae bonitatis is principatus fuit ut haud dubie sine exemplo vixerit', 'adeo mansuetus ut instantibus patribus etc.', 'usque eo autem mitis fuit ut etc.'; Eutrop. *Brev.* viii. 4 'nulli acerbus, cunctis benignus'; Dion Cass. lxix. 20 πρᾷον, εὐεικτον (words put into the mouth of Hadrian); Ammian. Marc. xxx. 8. 12 'serenus et clemens'. The description in Aristides, *Op.* I. p. 98 sq., Εἰς βασιλέα, is drawn from Pius, and great stress is laid on his φιλανθρωπία (p. 105 sq.).

For the story of Arrius Antoninus, related by Tertullian *Scap.* 5, see below p. 523. The identification of the proconsul so called with Antoninus Pius, who before his exaltation bore this name, is hardly consistent with the well-known humanity of this emperor.

[2] See below, p. 520.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23.

[4] This document is discussed below, p. 465.

[5] See Capitol. *Pius* 13, quoted above p. 440, note 1.

[6] *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* VI. 1001, S. P. Q. R. IMP. CAESARI. T. AELIO. HADRIANO. ANTONINO. AVG. PIO. P. P. PONTIF. MAX.

only recorded martyrdoms in proconsular Asia during his reign are those of Polycarp and his companions. The narrative suggests that these were planned and carried out entirely in the province itself, without the action of the emperor. He would probably have stopped them, if he could. But, even if interposition had been possible at so great a distance from Rome, he was powerless. Religion was identified with polity in the Roman system; and of this system the emperor was the chief corner-stone. Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, all had been deified before him—the last by the express wish of Antoninus Pius himself, despite the opposition of the Senate[1]. M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus, all would be deified after him. He himself was destined to deification, when his time came. Nor was this apotheosis with its consequent worship postponed till after death. In no region did the cultus of the living emperor assume such gigantic proportions as in Asia Minor; and at no period did it advance by more rapid strides than in the age of the Antonines. The high character and the upright rule of these sovereigns disposed men the more readily to yield a homage which they were not prepared to deny even to dissolute tyrants. Antoninus Pius himself was invoked at one time as the new Dionysus, at another as Zeus Eleutherius[2]. His wife Faustina was the new Demeter[3]. His two adopted sons, M. Aurelius and L. Verus, were the Olympian gods, the new Dioscuri[4], the twin brothers, sons of Zeus. The machinery of persecution was ready to hand in this political religion. Though Antoninus himself might have no desire to set it in motion, yet if the impetus were once given from without, he was powerless to stop it. At best he could only guide and moderate the popular excitement. Nor were occasions wanting to supply the impulse. Though the wisdom, firmness, and moderation of the sovereign saved the empire from the

TRIB. POT. VI. COS. III. OPTIMO. MAXIMOQ. PRINCIPI. ET. CVM. SVMMA. BENIGNITATE. IVSTISSIMO. OB. INSIGNEM. ERGA. CAERIMONIAS. PVBLICAS. CVRAM. AC. RELIGIONEM.

[1] Dion Cass. lxix. 23, lxx. 1, Spartian. *Hadrian.* 27, Capitolin. *Pius* 5, Aurel. Victor *Caes.* 14, Eutrop. *Brev.* viii. 3.

[2] He is *νέος Διόνυσος* in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 349 (*Inscr. Attic.* III. 22); and *Ζεὺς* in *C. I. G.* 350, 1313, 1314, Add. 4303 h, in the first passage (=*Inscr. Att.* III. 527) with the epithet Ἐλευθέριος.

In like manner Hadrian before him had been designated *νέος Διόνυσος C. I. G.* 3455, 6786; and also *Ζεὺς* with various epithets, such as Δωδωναῖος *C. I. G.* 1822, Ἐλευθέριος *ib.* 2179, but most commonly Ὀλύμπιος (e. g. *C. I. G.* 1312, 1822, 2179, 3036), either alone or combined with other epithets. On this designation Ὀλύμπιος see below, p. 452.

[3] Boeckh *C. I. G.* 6280 B *θεαὶ δέ μιν οὐρανιῶναι Τίουσιν, Δηώ τε νέη, Δηώ τε παλαιή*, i.e. the new Demeter Faustina as well as the original Demeter: see the note in Boeckh III. p. 923.

[4] *C. I. G.* 1316 *θεοὶ Ὀλύμπιοι, νέοι Διόσκουροι.*

worst scourges of war and tumult during his reign, yet it was marked by a succession of overwhelming physical calamities—conflagrations, earthquakes, famines, pestilences, portents of divers kinds[1]. Proconsular Asia more especially was scourged by these catastrophes. Only two or three years before Polycarp's death an earthquake—exceptionally violent even for this region—had utterly destroyed Mitylene and ruined a considerable part of Smyrna itself. The Smyrnæans were thrown into the utmost consternation by the disaster[2]. We have only to imagine the recurrence of a shock, however slight, at this crisis, and the excited populace would demand its victims to appease the angry deities before it was too late. When the cry *Christianos ad leones* was once raised, the result was inevitable. The fate of Polycarp must be the fate of every faithful servant of Christ. If he were accused, he must confess. If he confessed, he must be condemned. The law left no logical standing-ground short of this. No wonder that humane and far-seeing emperors did their best by indirect means to minimise the application of the law.

But, if the Christians fared ill under Antoninus Pius, their condition was still worse under his successor. The traditions, amidst which he had been brought up, were highly unfavorable to a generous appreciation of them. His tutor and familiar friend Fronto did not disdain to give circulation to the most shameful libels against them[3]. His favourite teacher, whom he loaded with honours, Junius Rusticus, as city prætor, condemned Justin and his companions to death at Rome[4]. He himself could see nothing but 'sheer obstinacy' (ψιλὴν

[1] Spartian. *Pius* 9 'Adversa ejus temporibus haec provenerunt; fames de qua diximus; circi ruina; terrae motus quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt... et Romae incendium quod trecentas quadraginta insulas vel domos absumsit; et Narbonensis civitas, et Antiochense oppidum, et Carthaginiense forum arsit. Fuit et inundatio Tiberis; apparuit et stella crinita; natus est et biceps puer; et uno partu mulieris quinque pueri editi sunt etc.', where other prodigies are mentioned; Dion Cass. lxx. 4 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου λέγεται καὶ φοβερώτατος περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου σεισμὸς γενέσθαι καὶ ἄλλας τε πόλεις καμεῖν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἐξαιρέτως τὴν Κύζικον κ.τ.λ.

[2] Aristides *Orat.* 25 (*Op.* I. p. 497) Ἐφέσιοι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναῖοι παρ' ἀλλήλους ἔθεον θορυβούμενοι, ἡ δὲ συνέχεια θαυμαστὴ καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν φόβων. For the date (A.D. 151, 152) see Waddington *Mémoire sur Aristide* p. 242 sq., *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 214. This is to be distinguished from the earthquake which some years later, at the close of the reign of M. Aurelius, threw down nearly the whole of Smyrna.

[3] Minuc. Felix *Octav.* 9, 31; see below, p. 513.

[4] See below, p. 494. For this emperor's relation to Rusticus see Capitol. *Marcus* 3 'Audivit...praecipue Junium Rusticum, quem et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque pollebat, Stoicae disciplinae peritissimum; cum quo omnia

παράταξιν) in their heroism when face to face with death[1]. It was plain therefore that Christianity could not hope for immunity from this emperor, notwithstanding his naturally humane and gentle spirit. Despite the disposition of Christian writers to represent his dealings in the most favourable light—a disposition of which I have already explained the causes[2]—it is a plain fact that Christian blood flowed more freely under M. Aurelius, than it had flowed any time previously during the half century which had intervened since the Bithynian martyrdoms under Trajan, or was hereafter to flow any time during the decades which would elapse before the outbreak of the Severian persecution at the commencement of the next century. In fact the wound was never staunched during his reign[3]. The evidence indeed is only fragmentary; but the verdict can hardly be doubtful. The fate of Justin and his companions at Rome, the martyrdoms of Thraseas of Eumenia and of Sagaris of Laodicea, perhaps also of Papirius of Smyrna and of Melito of Sardis, in Asia Minor, and the wholesale slaughters in the amphitheatres of Vienne and Lyons, extend over nearly the whole of this reign and speak from divers parts of the empire. The execution of the African martyrs belongs to the earliest months of the succeeding reign; but it must be traced to the policy which prevailed under M. Aurelius.

Smyrna had not been among the earliest of the Apostolic Churches. Polycarp himself refers to the fact that the Philippians had been converted to Christ before the Church over which he himself presided (§ 11). Yet, when the Apocalypse was written, the Smyrnæan Church had already had a history. If therefore we assume the early date of the Apocalypse, it must have been founded some years before A.D. 70. This being so, the obvious supposition is that Smyrna was evangelized during S. Paul's three years residence at Ephesus (A.D. 54—57), when we read that 'all those who dwelt in Asia heard the word of God' (Acts xix. 10, comp. ver. 26). We may therefore assign to it a similar origin to that which hypothetically we have assigned to the Churches of Magnesia (II. p. 102) and of Tralles (II. p. 147). If not from the Apostle himself, at least from one of his immediate disciples and converts, it would receive the first tidings of the Gospel during this period. The author

communicavit publica privataque consilia; cui etiam ante praefectos praetorio semper osculum dedit; quem et consulem iterum designavit; cui post obitum statuas postulavit'; M. Anton. i. 7, 17, iii. 5, Themist. *Orat.* xiii. p. 173, xvii. p. 215, *Digest.* xlix. 1. 1.

[1] M. Antonin. xi. 3; see below, p. 517.

[2] See above, pp. 2, 8; below, p. 511.

[3] For the authorities relating to the martyrdoms which are mentioned in the succeeding sentences see below, p. 493 sq.

of the Life of Polycarp indeed supplies more explicit information with regard to the early days of the Smyrnæan Church. He speaks of Stratæas, a brother of Timothy, whom S. Paul had known in Pamphylia as residing there. The Apostle, leaving Galatia, sought rest and refreshment among the faithful in Smyrna, and took up his abode with Stratæas. The visit to 'Asia' here intended is apparently the same which is described in Acts xix. 1 sq., during the Apostle's third missionary journey, commencing about A.D. 54[1]. After the Apostle's departure, Stratæas 'succeeds to the instruction' of the Church (*διεδέξατο...τὴν διδασκαλίαν*), apparently as its first bishop. The immediate predecessor of Polycarp in the episcopate was Bucolus; but others had intervened between Stratæas and him. The account in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) runs on the same lines, but is not consistent in its details with the story of Polycarp's biographer. The writer of this work gives the first bishop as Ariston, then Stratæas, then another Ariston[2]. It is noticeable that Aristion is the name of one of those personal disciples of Christ with whom Papias was acquainted[3], and from whom he derived some traditions of the earliest days of the Gospel. We have no means of extricating the historical kernel of which these legendary stories are the husk; but the repetition of the same name might suggest the inference that there was an alternation in the presidency of the college of presbyters, before Smyrna had a bishop properly so called. Anyhow it is far from improbable that Polycarp was not the first bishop of Smyrna, even in the more restricted sense of the term.

As interpreted by some writers, the letter to the angel of the Church of Smyrna in the Apocalypse (iii. 8—10) contains the earliest and most interesting reference to Polycarp, of whose destiny it thus becomes a prophetic utterance:

'I know thy tribulation and thy poverty (but thou art rich), and the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and they are not, but are a

[1] Acts xviii. 23, 24, xix. 1, *ἐξῆλθεν* [Παῦλος] *διερχόμενος τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν...Ἰουδαῖος δέ τις Ἀπολλὼς... κατήντησεν εἰς Ἔφεσον...Ἐγένετο δὲ... Παῦλον διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη ἐλθεῖν* (v. l. *κατελθεῖν*) *εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ εὑρεῖν τινὰς μαθητάς.* With this compare the language of *Vit. Polyc.* 2 *Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας κατιὼν κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν,...μέλλων λοιπὸν ἀπιέναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦλθεν οὖν ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ πρὸς Στραταίαν...παρ᾽ ᾧ εἰσελθὼν ὁ Παῦλος καὶ συναναγαγὼν τοὺς ὄντας πιστοὺς κ.τ.λ.* The 'days of unleavened bread' are mentioned to introduce the Apostle's subsequent discourse on the proper time of observing Easter; but the journey to Jerusalem must be a slip, as no such journey took place till more than three years later.

[2] The names, Ariston and Aristion, occur on the coins of Smyrna; Mionnet III. 193, *Suppl.* VI. 310.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39.

synagogue of Satan. Fear not the things that thou shalt suffer. Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, and ye shall be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.'

The language indeed would well describe the circumstances of Polycarp's fate. The blasphemy of the Jews (§§ 13, 17, 18), the enmity of the devil (§§ 3, 17), the crown of life (§§ 17, 19, *τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον*), all have their counterparts in the account of his martyrdom. But this explanation of a direct personal reference to Polycarp depends on two assumptions, both (to say the least) highly doubtful. It interprets the angel of the Church to be its presiding officer, its bishop, though the highly figurative character of the context suggests another explanation[1]. And again it is forced to postulate the later date of the Apocalypse, for the earlier date would be nearly coincident with Polycarp's birth; and even with the later he would still be a very young man, not more than six or seven and twenty. Yet in a broader sense this Apocalyptic letter may be considered prophetic; for it forecasts the career of the Smyrnæan Church, of which Polycarp was the truest type and the representative hero.

Of the succeeding bishops of Smyrna the Life of Polycarp by the false Pionius gives information which, notwithstanding its fictitious accompaniments, may rest on a basis of authentic tradition. As the immediate successor of Polycarp he names one Papirius (§ 15). But a Papirius is likewise mentioned by Polycrates of Ephesus writing in the last decade of the second century, as a man of note in these parts, who supported the Quartodeciman use in the Paschal controversy[2]. It is very probable therefore that the Smyrnæan episcopate of Papirius was a matter of history well known to the spurious Pionius. If so, we may perhaps accept as historical his further statement that Papirius was succeeded by one Camerius, whom he states to have been ordained deacon by Polycarp himself and to have accompanied him in this capacity on his episcopal visitations[3].

The lifetime of Polycarp was the most tumultuous period in the religious history of the world[4], and a chief arena of the struggle between

[1] See *Philippians* p. 199 sq.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24.

[3] *Vit. Polyc.* 27; see the note there.

[4] For the religious history of this period see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* III. p. 423 sq. (1871), Boissier *La Religion Romaine* II. p. 410 sq. (1874), H. Schiller *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* I. ii. p. 679 sq. (1883), Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* pp. 1 sq., 31 sq., 290 sq., 304 sq. (1879), *Marc-Aurèle* pp. 1 sq., 32 sq., 345 sq. (1882), Capes *Age of the*

divers creeds and cults was Asia Minor. In the earlier part of the second century it is probable that Polycarp may have witnessed in proconsular Asia, what Pliny describes as taking place in the neighbouring regions of Pontus and Bithynia—large and rapid accessions to the Church of Christ from all ranks and ages, threatening to empty the heathen temples and to starve the heathen rites[1]. But soon after he would find himself face to face with a movement which, if his faith had failed him, must have filled him with apprehension. Already, before the close of the first century of the Christian era, signs were visible of a reaction against the philosophic and worldly scepticism which for some generations had been undermining the popular religions and threatened to reduce them to a heap of crumbling ruins. The contrast between the elder and the younger Pliny marks the period of transition. The avowed disbelief of the uncle is replaced by the religious activity of the nephew[2]. With the second century the pagan reaction set in vigorously, and in the age of the Antonines—at the epoch of Polycarp's death—it was at its height. A sceptical philosophy had failed to satisfy the cravings of the educated classes, and it had never touched, except superficially, the lower ranks of society. The erection of temples, the establishment of new priesthoods, the multiplication of religious rites and festivals, all bear testimony to this fact. 'We are too forgetful,' says Renan, 'that the second century had a veritable pagan propaganda (prédication) parallel to that of Christianity and in many respects in accord with it[3]'. From various motives the pagan revival was promoted by the reigning sovereigns. The political and truly Roman instincts of Trajan were not more friendly to it than the archæological tastes, the cosmopolitan interests, and the theological levity of Hadrian. From their immediate successors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, it received even more solid and efficient support. Stoicism—whatever might be its faults—was intensely religious after its own lights; and Stoicism was seated next to the throne and upon the throne. M. Aurelius managed to incorporate into his Stoicism the popular mythology and the pagan rites with a flexibility which would have astonished the founders and early disciples of the sect. When he was inaugurating

Antonines pp. 129 sq., 150 sq. (1880). Of these Friedländer's account is the most complete. See also Döllinger *Heidenthum u. Judenthum* (1857) passim.

[1] Traj. et Plin. *Epist.* 96, given above, p. 50 sq.

[2] He himself mentions building one temple (*Epist.* iv. 1) and restoring and enlarging another (*Epist.* ix. 39) with his own money. His language on the latter occasion is worth quoting; 'Videor ergo munifice simul religioseque facturus, si aedem quam pulcherrimam exstruxero, addidero porticus aedi; illam ad usum deae, has ad hominum.'

[3] *Marc-Aurèle* p. 45.

the war with the Marcomanni, he gathered priests from all quarters, celebrated foreign rites of all religions, and purified Rome with every kind of ceremonial[1]. The slaughter of victims on this or a similar occasion was on a scale so great that in a satire of the day the white cattle were represented as complaining that his victory would be their annihilation[2]. When a young man, he took the most active interest in his duties as a member of the Salian college, of which he was prelate and soothsayer and master[3]. As sovereign, he was reported also to have consulted Chaldean fortune-tellers and Egyptian magicians[4]. Of the Cæsar-worship, which had grown up in imperial times, he was the most active promoter. Not only was he a party to the deification of his predecessor Antoninus—this might have been forgiven him—but he himself took the initiative in conferring divine honours on his worthless brother Verus and his shameless wife Faustina, with the usual apparatus of a high-priesthood, a sacerdotal college, and recurring festivals[5]. Thus paganism profited by the high personal character and the wise and beneficent rule of the reigning emperors. Nor did it disdain an appeal to the lower cravings of a superstitious ignorance. Astrology, dreams, auguries, witchcraft—these and other degraded types of the religious sentiment meet us at every turn in exaggerated forms. The arch-charlatans Peregrinus Proteus and Alexander of Abonoteichos were strictly contemporaries of Polycarp, and Asia Minor was the chief scene of their activity. The rising tide of this pagan reaction brought in on its surface from far and wide the refuse of the basest superstitions and impostures. Support was sought for the growing sentiment in the assimilation of foreign religions. The rites of Syria and of Egypt had for some generations been naturalized in these parts. A more recent accession was the Mithraic worship derived from Persia, which culminated in the later years of the Antonines. Its horrors and its mysticism invested it with a strange fascination for the devotee for whom the more sober forms of heathen religion had lost their attractions. Even the extant literature of the age is strongly imbued with the prevailing spirit. Phlegon of Tralles the collector of portents, and Artemidorus of

[1] Capitolin. *Marcus* 13 'Tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit, retardatusque a bellica profectione sit; celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies'.

[2] Ammian xxv. 4. 17, quoted above, p. 440. The distich runs thus;

οἱ βόες οἱ λευκοὶ Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι χαίρειν·
ἢν δὲ σὺ νικήσῃς, ἄμμες ἀπωλόμεθα.

[3] Capitolin. *Marcus* 4 'fuit in eo sacerdotio et praesul et vates et magister.'

[4] Capitolin. *Marcus* 19, Dion Cass. lxxi. 8. See below, p. 472.

[5] Capitolin. *Marcus* 15, 26.

Daldis the interpreter of dreams, are samples of the literature which the age and country of Polycarp could produce. But more famous than either of these in his own day was the rhetorician Aristides, himself a native of proconsular Asia. The credulity of a Papias is more than matched by the credulity of an Aristides. As Aristides spent large portions of his time in Polycarp's city Smyrna, he can hardly have been ignorant of 'the teacher of Asia', 'the father of the Christians', 'the subverter of the gods' of heathendom[1]. Honoured by peoples and flattered by princes, this self-complacent pedant—the devotee of Æsculapius and the dreamer of dreams—would doubtless have looked down with scorn on the despised leader of a despised sect. By a strange stroke of irony history has reversed their positions. The nerveless declamations of Aristides are now read solely, or read chiefly, because they throw some light on the chronology of Polycarp.

In the pagan revival, of which I have spoken, Smyrna seems to have borne a conspicuous part. The coins and inscriptions give evidence more especially of the progress of Roman state-worship during this period. They speak of the goddess Rome, the goddess Senate, the god Emperor. The Smyrnæans could boast that they had been the first city to dedicate a shrine to Rome[2]. This was during the republican times. When at a later date eleven cities of Asia contended for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius, to Livia, and to the Senate, the palm was conceded to Smyrna on the ground of this priority[3]. Thus Smyrna became a chief centre of this political cult. Again and again we read of the temples of the Augusti at Smyrna. The festivals of the *Commune Asiae*—the corporation of which this religion was the special charge—were held here with exceptional splendour. Twice after Polycarp had reached middle life did Smyrna receive fresh honours and privileges in connexion with the worship of the imperial deities. Her first neocorate dates from the reign of Trajan; her second from that of Hadrian[4]. To this latter emperor the Smyrnæans were largely indebted; for besides procuring the decree of the Senate which conferred the second neocorate on them, besides instituting sacred games and establishing 'theologians' and 'choristers', he had rendered munificent aid in rebuilding and adorning their city[5]. Their gratitude showed itself in the fulsomeness of their

[1] *Martyr. Polyc.* 12 (see II. p. 967).

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15, 55, 56; comp. Aristid. *Orat.* 41 (*Op.* I. p. 767, Dindorf).

[4] Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* II. pp. 711, 713, 734; Eckhel *Num. Vet.* II. p. 559 sq.; Lane *Smyrnaeorum Res Gestae etc.* p. 32. The third neocorate dates from Commodus or Severus.

[5] *C.I.G.* 3148; comp. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 25; see Dürr *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* p. 51.

language. He was not only their 'god Hadrian'; but he was 'Hadrian the Olympian', their 'saviour and founder'[1]. Hence the games established in his honour—the sacred festival which has been already mentioned—were called the 'Olympian' Hadrianea[2]. Nor was it only in the direction of this political Roman cult, that the activity of paganism manifested itself in Smyrna. Not to mention the commoner forms of Egyptian[3] and Oriental worship, the rites of Mithras appear in this city as early as A.D. 80[4]. Doubtless they shared the impulse which was given to them elsewhere in the age of the Antonines. Meanwhile religions of strictly local origin were not neglected. Thus we find an inscription in honour of the river-god Meles, who is hailed as 'saviour', having by his interposition rescued his worshipper from plague and pestilence[5]. This inscription is not dated; but we may with fair probability assign it to the epoch of the great pestilence which ravaged Asia Minor during the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

But besides this revival of paganism, the progress of the Church was threatened from another side also. The Jews had always been a strong body in Smyrna. Smyrna, as an ancient city and a convenient seaport, would certainly have received its proper share of those two thousand Jewish families which Antiochus the Great transported from Babylonia and Mesopotamia to these parts of Asia Minor[6]. In the first century of the Christian era Philo speaks of their 'abounding (παμπληθεῖς) in every city of Asia'[7], doubtless meaning thereby the proconsular province, of which Ephesus and Smyrna were the two eyes. The Christians in Smyrna suffered again and again from the hostility of the Jews. The Apocalypse was written, if we adopt the earlier date, at the time when the Jewish war was at its height under Vespasian and Titus, and when the destruction of the Holy City was imminent. Doubtless the troubles in Palestine had brought fresh Jewish immigrants to Smyrna, where a powerful colony of their countrymen was already established. It was a crisis when the separation of interests and sympathies between the Christians and Jews was keenly felt and bitterly resented by the latter. We are not surprised therefore to find the Jewish colonists of Smyrna harassing and calumni-

[1] *C.I.G.* 3174; comp. ib. 3170, 3187. See also above, p. 444.

[2] Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 25, *C.I.G.* 3148, 3174, 5913.

[3] Aristides says of himself, *Orat.* 25 (*Op.* i. p. 501) ἐτεθύκειν τῇ Ἴσιδι καὶ τῷ Σαράπιδι ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερῷ, λέγω τοῦτο ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενον: see also the context. Sarapis elsewhere is closely connected with his ailment (*Op.* i. p. 470), where also the locality is Smyrna. He has moreover an oration expressly devoted to the praises of this deity; *Orat.* 8 Εἰς τὸν Σάραπιν (*Op.* i. p. 81 sq.).

[4] *C.I.G.* 3173.

[5] *C.I.G.* 3165.

[6] Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 4.

[7] *Leg. ad Gaium* 33, *Op.* i. p. 582 M.

ating their Christian fellow-citizens. Accordingly they are denounced in the Apocalyptic message to this Church (Rev. ii. 9) as a 'synagogue of Satan', as 'self-called Jews,' but having no real title to the name. These events were nearly coincident, as we have seen (p. 422), with the birth of Polycarp. A second hardly less signal crisis came, when he had passed middle life and was now verging on old age. Hadrian completed the work which Vespasian and Titus had begun. The foundation of the heathen city Ælia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem, whether as cause or as consequence, was connected with a general uprising of the Jews. The rebellion under Barcochba broke out. The antagonism between Jews and Christians was complete. The Christians in Palestine stood aloof perforce from this movement. It was impossible for them to acknowledge this false Messiah, the leader of the rebel hosts. He wreaked a stern vengeance upon them for their neutrality or their opposition, inflicting tortures and death upon them if they refused to blaspheme Christ. The feud between the Jews and Christians became the more embittered, because Hadrian treated the Christians with forbearance, even with favour, allowing them to settle peacefully in his new city, from which the Jews were excluded for ever. This fresh devastation of Palestine would bring fresh Jewish immigrants to the cities of Asia Minor with feelings exasperated a hundredfold against the Christians. Twenty years had elapsed after the event before Polycarp's martyrdom; but twenty years were all too little to heal a feud, which in fact was past healing. 'They (the Jews) treat us as open enemies at war (ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους),' writes Justin Martyr in his Apology addressed to Antoninus Pius, 'putting us to death and torturing us just as you (heathens) do (ὁμοίως ὑμῖν), whenever they can[1].' Moreover we cannot doubt that, like his contemporary Justin, Polycarp would dwell upon the lessons of Barcochba's unsuccessful rebellion in a manner not conciliatory to the Jews. The language, which he had learnt from his master S. John, would be heard on his lips. The Jews of Smyrna would be denounced as a 'synagogue of Satan' at this second crisis, just as they had been denounced at the first. Hence, when they got their opportunity, they would not be backward in their retaliation. The condemnation of Polycarp (A.D. 155) was such an occasion; and they worked eagerly, as we have seen, in the preparations for the martyrdom. The apprehension of Pionius nearly a century later (A.D. 250) was such another opportunity[2]. Here again we read of the Jews taking an active interest in the proceedings. As

[1] Justin. *Apol.* i. 31 (p. 72 A); see also the other references in Otto's note, I. p. 94.

[2] The *Passio Sanctorum Pionii etc.* in Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum Sincera* p. 188 sq. (Ratisbonae 1859).

on the occasion of Polycarp's martyrdom, so now again it was a Jewish holiday, a high sabbath. Jewish women more especially are mentioned as gathering in large numbers to witness the proceedings (§ 3). The address of Pionius in the forum is directed largely to the Jews (§ 4). He speaks of their 'bursting with laughter' (risu se cachinnante dissolvunt), when they see any one sacrificing from compulsion or voluntarily. He represents them as declaring derisively in loud and insolent tones that the Christians 'had long had their time of licence' (diu nos licentiae tempus habuisse). 'Be it granted,' he adds, 'we are their enemies; yet we are men.' Within the prison again, he warns the persons assembled to beware of the wiles of the Jews: 'I hear,' he says, 'that the Jews invite some of you to the synagogue;' and he denounces a response to this invitation as a crime verging on blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (§§ 12, 13). But, if the Jews were bold and strong enough in Smyrna to attempt proselytizing, they themselves were not always proof against the seductions of paganism. An inscription belonging to the reign of Hadrian[1] records how certain renegade Jews (οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι) contributed to the erection and adornment of public buildings, not unconnected (it would seem) with heathen rites, at Smyrna—a striking illustration of the ferment of religious opinion in this city in the age of Polycarp.

The Smyrnæan brethren, as we saw, gathered up from the stadium the calcined bones of the martyr which the fire had spared, and deposited them in a safe place. Ultimately, we may conjecture, they rested in the same cemetery, outside the Ephesian gate, where in after ages he himself was believed to have laid the body of his predecessor Bucolus, and where the myrtle tree springing up, as it were by a miracle, marked the deposition of the bones of a later martyr, Thraseas bishop of Eumenia, who suffered not many years after him[2]. For the present however they may have chosen some less conspicuous place. It was their intention, as we saw, to celebrate from time to time the day of his earthly death, the day of his heavenly nativity. The letter to the Philomelians, in which this intention is declared, may have been written a year or two, but cannot have been written much longer, after the martyrdom. Whether they did so year by year continuously, we are unable to say. Nearly a century later we have a notice of its observance. Pionius, with his sister Sabina and the youth Asclepiades, were celebrating in Smyrna the 'true birth-day of the martyr Polycarp,' when they

[1] *C.I.G.* 3148. [2] See *Vit. Polyc.* 20 with the note.

were apprehended and dragged to prison—themselves to suffer martyrdom a few days later[1]. There are some grounds for supposing that this celebration by Pionius and his companions was a revival of the festival, which meanwhile had fallen into disuse. This year (A.D. 250) it happened to fall on a Saturday—the same day of the week on which the martyrdom itself had occurred (A.D. 155). Then, as now, it was a high Sabbath; then, as now, the Jews were keeping holiday and busied themselves actively in the persecution, their fanatical zeal (we may suppose) being fanned by the associations of their own religious festival. The day of Polycarp's martyrdom is given in the contemporary Acts, as the 2nd of Xanthicus, corresponding to the 23rd of February in the Julian Calendar[2]. A theory has been recently started that the 2nd of Xanthicus was originally intended according to the old lunar reckoning, which had not yet been abandoned at Smyrna, thus corresponding not to February 23, but to March 23; that this latter therefore was the true day of the martyrdom; that the substitution of February 23 was coincident with the revival of the festival under Pionius in the middle of the third century; and that the clause in the chronological postscript which gives the corresponding Roman date as February 23 was then inserted from an erroneous assumption, the old lunar computation having meanwhile been displaced by the Julian Calendar and passed out of memory. This attractive theory will receive due consideration hereafter. But however this may be, from the age of Pionius onward Polycarp's 'birthday' seems to have remained unchanged in the Eastern Church. At all events it appears as February 23 in the Syriac Calendar dating from the middle or latter half of the fourth century; and it remains still the same in the present use of the Greek Church. In the Latin Calendar the day is January 26[3], but even here a trace of the older tradition survives in the fact that February 23 is assigned to another Polycarp, a Roman presbyter and confessor[4]. Among the Western Churches the Christians of Gaul are especially conspicuous in their commemoration of him whom they justly regarded as their spiritual father. Gregory of Tours, writing in the latter half of the sixth century, relates a miraculous occurrence which marked the festival of the saint, and of which he himself was only not an eyewitness. 'It was the day', he writes, 'of the

[1] *Acta Pionii* 2, 3, 23, pp. 188, 198 (Ruinart).

[2] *Mart. Polyc.* 21 μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων. The whole subject is discussed in the later chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom.

[3] The explanation of this transference will be given in the chapter on 'The Date of the Martyrdom.'

[4] See the passages from Latin Martyrologies in Quotations and References.

passion of the great martyr Polycarp, and the solemn services of his festival were being celebrated in Riom a town in the state of Auvergne (in Ricomagensi vico civitatis Arvernae ejus solemnia celebrantur)'. 'After the account of his passion was read', together with the other lessons directed by the canon, a deacon entered the Church, bearing in his hands the receptacle containing 'the mystery of the Lord's body'. The holy vessel escaped from his hands, flew through the air, and deposited itself on the altar. The deacon was a man of unclean life, and this was believed to have happened in consequence. 'A single presbyter alone, and three women, of whom my mother was one', writes Gregory, 'were permitted to see these things; the rest saw them not'. 'I was present myself, I confess,' he adds frankly, 'at the festival on that occasion; but I was not deemed worthy to see it'.'

It is strange that no stedfast and continuous local tradition should have marked the sites connected with the life and death of a man so notable as Polycarp. The Turkish occupation seems to have effected a complete severance between the old and the new at Smyrna. The stadium indeed, in which the martyr suffered, is still visible, resting on the slope of Mount Pagus and overhanging the city, the lower side being supported by massive substructions[2]. But the identification in this case owes nothing to local tradition. The ruins speak for themselves. There is likewise a tomb, bearing Polycarp's name, which is said to be visited annually by the Christians. But the designation seems to be quite recent in its origin. The earlier travellers could obtain no satisfactory information about it[3].

[1] Greg. Turon. *De Glor. Mart.* 86; see Quotations and References.

[2] Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor* p. 62, 'Going down from the Western gate of the castle towards the sea, at some distance is the ground-plat of the stadium, stripped of its marble seats and decorations. One side was on the slope of the mountain; the opposite, or that next to the town, was raised on a vaulted substruction which remains. It appears as a long dale, semicircular or rounded at the top'. See also the description in Texier *Asie Mineure* p. 304 (in the series *L'Univers*).

[3] Chandler *l.c.* p. 65 (1775), 'His sepulchre...is still to be seen as travellers have reported, by a spreading tree below the castle; but this is an idle tale and deserves to be exploded. I examined the spot and made particular enquiries, but could obtain no satisfactory information... The early tradition, if true, must have been often intercepted in its course downwards. The race of citizens, among whom it was most likely to be preserved, has been extirpated by war, plague, fire, and earthquakes, and Smyrna has been destitute of Greeks. Even now, under a more settled government, the same family seldom subsists there more than three generations'. See also the note of Slaars on C. Iconomos *Étude sur Smyrne* p. 48 sq. It will be remembered that an earthquake

The only extant writing bearing the name of Polycarp, which has any reasonable claims to be held genuine, is the Epistle to the Philippians, written probably more than forty years before his death. Of this I have spoken already (p. 427). There are however extant certain comments on passages in the Gospels, ascribed to this apostolic father on the authority of Victor of Capua; but parts of these are manifestly spurious and the remainder are discredited by this base companionship. These fragments are printed in my second volume, where also they are discussed[1]. Moreover we read of a *Didascalia* bearing the name of Polycarp[2], where the ascription was doubtless a pseudonym, the document being similar in character to writings bearing the same title and ascribed to Clement, to Ignatius, and to other primitive fathers. Irenæus indeed tells us that Polycarp wrote several letters both to individuals and to churches, warning them against errors and setting forth the true doctrine[3]. It could hardly have been otherwise. He does not however directly assert that he himself had any acquaintance with these other writings of his master, but confines his personal testimony to the one extant epistle. But Polycarp's spurious biographer doubtless seeing these references in Irenæus, and himself knowing only the Epistle to the Philippians, feels constrained to account for the loss of these other writings; and he therefore hazards the fiction that they were destroyed by the heathen during the persecution which ensued on the martyrdom of their author[4].

The veneration of the Christians for Polycarp was unbounded. His apostolic training, his venerable age, his long hours spent in prayer[5], his personal holiness, all combined to secure him this reverence. His friends and disciples vied with each other in their eagerness to loose his sandals or to show him any little attention which brought them near to him[6]. By the heathen he was regarded as 'the father of the Christians'. They singled him out, as the one man who had dethroned their gods and robbed them of the sacrifices and the adoration of their worshippers[7]. More especially did he seem gifted with a singular prescience. It was

desolated Smyrna about a quarter of a century after Polycarp's death.

[1] See II. p. 1001 sq.

[2] See above, p. 337 sq. (comp. p. 251).

[3] *Epist. ad Florin.* (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 20); see above, p. 429.

[4] *Vit. Polyc.* 12; see the note there.

[5] *Mart. Polyc.* 5, 7, 14.

[6] *Mart. Polyc.* 13.

[7] *Mart. Polyc.* 12 ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν.

even believed that nothing which he foretold ever failed of accomplishment[1].

But far more important to the Church than his predictions of the future were his memories of the past. In him one single link connected the earthly life of Christ with the close of the second century, though five or six generations had intervened. S. John, Polycarp, Irenæus—this was the succession which guaranteed the continuity of the evangelical record and of the apostolic teaching. The long life of S. John, followed by the long life of Polycarp, had secured this result. What the Church towards the close of the second century was—how full was its teaching—how complete its canon—how adequate its organization—how wide its extension—we know well enough from Irenæus' extant work. But the intervening period had been disturbed by feverish speculations and grave anxieties on all sides. Polycarp saw teacher after teacher spring up, each introducing some fresh system, and each professing to teach the true Gospel. Menander, Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Saturninus, Basilides, Cerdon, Valentinus, Marcion—all these flourished during his lifetime, and all taught after he had grown up to manhood. Against all such innovations of doctrine and practice there lay the appeal to Polycarp's personal knowledge. With what feelings he regarded such teachers we may learn not only from his own epistle (§ 7), but from the sayings recorded by Irenæus, 'O good God, for what times hast Thou kept me', 'I recognize the first-born of Satan[2]'. He was eminently fitted too by his personal qualities to fulfil this function, as a depositary of tradition. An original mind will unconsciously infuse into the deposit committed to it its own ideas and designs. But Polycarp's mind was essentially unoriginative. It had, so far as we can discover, no creative power. His epistle is largely made up of quotations and imitations from the Evangelical and Apostolic writings, from Clement of Rome, from the Epistles of Ignatius. Even where we are not able to name the source of a saying, there is independent reason for believing that the more striking expressions are borrowed from others[3]. He himself never rises above mere commonplace. A stedfast, stubborn, adherence to the lessons of his youth and early manhood—an unrelaxing unwavering hold of 'the word that was delivered to him from the beginning'—this, so far as we can read the man from his own utterances

[1] *Mart. Polyc.* 16 πᾶν γὰρ ῥῆμα ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται; comp. § 12 ἔδει πληρωθῆναι.

[2] Iren. *Epist. ad Florin.* (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 20), *Haer.* iii. 3. 4; see above, pp. 429, 434.

[3] See the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 1 εἰδότες ὅτι (II. p. 907 sq.).

or from the notices of others, was the characteristic of Polycarp. His religious convictions were seen to be 'founded', as Ignatius had said long before (*Polyc.* 1.), 'on an immovable rock'. He was not dismayed by the plausibilities of false teachers, but 'stood firm as an anvil under the hammer's stroke' (*ib.* 3).

But, if the position of Polycarp was important to the early Church as a guarantee of continuity, it is not without its value to ourselves from this same point of view. Certain modern theories of early Christian history are built upon the hypothesis of an entire discontinuity, a complete dislocation, in the spiritual and intellectual life of Christendom, so that the Church of Irenæus was in the most vital points, whether of doctrine or of practice, a direct contrast to the Church of S. John. To these shadowy reconstructions of the Church, which overlook the broader facts of history and fasten on fragmentary notices and questionable interpretations, the position of Polycarp gives a direct denial. If Irenæus is only fairly honest in his representations of his master (and there is no reason to question this), all such theories of discontinuity must fall to the ground. There might be growth, progress, development, but there could be no dislocation or reversal, such as these theories postulate.

While the oral tradition of the Lord's life and of the Apostolic teaching was still fresh, the believers of succeeding generations not unnaturally appealed to it for confirmation against the many counterfeits of the Gospel which offered themselves for acceptance. The authorities for this tradition were 'the elders'. To the testimony of these elders appeal was made by Papias in the first, and by Irenæus in the second generation after the Apostles. With Papias the elders were those who themselves had seen the Lord or had been eyewitnesses of the Apostolic history; with Irenæus the term included likewise persons who, like Papias himself, had been acquainted with these eye-witnesses. Among these Polycarp held the foremost place. It is not therefore as the martyr nor as the ruler nor as the writer, but as 'the elder', that he claims the attention of the Church.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE

UNDER

HADRIAN, PIUS, AND MARCUS.

In an earlier part of this volume I have collected some notices relating to the martyrdoms under Trajan (p. 50 sq.). I purpose now gathering together passages from Heathen and Christian writers which throw light on the history of the persecutions, and more generally on the relations of the Church and the Empire, during the reigns of the three succeeding sovereigns, Hadrian and the two Antonines. These four reigns together comprise a complete epoch in the history of the Roman Empire; and its relations to the Church were substantially the same throughout this period. The accession of Commodus, though a disaster for the Empire, was a boon to the Church.

This collection of illustrative passages may be ranged under four heads: (1) Imperial letters and ordinances relating to or affecting Christianity; (2) Acts and notices of martyrdoms; (3) Passages from Heathen writers, containing notices of the Christians; (4) Passages from Christian writers illustrating the points at issue.

1. *IMPERIAL LETTERS AND ORDINANCES.*

(i) Hadrian [A.D. 117—138].

(a) *Rescript to Minucius Fundanus.*

Exemplum Epistolae Imperatoris Adriani ad Minutium Fundanium Proconsulem Asiae.

Accepi litteras ad me scriptas a decessore tuo Sereno Graniano,

Μινουκίῳ Φουνδανῷ.

Ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμην γραφεῖσάν μοι ἀπὸ Σειρηνίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμ-

clarissimo viro: et non placet mihi relationem silentio praeterire, ne et innoxii perturbentur et calumniatoribus latrocinandi tribuatur occasio. Itaque si evidenter provinciales huic petitioni suae adesse volent adversum Christianos, ut pro tribunali eos in aliquo arguant, hoc eis exequi non prohibeo: precibus autem in hoc solis et adclamationibus uti eis non permitto. Etenim multo aequius est, si quis volet accusare, te cognoscere de obiectis. Si quis igitur accusat et probat adversum legem quicquam agere memoratos homines, pro merito peccatorum etiam supplicia statues. Illud mehercule magnopere curabis, ut si quis calumniae gratia quemquam horum postulaverit reum, in hunc pro sui nequitia suppliciis severioribus vindices.

προτάτου ἀνδρὸς, ὄντινα σὺ διεδέξω. οὐ δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀζήτητον καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ταράττωνται καὶ τοῖς συκοφάνταις χορηγία κακουργίας παρασχεθῇ. ἂν οὖν σαφῶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀξίωσιν οἱ ἐπαρχιῶται δύνωνται διϊσχυρίζεσθαι κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὡς καὶ πρὸ βήματος ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον τραπῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀξιώσεσιν οὐδὲ μόναις βοαῖς. πολλῷ γὰρ μᾶλλον προσῆκεν, εἴ τις κατηγορεῖν βούλοιτο, τοῦτό σε διαγινώσκειν. εἴ τις οὖν κατηγορεῖ καὶ δείκνυσί τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττοντας, οὕτως διόριζε κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος. ὡς μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, εἴ τις συκοφαντίας χάριν τοῦτο πρότεινοι, διαλάμβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινότητος, καὶ φρόντιζε ὅπως ἂν ἐκδικήσειας.

The Greek of this rescript is appended in the extant MSS to the First Apology of Justin Martyr, where it is introduced by Justin with these words; *καὶ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ, τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, ἔχοντες ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς καθὰ ἠξιώσαμεν κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κεκρῖσθαι τοῦτο ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ μᾶλλον ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι δίκαια ἀξιοῦν τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐξήγησιν πεποιήμεθα· ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γνωρίζητε· καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο.* Eusebius however (*H. E.* iv. 10) says distinctly that Justin appended this copy *in Latin* (*τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀντιγραφήν*), and that he (Eusebius) himself translated it to the best of his ability into Greek (*ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν μετειλήφαμεν*); and he then gives the Greek as we find it now in the MSS of Justin. Clearly therefore some transcriber of Justin has substituted the Greek of Eusebius for the Latin which he found in the copy before him.

The Latin, as given here, is taken from Rufinus' translation of Eusebius. But critics are generally (though not universally) agreed that Rufinus must have replaced the original of Hadrian's letter. Accordingly Otto (Justin *Op.* I. p. 190 sq., ed. 3) has substituted the Latin for the Greek in his text of Justin.

The genuineness of this document was first questioned by Keim *Bedenken gegen die Aechtheit des Hadrianischen Christen-Reskripts* in *Theolog. Jahrb.* (1856) p. 387 sq. He convinced Baur *Drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (ed. 3, 1863) p. 442 sq., Lipsius *Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe* (1869) p. 170, and Hausrath *Neutestamentliche Zeit-*

geschichte (1874) III. p. 532 sq. Keim has further pressed his attack in later works; *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (1878) p. 182 sq., *Rom u. das Christenthum* (1881) p. 553 sq. The document has been assailed likewise by Aubé *Persécutions de l'Église* (1875) p. 261 sq., and Overbeck *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche* (1875) p. 134 sq. On the other hand it has been defended by Wieseler *Christenverfolgungen* (1878) p. 18, by Funk *Theologische Quartalschrift* (1879) LXI. p. 108 sq., and by Doulcet *Rapports de l'Église Chrétienne avec l'État Romain* (1883) p. 68 sq.; and its authenticity is upheld by critics who are far from conservative, as for instance Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 32 sq.

The external evidence in favour of its genuineness is exceptionally strong. The date of Justin's First Apology is probably about A.D. 140, though some place it a few years later. It is therefore a strictly contemporary witness. The validity of this evidence has not generally been questioned, even by assailants (e.g. Overbeck p. 134). In their later works however Aubé (*Persécutions* etc. p. 272) and Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 182) condemn this last chapter of Justin's Apology as spurious, though previously they had accepted it without question (see Aubé *Saint Justin* p. l sq., Keim *Rom* p. 553). This treatment however is arbitrary. The conclusion of Justin's Apology was certainly known to Eusebius. Moreover the fact that Hadrian's rescript was appended in Latin is highly favourable to its genuineness; since no forger would have been likely to sew a patch of Latin upon a Greek work. Nor is Justin Martyr the only early witness to its genuineness. It is distinctly mentioned by Melito, who wrote not very many years after Justin (c. A.D. 165), and whose testimony has not been disputed by any one.

Nor again are its internal characteristics such as to counterbalance the weight of this external testimony. It is not nearly so favourable to the Christians as a forger would have aimed at making his production. It is wholly unlike the spurious letters of Pius and Marcus, which will be considered presently. It does not, as some have imagined, rescind the ordinance of Trajan. Justin indeed is naturally anxious to make the most of it, for he employs it as a precedent to influence the conduct of the heir and successor of Hadrian. But the document itself does not go nearly so far as he represents. It merely provides that no one shall be punished on the ground of a popular outcry; that there shall be a definite responsible accuser in every instance; and that this accuser, if he does not make good his case and his accusation is shown to be vexatious, shall be severely punished. Not only is this rescript no stumbling-block when confronted with the history of the times. Some such action on the part of the emperors is required to explain this history. On the one hand we have the fact that every one of some myriads of Christians under the sway of Hadrian was guilty of a capital crime in the eye of the law. On the other hand there is the strangely inconsistent circumstance, that so far as our knowledge (doubtless very fragmentary and imperfect) goes, only half a dozen or a dozen at the highest computation suffered during a reign which extended over twenty-one years. How can we reconcile these two seemingly opposite facts? Short of actually rescinding the law which made the profession of Christianity a crime, there must have been a vast amount of legal discouragement. Such is the tendency of this rescript. Ostensibly it confines itself to subsidiary points; but indirectly it would have a far wider effect, for it showed the bias of the absolute ruler of the world to be favourable to toleration. The very language too was perhaps studiously vague, suggesting a larger amount of protection than it actually afforded.

The correct names of the two proconsuls mentioned in the rescript were Q. Li-

cinius Silvanus Granianus and C. Minicius Fundanus, who had been consules suffecti, the former A.D. 106, the latter A.D. 107 (see Klein *Fasti Consulares* p. 56). They would therefore naturally be proconsuls of Asia in successive years, and probably about A.D. 123, 124, and A.D. 124, 125, respectively (Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 197 sq.), as the interval between the two offices at this period was about seventeen years. The name of the former however, as given in Eusebius and Rufinus, is Serenius or Serennius (in Zonaras xi. 24 Ἐρέννιος), where it should have been Licinius or Silvanus. If therefore Rufinus has reproduced the original letter, the corruption must have been due to Justin himself or have crept into his text before the age of Eusebius and Rufinus.

A question of interest still remains to be discussed. Does the Latin represent the original rescript of Hadrian, or did Rufinus re-translate the document from the Greek version of Eusebius? The former view was first put forward by Kimmel *De Rufino Eusebii interprete* p. 175 sq. (1838), and he has carried the suffrages of most recent critics, e.g. Gieseler, Neander, Otto, Heinichen, Bickell, Overbeck, Renan, and Aubé. On the other hand Kimmel's view has been controverted by Keim *Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 184 sq., *Rom u. das Christenthum* p. 553 sq., by Funk *Theologische Quartalschrift* LXI. p. 111 sq., and by Doulcet *Rapports* etc. p. 68 sq.

It would not have been difficult for Rufinus to lay hands on the original, and thus save himself the trouble of making a translation from the Greek. He might have found it for instance in the collection which Ulpian had made, in his treatise *De Proconsule*, of all the imperial ordinances relating to the Christians. But he would probably have it more ready to hand in another place. He cannot have been unacquainted with Justin Martyr's *Apologies;* and Hadrian's rescript was presumably still appended there in its original Latin form, when he wrote, as it certainly was in the time of Eusebius. Indeed, as Rufinus lived in the West, there would be no reason for substituting a Greek Version in the copies circulated in his neighbourhood. Moreover this is just what Rufinus does elsewhere. In translating Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2, where Eusebius quotes a Greek version of Tertullian *Apol.* 5, Rufinus substitutes the original words of the Latin Apologist. Again in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25, where there is another quotation from this same writer, Rufinus replaces the original and extends the quotation. Again, in translating *H. E.* iii. 20 he reproduces some of the original phrases of Tertullian (e.g. 'quasi homo', where Eusebius has ἔχων τι συνέσεως), though here he is evidently trusting his memory without referring to the book. Again in *H. E.* iii. 33, where Eusebius quotes the passage of Tertullian (*Apol.* 2) relating to Trajan's correspondence with Pliny, he omits the quotation itself, but the context shows that he has the original words of Tertullian in his mind. His practice indeed is not uniform. Some of the ordinances of the later emperors, which are given by Eusebius, he omits altogether (e.g. that of Gallienus, Eus. *H. E.* vii. 13; and that of Maximinus, Eus. *H. E.* ix. 7); while in one instance, with reference to an imperial decree which Eusebius (*H. E.* viii. 17) had translated or got translated from the original Latin into Greek, he tells us that he had 'remoulded it into Latin' (nos rursum transfudimus in Latinum), apparently meaning thereby that he had retranslated it.

In the present case the Latin has all the appearance of an original. The language savours rather of the jurist than of Rufinus. Keim and Funk on the other hand point to the amplifications 'eos in aliquo arguant', 'eis non permitto', 'quemquam horum postulaverit reum', 'suppliciis severioribus vindices', etc., as decisive of its being a translation. The 'sharpening' of the expressions is also alleged in favour of this view (Keim p. 185). But we find just the same phenomena in the passages of

Tertullian of which Eusebius gives a translation. Take these extracts for instance from *Apol.* 2 quoted in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 33, and from *Apol.* 5 quoted in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2, 25;

TERTULLIAN	EUSEBIUS
Adlegans praeter obstinationem non sacrificandi nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse.	λέγων ἔξω τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρηκέναι.
Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur.	καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμῶν λόγου πεποίηται, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνθρωπείᾳ δοκιμῇ ἡ θεότης δίδοται.
Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in saeculum introivit, adnuntiata sibi ex Syria Palestina, quae illic veritatem ipsius divinitatis revelaverant, detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui.	Τιβέριος οὖν ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Χριστιανῶν ὄνομα εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσελήλυθεν, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἔνθα πρῶτον ἤρξατο, τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνεκοινώσατο, δῆλος ὢν ἐκείνοις ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται.
Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur.	ἐντύχετε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ὑμῶν. ἐκεῖ εὑρήσετε πρῶτον Νέρωνα τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα, ἡνίκα μάλιστα ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ἀνατολὴν πᾶσαν ὑποτάξας ὠμὸς ἦν εἰς πάντας, διώξαντα. τοιούτῳ τῆς κολάσεως ἡμῶν ἀρχηγῷ καυχώμεθα.

In this last extract the translator, ignorant of the Latin idiom 'cum maxime orientem', 'at the moment of its rising', has made shipwreck of the sense.

On the whole I am disposed to think that Kimmel is right, and that we have here the original rescript. It is not very easy to conceive Rufinus producing from the spiritless translation supplied by Eusebius a document which savours so strongly of the imperial edict of Hadrian's age. In this case, the corruption Serenius for Licinius or Silvanus must have been found in the text of Justin by Rufinus, as it had been found previously by Eusebius. The corruption is the more explicable where a Greek copyist, transcribing a Greek MS, suddenly found himself confronted with a Latin document which he only imperfectly understood. Where the present text has ἄνθρωποι corresponding to the Latin 'innoxii', Eusebius must surely have written ἄθῳοι, though the reading ἄνθρωποι is as early as the Syriac Version.

(β) *Letter to Servianus.*

Hadrianus Augustus Serviano Consuli salutem.

Aegyptum quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem pendulam et ad omnia famae momenta volitantem. Illic qui Serapem colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui Christi se episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic archisynagogus Judaeorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes. Ipse ille patriarcha, cum Aegyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum... Unus illis deus nummus est. Hunc Christiani, hunc Judaei, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes... Denique ut primum

inde discessi, et in filium meum Verum multa dixerunt, et de Antinoo quae dixerint, comperisse te credo, etc.

This letter is preserved by Vopiscus *Vita Saturnini* 8. Vopiscus is speaking of the Egyptians, and prefaces the letter with these words; 'Sunt Christiani, Samaritae, et quibus praesentia semper tempora cum enormi libertate displiceant. Ac ne quis mihi Aegyptiorum irascatur et meum esse credat quod in litteras rettuli, Hadriani epistolam ponam ex libris Phlegontis liberti ejus proditam, ex qua penitus Aegyptiorum vita detegitur.'

The genuineness of this letter has been generally, though not universally, allowed. It comes to us on excellent authority, and the difficulties in the way of accepting it are not serious. The 'patriarch' mentioned is clearly the Jewish patriarch of Tiberias. If it were applied to the bishop of Alexandria, as Casaubon and other older commentators assume, it would be a gross anachronism. But the words 'cum Aegyptum venerit' and 'cogitur Christum adorare' show plainly that the person so designated did not live in Egypt and did not profess to be a Christian. The real difficulty which remains is the description of Verus as 'filium meum'. Servianus was consul for the third time in A.D. 134; but Verus did not receive the title of Cæsar till A.D. 136. It is clear however from the language of Spartianus *Helius* 3 that some sort of adoption, or at least some intimation of the intention, preceded this event by a considerable period; 'Adoptatus autem Aelius Verus ab Hadriano...statimque praetor factus et Pannoniis dux ac rector impositus; mox consul creatus [Kal. Jan. A.D. 136]; et quia erat deputatus imperio, iterum consul designatus est [Kal. Jan. A D. 137]'. He is still called by his old name L. Ceionius Commodus Verus in the fasti for A.D. 136, and had not yet assumed his title L. Aelius Cæsar, though he had been prætor and had governed the province of Pannonia since the point of time at which Spartianus places his first adoption. It is clear therefore that long before A.D. 136 Hadrian had taken some steps or conceived some intentions, which would explain his calling Verus his 'son'. For different views respecting the adoption of the elder Verus see Tillemont *Empereurs* II. p. 592 sq., Eckhel *Doctr. Num.* VI. p. 524 sq., Schiller *Römische Kaiserzeit* I. p. 626, Dürr *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* p. 33. This last mentioned writer, while accepting the letter as genuine in the main, discovers interpolations in it (p. 90). The opinion of Schiller (p. 682) is similar.

For the bearing of this letter on the history of the Christian ministry see *Philippians* p. 225 sq.

(ii) Antoninus Pius [A.D. 138—161].

Letter to the Commune Asiae.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἁδριανὸς Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβής, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κα', ὕπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν.

Ἐγὼ ᾤμην ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖς ἔσεσθαι μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεί-

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμένιος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον, ὕπατος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελές ἐστι μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖ-

νους κολάσοιεν, εἴπερ δύναιντο, τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν. οἷς ταραχὴν ὑμεῖς ἐμβάλλετε, καὶ τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν, ἥνπερ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέων κατηγορεῖτε, καὶ ἑτερά τινα ἐμβάλλετε, ἅτινα οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποδεῖξαι. εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκείνοις χρήσιμον τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ τεθνάναι.

καὶ νικῶσιν ὑμᾶς προϊέμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, ἥπερ πειθόμενοι οἷς ἀξιοῦτε πράσσειν αὐτούς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀθυμοῦντας ὅταν περ ὦσι, παραβάλλοντας τὰ ὑμέτερα πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων, ὅτι εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι ὑμῶν γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν δοκεῖτε παρ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοὺς θεούς, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀμελεῖτε θρησκείαν δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐπίστασθε. ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐζηλώκατε καὶ διώκετε ἕως θανάτου. ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων τῷ θειοτάτῳ μου πατρὶ ἔγραψαν· οἷς καὶ ἀντέγραψε μηδὲν ὀχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιντό τι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ῥωμαίων ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν· οἷς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα, τῇ τοῦ πατρός μου κατακολουθῶν γνώμῃ. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει πρός τινα τῶν τοιούτων πρᾶγμα καταφέρειν ὡς τοιούτου, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, κἂν φαίνηται τοιοῦτος ὤν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὁ καταφέρων ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ δίκῃ.

νοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς. οὓς εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιοῦντες τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν, ἥνπερ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέων κατηγοροῦντες.

εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκείνοις αἱρετὸν τὸ δοκεῖν κατηγορουμένοις τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ. ὅθεν καὶ νικῶσι προϊέμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, ἥπερ πειθόμενοι οἷς ἀξιοῦτε πράττειν αὐτούς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων οὐκ ἄτοπον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι, ἀθυμοῦντας μὲν ὅταν περ ὦσι, παραβάλλοντας δὲ τὰ ὑμέτερα πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι γίγνονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν ἀγνοεῖν δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον ὃν δὴ τοὺς χριστιανοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐλαύνετε καὶ διώκετε ἕως θανάτου. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῷ θειοτάτῳ ἡμῶν ἔγραψαν πατρί· οἷς καὶ ἀντέγραψε μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μηδὲν φαίνοιντο περὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν· οἷς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα, κατακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δέ τις ἐπιμένοι τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, καὶ ἐὰν φαίνηται τοιοῦτος ὤν, ὁ δὲ καταφέρων ἔνοχος ἔσται δίκης.

προετέθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.

The first form of this edict, bearing the name of Antoninus Pius, is attached in the MSS as a sort of appendix to the Second Apology of Justin Martyr (*Op.* I. p. 244 sq., Otto, ed. 3). There is no reason however for supposing that it was so attached by Justin himself, and this appendix must be due to a later transcriber. In the opening lines the MSS have δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατος πδ', πατὴρ πατρίδος τὸ κα', which was corrected by Mommsen (*Theol. Jahrb.* XIV. p. 431, 1855) as I have given it in the text, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κα', ὕπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος—a correction which commends itself, for the text of the MSS is impossible, whether the document be genuine or not. This reckoning, Trib. Potest. xxi, Cons. iv, corresponds to A.D. 158, three years after the probable date of Polycarp's martyrdom.

The second form, professing to have issued from M. Aurelius, is found in Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 13). The emperor's titles however are not consonant with themselves. The dates, Trib. Potest. xv, Cons. iii, would give A.D. 161; but M. Aurelius did not assume the name 'Armeniacus' (not 'Αρμένιος but 'Αρμενιακός) till A.D. 163 (Capitolin. *Marcus* 8, *Verus* 7; see Clinton *Fasti Romani* I. p. 151 sq.). If therefore the document be genuine, some correction is necessary. Thus we might make an alteration in the numbers, and read, as I have suggested elsewhere (II. p. 492), Θ (=ἔννατον) for Ε (πέμπτον), in which case we shall get, Trib. Potest. xix, Cons. iii, corresponding to A.D. 165. Or again we might strike out the word 'Αρμένιος as a later addition; and this solution is suggested both by the form ('Αρμενιακὸς alone being correct) and by the fact that the words 'Αρμένιος ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος are wanting in *Chron. Pasch.* p. 484 sq. (ed. Bonn.), where it is quoted. In Rufinus however and in the Syriac Version of Eusebius they are found as in the Greek; and, since the *Chronicon Paschale* would naturally derive the document from Eusebius, we must attribute the omission to the carelessness of a scribe, whose eye was misled by the homœoteleuton -στος in Σεβαστός, μέγιστος.

It is to be observed also that, though the name of M. Aurelius is distinctly given in the heading of the edict itself, yet Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 12) prefaces it with the words, ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ασίας ἀδελφῶν, παντοίαις ὕβρεσι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων δήμων καταπονουμένων, τοιαύτης ἠξίωσε τὸ κοινὸν τῆς 'Ασίας διατάξεως; where 'the same emperor' ought to refer to Antoninus Pius, who has been mentioned immediately before by Eusebius (iv. 11) as the sovereign to whom Justin dedicated his Apology (βασιλεῖ 'Αντωνίνῳ τῷ δὴ ἐπικληθέντι Εὐσεβεῖ), and again (iv. 12) in the opening of the Apology itself, which Eusebius quotes. Moreover the document is introduced in the midst of events relating to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and this emperor's death and the consequent succession of M. Aurelius are not recorded till a later point in the history (iv. 14).

On the supposition of the genuineness, Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen* p. 21 sq.) explains these phenomena as follows. The edict, though bearing the name of the reigning Augustus, Antoninus Pius, was really dictated by the Cæsar, M. Aurelius. To this Melito refers, when in his Apology addressed to the latter he writes (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26), ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικοῦντος αὐτῷ [conj. Vales. τὰ πάντα συνδιοικοῦντος αὐτῷ] ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν. Accordingly M. Aurelius, when he himself became emperor, reissued it, altering the name and date.

Against the genuineness however the most serious objections may be urged. In the first place the external evidence is deficient. Unlike the rescript of Hadrian which has the contemporary testimony of Justin and Melito, this document has no earlier witness than Eusebius. Melito indeed has been confidently alleged by Wieseler and

others as vouching for its authenticity; but Melito's own words cut the other way. He does indeed speak of Antoninus Pius as writing to certain cities, deprecating any irregular persecution of the Christians; but when he comes to specify instances, he mentions Larissa, Thessalonica, and Athens, and the people of Greece generally (*πάντας Ἕλληνας*). As he was writing in 'Asia' and for 'Asia', it is morally certain that he would, if he had known of such a document, have illustrated and enforced his statement by an edict addressed to the *Commune Asiae*—issued and reissued, as this is assumed to have been—since nothing could have served his purpose better. It is indeed just possible that Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 13) may have misunderstood Melito to allude definitely to this document. But his opinion on such a point has no weight; and it is due to him to say that he adduces Melito as a witness not to the authenticity of the edict itself, but to the general course of events described in it (*τούτοις οὕτω χωρήσασιν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν* Μελίτων).

Nor are our misgivings allayed, when we study the contents of the document itself. It practically rescinds the law of the Roman empire, as defined by the rescript of Trajan. It is an edict of toleration and something more. It expresses approval of the Christians and disapproval of their persecutors. It lays penalties on their accusers, even though they may accuse them in the regular way and make good their charge. In short, from beneath a heathen mask we hear a Christian voice speaking in every line. Nor is the difficulty at all met by the fact that in one form (as given in the MSS of Justin) the word *χριστιανὸς* does not occur in the document; for the reference is quite obvious. Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 383), having entire faith in its genuineness, writes of it; 'We shall see here with delight the justification, or rather the panegyric, of the Christians pronounced by the mouth of a pagan prince'. This sentence is its virtual condemnation.

For these and other reasons this edict is now generally condemned as spurious; and it is difficult to question this verdict. Dodwell (*Diss. Cypr.* xi. § 34) was one of the first to express a suspicion of its genuineness, but he did not follow up the subject. It was condemned as spurious by Thirlby and by Jortin (see Lardner *Works* VII. p. 129). The arguments against its genuineness were strongly urged by Haffner *de Edicto Antonini Pii pro Christianis etc.* (Argentorati 1781), and Eichstadt *Annal. Acad. Jenens.* I. p. 286 sq. (1821); and it has been indicted by not a few later writers (see Heinichen's note on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 12). More recently it has found but few champions, of whom the most doughty is Wieseler (l. c.). Among the recent writers who have attacked it strenuously are Overbeck *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche* (1875) p. 126 sq., Aubé *Persecutions de l'Église* (1875) p. 302 sq., *Saint Justin* (1875) p. 59 sq., and Keim *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (1878) p. 185 sq., *Rom u. das Christenthum* (1881) p. 565. It is rejected likewise by Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 301 sq., and by Doulcet *Rapports de l'Église Chrétienne avec l'État Romain* (1883) p. 76 sq., and generally.

In the times of Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 651 sq.) and of Lardner (*Works* VII. p. 128) the genuineness of the document was almost universally held. Both these writers accept it without hesitation. The main question of dispute then was the reign under which it was issued. While Valois, Scaliger, Huet, Basnage, and Pagi assigned it to Antoninus Pius, it was attributed by Baronius, Tillemont, Cave, Lardner, and others to M. Aurelius. Though the aspect of this question is somewhat changed now that we can no longer regard the document as genuine, still it is a matter of critical interest to determine what was its original form—whether as given in the MSS of Justin or as found in Eusebius. I am disposed to think that the original heading of

the letter is preserved in the Justin MSS, as corrected by Mommsen. The heading in Eusebius is inconsistent with itself, as we have seen (p. 467). Nor do we get rid of our difficulties by substituting, as I have suggested, xix for xv; since Trib. Potest. xix, corresponding with A.D. 165, still falls within the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. But during this period edicts always went out in the name of both emperors. M. Aurelius was scrupulously careful for the dignity of his brother Augustus; and it is inconceivable that, writing to the *Commune Asiae* which was more immediately under the control of Verus at this time, he should have omitted Verus' name altogether. On the other hand the body of the document is evidently preserved in a purer form in Eusebius. In the Justin copy the transcriber has striven to get more explicit testimony in favour of the Christians and against heathendom. Thus for *ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα* 'I know' he substitutes *ἐγὼ ᾤμην* 'I supposed'; but he has altered the rest of the sentence carelessly, so as to leave a confused construction *ἐγὼ ᾤμην ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖς ἔσεσθαι κ.τ.λ.* The *ὅτι* has been retained through inadvertence, though an infinitive has been substituted for a finite verb in the rest of the sentence. Examples indeed of this grammatical dislocation are found elsewhere (see Otto's note on Justin. *Dial.* 45), but it is generally masked by the intervening words. Again the insertion *εἴπερ δύναιντο*, implying the impotence of the heathen deities, and of *ἅτινα οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποδεῖξαι*, emphasizing the injustice of the charges against the Christians, tell their own tale. The workmanship is too coarse for the original forger of the document. I suppose then that the original document bore the name of Antoninus Pius, but that it was refurbished somewhat later and supplied with a new label, so as to apply to M. Aurelius. Whether it was first issued while Antoninus Pius was still living, may be open to question. Probably not. Indeed the forgery would seem to have been suggested by what Melito says of Antoninus Pius in his Apology addressed to M. Aurelius, or at all events to have been elicited by the persecutions which called forth a flood of apologetic literature under this latter emperor. The copy, bearing the name of M. Aurelius, cannot have been issued till some years after the death of L. Verus, when the twofold incongruity of the insertion of the title Armeniacus (written 'Armenius') and the omission of Verus' name would not strike the mind of the falsifier. The fate of the two forms of the edict however has been different. The Pian form has undergone bold manipulation at the hands of some later transcriber, who dissatisfied with the testimony borne by the Roman emperor to Christianity made him speak in more explicit language; whereas on the other hand the Aurelian form, preserved in Eusebius, has come down to us very much in the words in which it was issued by the redactor. The strange procedure of Eusebius, who while giving the copy which bears in the forefront the name of M. Aurelius nevertheless ascribes it to Antoninus Pius, can best be explained by supposing that he was acquainted with both forms of the document.

(iii) M. AURELIUS [A.D. 161—180].

(α) *Letter to the Roman People and Senate.*

Μάρκου βασίλεως ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν ᾗ μαρτυρεῖ Χριστιανοὺς αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Γερμανικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ χαίρειν. Φανερὰ ὑμῖν

ἐποίησα τὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σκοποῦ μεγέθη, ὁποῖα ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐκ περιστάσεως διὰ περιβολῆς ἐπακολουθήματα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ καμῶν καὶ παθών, ἐν Καρνούντῳ καταλαμβανομένου μου ὑπὸ δρακόντων ἑβδομήκοντα τεσσάρων ἀπὸ μιλίων ἐννέα. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν ἐξέπλωρά τωρες ἐμήνυσαν ἡμῖν, καὶ Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος πολέμαρχος ἐδήλωσεν ἡμῖν ἅτινα εἴδομεν (καταλαμβανόμενος δὲ ἤμην ἐν μεγέθει πλήθους ἀμίκτου, καὶ στρατευμάτων λεγεῶνος πρίμας, δεκάτης, γεμίνας, φρεντησίας, μῖγμα κατηριθμημένον) πλήθη παρεῖναι παμμίκτου ὄχλου χιλιάδων ἐνακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. ἐξετάσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμίων, κατέδραμον εἰς τὸ θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι πατρῴοις. ἀμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους χριστιανούς· καὶ ἐπερωτήσας εὗρον πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος εἰς αὐτούς, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔπρεπε διὰ τὸ ὕστερον ἐπεγνωκέναι με τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν. ὅθεν ἀρξάμενοι οὐ βελῶν παράρτησιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτε σαλπίγγων....διὰ τὸ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν θεόν ὃν φοροῦσι κατὰ συνείδησιν. εἰκὸς οὖν ἐστιν, οὓς ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀθέους εἶναι, ὅτι θεὸν ἔχουσιν αὐτόματον ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει τετειχισμένον. ῥίψαντες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἐδεήθησαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρόντος στρατεύματος, παρήγορον γενέσθαι δίψης καὶ λιμοῦ τῆς παρούσης. πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ὕδωρ οὐκ εἰλήφειμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι· ἦμεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεσομφάλῳ τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους ῥίψαι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εὔχεσθαι θεῷ, ᾧ ἐγὼ ἠγνόουν, εὐθέως ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει οὐρανόθεν, ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμᾶς ψυχρότατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβούλους χάλαζα πυρώδης. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺ θεοῦ παρουσίαν ἐν εὐχῇ γινομένην παραυτίκα ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτου καὶ ἀκαταλύτου....Αὐτόθεν οὖν ἀρξάμενοι συγχωρήσωμεν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι χριστιανοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν τι τοιοῦτον αἰτησάμενοι ὅπλον ἐπιτύχωσι. τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον συμβουλεύω, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, χριστιανόν μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ εὑρεθείη τις ἐγκαλῶν τῷ χριστιανῷ ὅτι χριστιανός ἐστι, τὸν μὲν προσαγόμενον χριστιανὸν πρόδηλον εἶναι βούλομαι...γίνεσθαι ὁμολογήσαντα τοῦτο, ἄλλο ἕτερον μηδὲν ἐγκαλούμενον ἢ ὅτι χριστιανός ἐστι μόνον, τὸν προσάγοντα δὲ τοῦτον ζῶντα καίεσθαι· τὸν δὲ χριστιανὸν ὁμολογήσαντα καὶ συνασφαλισάμενον περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ μετάγειν.

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι κυρωθῆναι βούλομαι, καὶ κελεύω τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ προτεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. φροντίσει ὁ πραίφεκτος Βιτράσιος Πολλίων εἰς τὰς πέριξ ἐπαρχίας πεμφθῆναι· πάντα δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔχειν μὴ κωλύεσθαι λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν προτεθέντων παρ' ἡμῶν.

'Imperator Cæsar M. Aurelius Antoninus Germanicus Parthicus Sarmaticus to the people of the Romans and to the holy senate, greeting.'

'I make known to you the magnitude of my enterprise and what results I achieved in Germany after my distress from my beleagerment [?] with much toil and endurance on the frontier, when I was surprised in Carnuntum by seventy-four regiments nine miles off. Now when they approached us, our scouts informed us, and Pompeianus our commander in chief showed us, what also we saw with our own eyes (for I was surrounded by multitudes of savage hordes, having with me a combined and moderate force consisting of the soldiers of the first legion and the tenth—both the Twin and the Fretensian), that there were crowds there of a miscellaneous multitude numbering nine hundred and seventy-seven thousand. Having therefore measured myself and my troops with the numbers of the barbarous enemy, I betook myself to prayer to the gods of my fathers. But finding myself neglected by them and contemplating to what straits my forces were reduced, I summoned those whom we call Christians to my aid. And by enquiry I found out their numbers and magnitude, scolding them at the same time, which I ought not to have done, for I afterwards discovered their power. Making a beginning herewith, they did not [think of] equipping themselves with missiles or shields or trumpets, for this is abhorrent to them by reason of the god that they bear in their conscience. It is probable then that those whom we suppose to be Atheists have a self-moving god enshrined in their conscience. For throwing themselves on the ground they prayed not only for me but for the army that was with me, that He would be their comforter in their present drought and famine; for we had not drunk any water for five days, as there was none in the place; for we were in the heart of Germany and within their frontiers. Now as soon as they threw themselves on the earth and prayed to a god who was unknown to me, forthwith rain came from heaven—very cold water upon us, but fiery hail upon the enemies of the Romans. So forthwith [we felt] the presence of their god at once as they prayed, as of one invincible and indestructible. Beginning at once therefore let us permit such persons to be Christians, lest they pray for any such weapon against us and obtain it. And I recommend that no such person be accused as a Christian, for being such. But, if any one should be found accusing a Christian of being a Christian, it is my desire that it be made clear that the Christian so brought to judgment, if he confesses to it, shall be [acquitted], if no other charge is brought against him except that he is a Christian, and that his accuser shall be burnt alive; and any Christian, when he confesses to this and has made his case good, shall not be forced by the officer entrusted with the government of the province to change his religion or to lose his liberty.'

'I desire that this decision be ratified by a decree of the Senate, and I direct that this my ordinance be published in the Forum of Trajan, that it may be read. The prefect Vitrasius Pollio will take care that it is sent to the several provinces. Any one who wishes to make use of it and to possess it, shall not be prevented from obtaining a copy from the decrees promulgated by us.'

The Greek text is evidently mutilated in some places, and probably corrupt in others; nor is it always easy to satisfy oneself as to the meaning of the expressions used. For *παθών* the MSS have *σπαθών*. There is much to be said for Silburg's emendation *Κουάδων καὶ Σαρματῶν* instead of *καμὼν καὶ σπαθών*. Just below *Καρνούντῳ* is an emendation for *κοτίνῳ*, the reading of the MSS. The word *ἀμίκτου* means, I suppose, 'unsociable, uncivilised, savage.' The *δράκοντες* are the standards or ensigns of the regiments, as e.g. in Lucian *Quom. Hist. Conscr.* 29 *ὥστε τοὺς δράκοντας ἔφη τῶν Παρθυαίων (σημεῖον δὲ πλήθους τοῦτο αὐτοῖς, χιλίους γάρ, οἶμαι, ὁ δράκων ἄγει) ζῶντας δράκοντας παμμεγέθεις εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* Of the designation of the legions, *γεμίνας φρεντησίας*, I shall have to speak presently.

It is hardly necessary to say that the representation of the policy of M. Aurelius in this document is wholly unhistorical. So far from reversing the principles laid down by Trajan, he treated the Christians with a severity far beyond that of the intervening sovereigns. We need only point to the persecution at Vienne and Lyons (A.D. 177), which happened two or three years after this letter purports to have been written, to convict it as a coarse and palpable forgery.

But though this letter is a manifest forgery, yet the writer shows some acquaintance with the men of the time. Ti. Claudius Pompeianus was one of Marcus' principal generals, married the emperor's daughter Lucilla after the death of her first husband Verus, was twice made consul (for the second time in A.D. 173; see Klein *Fasti Consulares* p. 79), and commanded in the German wars; see Dion Cass. lxxi. 3, lxxii. 4, lxxiii. 3, Capitol. *Marcus* 20, *Pertinax* 2, 4, Spartian. *Did. Jul.* 8, *Caracall.* 3. Vitrasius Pollio married Annia Faustina the first cousin of M. Aurelius, was twice consul (for the second time in A.D. 176; see Klein l.c. p. 80), held the office of proconsul of Asia (Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 529), and was appointed prefect of the prætorium in succession to Macrinus Vindex who perished in the Marcomannic war (Dion Cass. lxxi. 3), having as his colleague in this office Bassæus Rufus; comp. *C.I.L.* VI. 1540, Orelli *Inscr.* 3421, 3574, Henzen *Inscr.* 5477, *Ephem. Epigr.* IV. p. 177, and see Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 215 sq. It is curious that the inscriptions speak of statues being erected to him and to his colleague in this very Forum Trajani which is here mentioned in connexion with his name.

The main incident to which the letter refers took place during the war with the Quadi about A.D. 174. The Roman soldiers, parched with thirst and faint with heat, were surrounded by the enemy, and their destruction was imminent. Suddenly clouds gathered in the clear sky, and a storm burst upon them. The rain poured in profuse and grateful showers on the Roman army; while the enemy was smitten down with violent hail and lightning. The fire, where it fell on the Romans, was immediately extinguished; the water, where it descended on the Quadi, only added fuel to the flames, as if it were oil. The Roman soldiers at first with upturned faces and open mouths received the refreshing streams; then they held out their shields and helmets, themselves drinking and giving to their horses to drink. Marcus obtained a splendid victory and was proclaimed imperator for the seventh time. Contrary to his wont, he accepted the title as receiving it from God (ὡς καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ λαμβάνων) and wrote to the senate (τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν) accordingly.

Dion Cassius (lxxi. 8, 10), the earliest heathen writer who reports this incident (c. A.D. 220) and from whom I have taken this account, further mentions it as 'related' (λόγος ἔχει) that one Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who attended Marcus on this expedition, had invoked among other deities (δαίμονας) the 'aerial Hermes' with incantations and thus drawn down the rain. Capitolinus (*Marc.* 24), writing under Diocletian (c. A.D. 300), and Themistius (*Orat.* 15, p. 191), addressing Theodosius (A.D. 381), attribute the miracle directly to the prayers of the emperor. Themistius even gives the very words of the prayer; stretching out his hands he cried, 'With this hand I invoke and supplicate the giver of life—this hand with which I never took away life.' Claudian (*de Sext. Cons. Honor.* 340 sq.), panegyrizing the son of Theodosius (A.D. 404) as a second Marcus, appears to have had both these accounts of his predecessors before him and offers his readers the alternative, but himself prefers the latter ascribing the incident to the direct merits of the emperor;

> Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu
> Armavere deos, seu (quod reor) omne Tonantis
> Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

Even a Christian Sibyllist (*Orac. Sib.* XII. 196 sq.) in the third century adopts this solution and attributes the preservation of the army to 'the emperor's piety' (δι' εὐσεβίην βασιλῆος), to whom the God of heaven would refuse nothing (Θεὸς οὐράνιος μάλα πάνθ' ὑπακούσει).

The Christians generally however accounted for the occurrence in a wholly different way. They believed that it was an answer, not indeed to the prayer of the emperor, but to the prayer of the Christians who formed part of his army. Claudius Apollinaris (Eus. *H. E.* v. 5), who addressed an apology to M. Aurelius not many years after the event, took this view. As reported by Eusebius, he even went so far as to say that the legion took its name, 'Thunder-striker' or 'Thunder-struck' (κεραυνοβόλος or κεραυνόβολος), from this incident—a statement which I shall have to consider presently. Tertullian, writing a few years later (*Apol.* 5, *ad Scap.* 4), likewise testifies to the efficacy of the Christians' prayers. He states that M. Aurelius asked for these prayers, and that he wrote afterwards to the Senate bearing testimony to the miraculous answer which had been vouchsafed. Eusebius (l. c.) mentions that the occurrence was otherwise explained by the heathen, but that the Christians more truthfully ascribed the result to the supplications of their brothers in the faith. He describes the soldiers in question as τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτινῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας. He cites as his authorities for the Christian story Claudius Apollinaris and Tertullian. In the *Chronicon* also (II. p. 172, ed. Schöne) he mentions the fact. Orosius (vii. 15) and the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 487 ed. Bonn.) follow Eusebius. Gregory Nyssen again (*Op.* III. p. 505 sq.) enlarges upon the incident as an answer to the prayers of the Christians. Xiphilinus (c. A. D. 1075), epitomizing Dion (lxxi. 9), turns aside to accuse his author of falsehood and ignorance, in not knowing that the legion from Melitene, which was fighting in this war, was composed wholly of Christians, that the lieutenant general informed the emperor of the power of their prayers, that the emperor in consequence requested them to intercede with their God, that an immediate answer was vouchsafed to this intercession, and that Marcus in consequence designated this legion κεραυνοβόλος.

The incident, whatever it was, is represented in the sculptures of the Antonine column, erected soon after at Rome, where Jupiter Pluvius is represented as an old man, from whose hair and beard flow copious streams, which are caught in the shields of the Roman soldiers, while the enemy is struck down by lightning. (Bartoli et Bellori *Columna Antoniniana* pl. xiv, xv). Nor was this the only artistic reproduction of the event. Themistius (l. c.) saw the same scene represented in a painting, the emperor praying in the midst of the phalanx and the soldiers holding out their helmets to catch the descending waters.

The simple fact that M. Aurelius wrote to the Senate after the event is mentioned, as we have seen, by Dion. The emperor could hardly have done otherwise. Tertullian hazards the assertion (*Apol.* 5) that in this letter mention was made of the prayers of the Christians. Accordingly he claims M. Aurelius as a protector of the Christians. But the very language in which he asserts his claim shows that he had no direct and personal knowledge of any such letter; '*si* litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris *requirantur*, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur.' Here he assumes that if sought among the archives the letter would be found. Just in the same way he elsewhere (*Apol.* 21) refers his heathen readers to the official reports which Pilate sent to Tiberius after the trial of Christ. He did not doubt that both documents would be found in the archives. Yet this hazard of Tertullian is apparently the sole foundation

on which later statements are built. Eusebius in the *Chronicle* writes cautiously λέγεται ὡς καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ φέρονται, 'It is said that an epistle is extant.' Since in his *History* he quotes the passage of Tertullian as vouching for the existence of such a letter (γράφει...λέγων Μάρκου...ἐπιστολὰς εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεσθαι), there can be little doubt that his λέγεται refers to the same authority. It is equally obvious that he himself had not seen the letter. Jerome, in his edition of the *Chronicle*, drops the mention of the hearsay, and asserts boldly, 'Extant litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris quibus ipse testatur etc.', where the expression shows that he had the original Latin of Tertullian before him, when he wrote this passage. On the other hand Orosius retains the caution, but strengthens the statement in another way, 'Extare *etiam nunc apud plerosque* dicuntur literae imperatoris Antonini etc.' The letter appended to Justin's second apology in the MSS is the outcome of these statements. It was not the cause, but the consequence, of Tertullian's venture. Just as the forgery of the Apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* was suggested by the references in the early fathers to the Roman procurator's report, so also here some adventurer, finding allusions in Tertullian and later writers to a letter of the emperor Marcus in favour of the Christians, took upon himself to supply the missing document.

Strangely enough our forged letter makes no mention of the 'Thundering Legion,' though this appears in the earliest extant report of the incident. On the contrary it names other legions as being engaged in this conflict, but not this which was the 12th. The objections to this Christian version of the story are these.

(1) The legion in question obtained its surname long before the time of M. Aurelius. Dion Cassius (lv. 23), enumerating the legions of Augustus, mentions among these τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον. It might indeed be urged that the title κεραυνοφόρον was given by Dion by anticipation; but the inscriptions show that this explanation will not hold. For instance, in the 11th year of Nero (A.D. 65) a PRIMIPILARIS. LEG. XII. FVLMINATAE inscribes his name on the foot of Memnon's statue, as having heard it speak (*C. I. L.* III. 30). Again another inscription belonging to the early years of Trajan (A.D. 98—102) gives this name (*C. I. L.* V. 534). In other inscriptions likewise, referring to the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, it appears (*C. I. L.* III. 2917, IX. 2456), as also in one dating during the joint sovereignty of Marcus and Verus, and therefore not long before the war with the Quadi (*C. I. L.* II. 1180).

(2) The name of this legion is now ascertained to have been not *Fulminatrix*, but *Fulminata*. In the inscriptions, in which it occurs frequently, it is generally contracted in various ways, FVL, FVLM, FVLMI, FVLMIN, FVLMINAT, and it was supplied with a termination 'Fulminatrix' to suit the Christian story. But on some more recently discovered monuments the word is written in full FVLMINATA (*C. I. L.* III. 30, 2029. VIII. 7079, X. 7351), so that no doubt can remain. For the misreading of the word in the *Notitia Orientis* where the MSS have 'Fulminae,' which has been altered into 'fulminea,' but which ought to be read 'fulminat', see Henzen in Borghesi *Œuvres* IV. p. 233. Dion distinctly calls it κεραυνοφόρον, and so it is named in a recently discovered inscription (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* VII. p. 133, 1883), ΛΕΓΙΩΝΟC.ΔΩΔΕΚ[ΑΤΗC].ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΦΟΡΟΥ. The probability is that 'Fulminata', like 'Torquata', refers to some emblem worn by the soldiers of this legion. In like manner the fifth legion was called 'Alauda' on account of the larks which adorned the helmets of the soldiers. Renan (*Marc-Aurèle* p. 275) offers another explanation. He supposes that on some occasion the camp of this legion had been struck by lightning and so 'received a sort of baptism by fire', places so struck being set apart

and consecrated. Anyhow the passive termination of 'Fulminata' is not favourable to the Christian story, as the fact of its perversion into 'Fulminatrix' shows. Borghesi (l.c.) suggests that M. Aurelius altered the old name 'Fulminata' into 'Fulminatrix,' and de Rossi in his note to Borghesi accepts this explanation. We need hardly discuss this improbable conjecture.

Eusebius distinctly states that Claudius Apollinaris represented the name *κεραυνοβόλον* (presumably the active *κεραυνοβόλον*, not the passive *κεραυνόβολον*) as having been given to the legion by the emperor in consequence of the miraculous occurrence (*ἐξ ἐκείνου φήσας τὴν δι' εὐχῆς τὸ παράδοξον πεποιηκυῖαν λεγεῶνα οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰληφέναι προσηγορίαν, κεραυνοβόλον τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικληθεῖσαν φωνῇ*). As Apollinaris wrote almost immediately after the occurrence, it is difficult to suppose that he could have fallen into this error. I have therefore suggested elsewhere (*Colossians* p. 61) that he used some ambiguous expression implying that it was fitly so named (e.g. *ἐπώνυμον τῆς συντυχίας*), which Eusebius and later writers misunderstood; just as Eusebius himself elsewhere (v. 24) speaks of Irenæus as *φερώνυμός τις ὢν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ αὐτῷ τε τῷ τρόπῳ εἰρηνοποιός*. Thus in Eusebius' account we may suspect that *οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι προσηγορίαν* is an expression borrowed from Apollinaris himself, while *πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰληφέναι* gives Eusebius' erroneous interpretation of his author's meaning.

(3) But there is still another difficulty. The proper station of this 12th legion was not Germany but the East. It was stationed in Syria at the time of the Judaic war under Titus (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 1. 6; Tac. *Hist.* v. 1; comp. *Ann.* xv. 6, 26). At the close of that war it was removed by Titus to Melitene on the Euphrates on the frontier of Armenia and Cappadocia (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 1. 3). Accordingly it is mentioned in an inscription (*C. I. L.* VIII. 7079), and in Dion Cassius (lv. 23), as located in Cappadocia. This therefore was its proper station at the time of the war with the Quadi: and indeed the fact is recognized by Eusebius and after him by Xiphilinus; for both writers speak of it as connected with Melitene. Yet, though its proper head quarters were Melitene, the outbreak or even the threatening of war elsewhere might lead to its being despatched to the disturbed regions. On one occasion we learn from the inscriptions that this legion, the *Fulminata*, was stationed in Achaia (*C. I. L.* III. 6097). At another time we find it quartered—either the whole or a detachment—at Ancyra in Galatia (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* VII. p. 16, 1883). The Germanic war of M. Aurelius was a sufficiently grave occasion to require the concentration of legions at the seat of war from other parts of the empire; and there is, so far as I know, no reason why the 12th legion should not have been one of these. Strangely enough however, the forged letter of the emperor with which we are concerned omits to mention this legion, but names instead the first and the two tenth legions. What legion is meant by the first, the writer does not explain. There were at this time three first legions, *Adjutrix*, *Italica*, and *Minervia*. The proper station of *Adjutrix* was in Pannonia Superior, of *Italica* in Moesia Inferior and Dacia, of *Minervia* in Germania Inferior[1]. *Adjutrix* and *Minervia* therefore were at the seat of war, while *Italica* could be moved thither without difficulty. After the first legion the letter mentions *δεκάτης γεμινοφρεντησίᾳ*, as it is corruptly written in the MSS. The tenth was a double legion, or rather two legions (Dion Cass. lv. 23 *οἱ δέκατοι ἑκάτεροι*,

[1] For the names and dispositions of the legions see especially Dion Cass. lv. 23, 24. Comp. Borghesi *Œuvres* IV. p. 201 sq., Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* II. p. 430 sq., Mommsen in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* V. p. 164 sq. (1884).

οἵ τε ἐν τῇ Πανν*ο*νίᾳ τῇ ἄνω οἱ δίδυμοι καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ), called respectively *Gemina* and *Fretensis*. There can therefore be no doubt that the corrupt Greek represents 'decima Gemina et Fretensis.' The name 'Gemina' or 'Twin' is the designation of several legions (the VIIth, Xth, XIIIth, XIVth), which were or had been twofold; and Otto here (I know not for what reason) singles out the XIVth. Both X *Gemina* and XIV *Gemina* were stationed in Pannonia Superior, so that either might easily have been employed in this war. The other Xth legion, *Fretensis*, was quartered in Judæa. If therefore it took any part in this war, it must, like *Fulminata*, have been transferred to those parts temporarily for the purpose.

I am disposed to think that there was some truth in the Christian account of the incident. Claudius Apollinaris, who first mentions it, addressed his Apology to M. Aurelius, and therefore must have written within six years of the event at the outside. He is therefore entitled to credit as the most strictly contemporary of all known authorities. He could hardly have placed the *Legio Fulminata* in Germany, when its head quarters were well known to be in the East, unless it had actually been sent thither. There is nothing improbable in its transference, such removals being common in time of war. Thus in Tac. *Ann.* xv. 25, 26 we have a notice of the transmission of several legions from great distances to the seat of war. But a legion stationed in Melitene would naturally contain a very appreciable proportion of Christians, as it must have drawn recruits from districts where Christianity was exceptionally strong at a very early age. If the drought were oppressive, these Christians would probably pray for rain. Here then we have the true elements in the story. On the other hand the request of the emperor to the Christians for their special prayers and his subsequent acknowledgement of their efficacy are doubtless a fictitious garnish with which the enthusiasm of the early Christians decked out the simple fact.

(β) *Letter to Euxenianus.*

Ἀντωνῖνος Αὐτοκράτωρ Σεβαστὸς Εὐξενιανῷ Ποπλίωνι χαίρειν. Ἐγὼ εἰς πεῖραν τῆς σῆς ἀγχινοίας ἔργοις αὐτοῖς καταστάς, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἔναγχος προστάξει τοῦ ἡμέτερου κράτους διεπράξω κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν, ἐπικουφίσας Σμυρναίοις τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλόνου τῆς γῆς ἐπιγενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν, ἤσθην τε, ὥσπερ εἰκός, καὶ σε τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελείας ἐπήνεσα· ἔμαθον γὰρ ἅπαντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παρών. ἥ τε γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθεῖσα ἀναφορά, ὅ τε ἀποδιδοὺς ταύτην, καὶ Καικίλιος ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἡμῶν ἅπαντά μοι σαφῶς διηγήσατο. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος γνωσθὲν τῷν ἡμετέρῳ κράτει Ἀβέρκιόν τινα τῆς Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἐπίσκοπον παρὰ σοὶ διατρίβειν, ἄνδρα εὐσεβῆ οὕτω τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὡς δαιμονῶντάς τε ἰᾶσθαι καὶ νόσους ἄλλας εὐκολώτατα θεραπεύειν, τοῦτον κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμεῖς χρῄζοντες, Οὐαλέριον καὶ Βασσιανὸν μαγιστριανοὺς τῶν θείων ἡμῶν ὀφφικίων ἐπέμψαμεν τὸν ἄνδρα μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἁπάσης ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν. κελεύομεν οὖν τῇ σῇ στερρότητι πεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι, εὖ εἰδότι ὡς οὐ μέτριός σοι κείσεται παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὁ ἔπαινος. ἔρρωσο.

This letter, purporting to have been written by the emperor M. Aurelius, is found in the *Life of S. Abercius* § 17, as given by Symeon Metaphrastes (*Patrol. Graec.* cxv. p. 1211 sq. ed. Migne; see also the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, October 22). The story runs as follows;

Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis in Lesser Phrygia in the time of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, distinguished himself by his iconoclastic zeal against the idols of heathendom. For this act he would have been put to death; but casting out devils from several persons, who were tormented, he saved himself from his fate, and turned the tide of popular feeling in his favour. Among other miracles he cured of blindness Phrygella the mother of Euxenianus Publio, a man in high authority at Hierapolis and greatly esteemed by the emperor. The evil demon, thwarted by Abercius, avenged himself by imposing upon him a journey to Rome. Lucilla, the daughter of M. Aurelius and Faustina, being then sixteen years old, was betrothed to L. Verus, and her father had agreed to escort her to Ephesus, there to marry her to Verus, who was quartered in the East on account of the war with Vologesus. The demon took possession of her at this crisis, and cried out through her that Abercius of Hierapolis alone could exorcise him. The letter to Euxenianus was written by M. Aurelius in consequence.

Abercius obeys the summons contained in this letter. He takes ship at Attalia and sails to Portus, where he meets the magistriani who had returned by another route. On his arrival in Rome, he is taken to the prefect Cornelianus, by whom he is introduced to Faustina. The emperor himself was absent on an expedition against the barbarians, who had crossed the Rhenish frontier and were plundering the Roman territory. The maiden Lucilla is brought into the hippodrome, foaming, quivering, and lacerated by the demon. Abercius expels the demon and bids him, in revenge for the trouble he has caused, 'take up this altar (pointing out to him with his hand a stone altar), and carry it as far as to Hierapolis and take and place it by the south gate'. The demon lifts up the altar accordingly in the presence of numberless spectators (*μυρίων ὁρώντων ὀμμάτων*), carries it off groaning heavily, and deposits it in Hierapolis as commanded. Faustina overjoyed desires to make some return to Abercius for the cure of her daughter. He asks that a bath may be built in the field where he had knelt and prayed before his departure from Hierapolis, and where in answer to this prayer hot springs had burst out from the ground for the relief of the sick. He further requests that a dole of three thousand bushels of corn may be given to the poor of his city. The empress sends orders through Cornelianus to the 'ruler of Phrygia' (*ἄρχοντα Φρυγίας*) for the fulfilment of his requests. The bath is built and called *Ἀγρὸς θερμῶν*: the dole is given and continued till the time of Julian, who 'envying the Christians this, as he did all other good things', put a stop to the distribution.

Abercius, after remaining some time in Rome, was admonished in a dream that he must visit Syria. The empress was anxious to detain him, but at length consented and placed a ship at his disposal. He sailed to Antioch, and from Antioch went to Apamea, where he pacified the churches which were rent asunder by the Marcionite heresy. He then crossed the Euphrates and visited Nisibis and the Churches of Mesopotamia. When he declined money, in recompense for his labours, they voted him the title of *ἰσαπόστολος*. Then he returned home. Being admonished in a dream that his time was approaching, he ordered a square stone to be prepared for his tomb, and upon this he placed the altar which the demon had brought from Rome, inscribing on it the following words (*τοίονδέ τι ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῷ ἐγχαράξας*):

Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως πολίτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα ζῶν ἵν' ἔχω καιρῷ σώματος ἔνθαδε θέσιν.

οὔνομα Ἀβέρκιος ὁ ὢν μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ, ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσι πεδίοις τε, ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορῶντας. οὗτος γάρ με ἐδίδαξε γράμματα πιστά· εἰς Ῥώμην ὃς ἔπεμψεν ἐμὲ βασιλείαν ἀθρῆσαι, καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόστολον χρυσοπέδιλον· λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγῖδα ἔχοντα. καὶ Συρίης πέδον εἶδον καὶ ἄστεα πάντα Νίσιβιν, Εὐφράτην διαβάς, πάντα δ' ἔσχον συνομηγύρους, Παῦλον ἕσωθεν· πίστις πάντη δὲ προῆγε, καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς παμμεγέθη καθαρόν, ὃν ἑδράξατο παρθένος ἁγνή, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἐσθίειν διὰ παντός, οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου. ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὧδε γραφῆναι, ἐβδομήκοστον ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον ἦγον ἀληθῶς. ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὔξαιτο ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου πᾶς ὁ συνῳδός. οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἕτερον ἐπάνω θήσει. εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχίλια χρυσᾶ καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεραπόλει χίλια χρυσᾶ[1].

The inscription, adds the writer of the Life, was to this effect (ὧδέ πως ἐπὶ λέξεως εἶχεν), 'except that time had gradually impaired its accuracy and had caused the writing to be faulty' (ὅτι μὴ ὁ χρόνος ὑφεῖλε κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ ἡμαρτημένως ἔχειν τὴν γραφὴν παρεσκεύασεν).

After these things Abercius summoned the Church together and asked them to elect a bishop to succeed him. They chose his namesake, a second Abercius. Having confirmed their choice and laid his hands on his successor, the saint passed away.

Attention was specially directed to the Life of Abercius by Halloix (*Ill. Eccl. Or. Script.* II. p. 1 sq., 1636); but it was strangely overlooked afterwards, until prominence was again given to it in Pitra's *Spicil. Solesm.* III. p. 532 sq. The Acts are unquestionably spurious; but the epitaph which they incorporate, was seen by more than one writer to deserve more consideration. It appeared to myself to have a true ring, and accordingly I had accepted it as genuine (*Colossians* p. 54), endeavouring to assign a place to this Abercius as bishop of Hierapolis and to identify him with the Avircius Marcellus who is mentioned about this same time by an anonymous writer in Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 16). There was however some slight difficulty in finding room for Abercius in the episcopate of Hierapolis—the ground being occupied by Papias and Apollinaris; and partly on this account, partly because of its supposed triviality, partly for other reasons, it was condemned by Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. pp. 299 sq., 621 sq.) and others.

Hitherto it had been assumed on all hands that the city intended was the well-known Hierapolis in the valley of the Mæander. But in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Juillet 1882, Mr W. M. Ramsay published a paper entitled *Trois Villes Phrygiennes*, on the three neighbouring cities Hieropolis, Erouzos, and Otrous, in which he showed that Hierapolis had frequently been mistaken for Hieropolis, and he published at the same time an early Christian inscription found at Hieropolis and dated 300 of the Sullan era (i.e. A. D. 216), closely resembling this epitaph of Abercius. Read with some corrections subsequently made by him, it runs as follows;

ἐ]κλεκτῆς πό[λε]ως ὁ πολεί[της τ]οῦτ' ἐποί[ησα
ζῶν, ἵ]ν' ἔχω φανε[ρῶς] σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.
οὔ[ν]ομα [ἀ]λέξανδρος ἀντ[ω]νίου, [μ]αθητὴς ποιμένος ἁγνοῦ.

[1] Various readings of the MSS are given in *Spicil. Solesm.* III. p. 532 sq. (1855), *Anal. Solesm.* II. p. 169 sq. (1884). I have selected those readings which accord with our other sources of information—the fragment of the actual tomb of Abercius, and the inscription on the tomb of Alexander.

ΟΥ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΤΥΜΒ[ῳ] ΤΙC ἐΜῷ ἜΤΕΡΟΝ Τ[Ι]ΝΑ ΘΗCΕΙ·
ΕἸ Δ' ΟΥ̓Ν, 'ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΤΑ[Μ]ΕΙῴ ΘΗCΕΙ ΔΙC[Χ]ΕΙΛΙΑ [Χ]ΡΥCᾶ,
ΚΑὶ [Χ]ΡΗCΤΗ̣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔ[Ι] 'ΙΕΡΟΠΌΛΕΙ [Χ]ΕΙΛΙ[Α Χ]ΡΥCᾶ.
ἐΤΡΆΦΗ ἔΤΕΙ Τ', ΜΗΝὶ Ϛ', ΖΌΝΤΟC. ΕἸΡΉΝΗ ΠΑΡΑΓΟΥCΙΝ ΚΑ[Ι] ΜΝ[ΗC]ΚΟΜΕ-
ΝΟΙC ΠΕΡῚ Ἠ[Μ]ΩΝ.

The important bearings of this discovery on the epitaph of Abercius, which was hitherto unknown to Mr Ramsay, were pointed out at once by de Rossi *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana* 1882, p. 77; and by Duchesne *Bulletin Critique* III. p. 135 (which article I have not seen) and *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Juillet 1883, p. 1 sq. Plainly this epitaph of Alexander was copied from that of Abercius[1]; and the city of Abercius was not Hierapolis on the Mæander but this Hieropolis near Synnada. The genuineness therefore of the epitaph of Abercius was placed beyond a doubt. Having thus had his attention directed to the earlier epitaph, Mr Ramsay published the results of his further investigations in an article entitled *The Tale of Abercius* in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1882 p. 339 sq., in which he shows how the topographical notices in the Life point to Hieropolis near Synnada, and he infers consequently that it must have been written by some one well acquainted with this neighbourhood. The evidence was completed, when on a subsequent visit to this part of Asia Minor he found a fragment of this very altar containing the inscription itself. An account of this discovery is given by him in an article on *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* in the same Journal 1883, p. 424 sq. It was found 'in the interior of the passage leading to the men's bath-room of the hot springs near Hieropolis; on a small fragment of a marble *bomos;* complete at top and left, broken at right and bottom'.

The existence of the well-known hot springs at Hierapolis had assisted in the confusion. But the hot springs at Hierapolis are within the city; whereas the Life of Abercius places them near it. The hot springs at Hieropolis, where the fragment of the epitaph was found, exactly accord in position with the description in the Life.

The letters of the fragment are as follows;

ΕΙΣΡΩΜΗ
ΕΜΕΝΒΑΣ[ ]ΛΗ
ΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ
ΤΟΛΟΝΧΡ
ΛΑΟΝΔΕΙΔΟΝ
ΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΔΑΝΕ
ΚΑΙΣΤΡΙΗΣΠΕ
ΚΑΙΑΣΤΕΑΠΑ
ΕΤΦΡΑΤΗΝ[ΔΙΑ]
ΤΗΔΕΣΧΟΝΣΤΝΟ
ΠΑΤΔΟΝ[ΕΧ]ΩΝΕΠΌ
[Π]ΙΣ[ΤΙ]Σ[Π]
ΚΑΙΠΑΡΕΘΗΚΕ
ΠΑΝΤΗΙΧΘΤΝ[ΔΠ]
ΠΑΝΜΕΓΕΘΗΚΑΘ
ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟΠΑΡΘ[Ε]
ΚΑΙΤΟΤΤΟΝΕΠ[Ε]
[Λ]ΟΙ[ΣΕ]ΣΘ

For the sake of economizing space I have placed lines 10—18 in a second column, though on the stone itself they follow below lines 1—9. Lines 11, 12, have been partially erased. The lower part of line 11 and the upper part of line 12 are thus obliterated. The letters included in brackets are only legible in part. The epitaph

[1] The priority of the epitaph of Abercius to that of Alexander, though denied by Piolin (see *Anal. Solesm.* II. p. xxvii), is proved by the fact that the third line in the latter will not scan, owing to the substitution of another name for that which stood in the original inscription.

was engraved on three sides of a nearly square block of marble. The fragment remaining occupies one side, apparently the middle of the three, as it includes vv. 7—15 of the 22 verses of which the epitaph consists.

We may now restore the whole inscription with tolerable confidence, using this threefold help: (1) The text in the Life; (2) The fragments on the stone; (3) The imitation on the tomb of Alexander.

Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολίτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω καιρῷ σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.
οὔνομ' Ἀβέρκιός εἰμι μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἁγνοῦ,
ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε,
ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορῶντας·
οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε...γράμματα πιστά·
εἰς Ῥώμην ὃς ἔπεμψεν ἐμὲν βασίλειαν ἀθρῆσαι
καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόστολον χρυσοπέδιλον.
λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγεῖδαν ἔχοντα·
καὶ Σύρης πέδον εἶδα καὶ ἄστεα πάντα, Νίσιβιν,
Εὐφράτην διαβάς· πάντη δ' ἔσχον συνομίλους·
Παῦλον ἔχων ἑπό[μην], πίστις πάντη δὲ προῆγε,
καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν πάντη ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς
παναγέθη, καθαρόν, ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἁγνή·
καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἔσθειν διὰ παντός,
οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα δοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου.
ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὧδε γραφῆναι·
ἑβδομήκοστον ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον ἦγον ἀληθῶς,
ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὔχαιτο ὑπὲρ μοῦ πᾶς ὁ συνῳδός.
οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἕτερον ἐπιθήσει·
εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχίλια χρυσᾶ,
καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει χίλια χρυσᾶ[1].

'The citizen of a notable city I made this (tomb) in my life-time; that in due season I might have here a resting-place for my body. Abercius by name, I am a disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feedeth His flocks of sheep on mountains and plains, who hath great eyes looking on all sides; for He taught me faithful writings. He also sent me to royal Rome to behold it and to see the golden-robed, golden-slippered Queen. And there I saw a people bearing the splendid seal. And I saw the plain of Syria and all the cities, even Nisibis, crossing over the Euphrates. And everywhere I had associates. In company with Paul I followed, while everywhere faith led the way, and set before me for food the fish from the fountain, mighty and stainless (whom a

[1] The restorations of Halloix *Ill. Eccl. Script.* II. p. 137, of Garrucci *Civilta Cattolica* 1856, I. p. 689, and of Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* III. p. 533, *Anal. Solesm.* II. p. 170, have been made without the aid of the fragment or of the parallel inscription of Alexander and therefore are necessarily faulty.

pure virgin grasped), and gave this to friends to eat always, having good wine and giving the mixed cup with bread. These words I Abercius, standing by, ordered to be inscribed. In sooth I was in the course of my seventy-second year. Let every friend who observeth this, pray for me. But no man shall place another tomb above mine. If otherwise, then he shall pay two thousand pieces of gold to the treasury of the Romans, and a thousand pieces of gold to my good fatherland Hieropolis.'

In v. 3 sq. the description of the Good Shepherd with the great eyes and the flocks on the mountains and plains suggests that Abercius may have seen some pictorial representation, in the catacombs of Rome or elsewhere.

In v. 7 Ramsay suggests that βασιλην (for so it is certainly written on the stone) may be for βασιλῆα 'the king'. It was not however so interpreted by the writer of the Life, for he distinctly says that the emperor was absent and that the saint only saw Faustina and Lucilla. I suppose it to be a form for βασίλειαν 'the queen' and to be in apposition with Ῥώμην. The epithet βασιλὶς is applied to Rome by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 26, 56. Is not ἐμὲν for ἐμὲ, as apparently in *C. I. G.* 3440? It can hardly be ἔμεν (=εἶναι).

In v. 10 the scansion of Nisibis may perhaps be a surprise, but it is the only one which would be possible to any one who had heard the name spoken in the place itself. In Syriac the word is *N'tsībhīn*. Hence it was written differently in Greek, Νασιβις, Νεσιβις, Νισιβις, Steph. Byz. s. v. (see Müller *Fragm. Histor. Graec.* III. p. 571, IV. p. 526; comp. Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* II. *De Monophysitis* s. v.); the *sheva* of the first syllable being almost inaudible. I do not know whether the word occurs in Greek or Latin verse. After Νίσιβιν some MSS have δ', others nothing. Though τ' is preferable, δ' might stand.

In v. 11, where the Life has συνομηγύρους, Ramsay reads συνοπαδούς, and Pitra (who wrongly arranges the verses) ὁμηγέρεας. I have preferred συνομίλους as nearer to the word in the MSS of the Life; or possibly it should be συνομήρεις or συνομήθεις.

In v. 12 the inscription on the stone has been defaced. To this portion more especially the writer of the Life must refer, when he speaks of the letters being obliterated by time. Mr Ramsay however considers that the erasure was deliberate. I am not satisfied with Παῦλον ἔχων ἐπόμην, which must mean 'I followed where faith led me, taking Paul's epistles with me'; but I have nothing better to suggest. The reading Παῦλον however seems to be unquestionable.

In v. 13, we have probably the earliest extant reference to the emblem of the ΙΧΘΥΣ, with perhaps the exception of *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 217 sq., which contains the acrostich; see Pitra *De Pisce Allegorico et Symbolico* p. 499 sq., and de Rossi *De Christianis Monumentis* ΙΧΘΥΝ *exhibentibus* p. 545 sq., in *Spicil. Solesm.* Tom. III. It appears in Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. The πηγὴ here is baptism. Only through baptism is there admission to the eucharistic feast; *Doctr. Duod. Apost.* 9 (p. 36), Justin *Apol.* i. 66.

In v. 14 the more obvious reference of παρθένος ἁγνὴ is to the Virgin Mary. Yet such passages as 2 Cor. xi. 2, Ephes. v. 27, will suggest a doubt whether it is not rather a designation of the Church.

In v. 15 the nominative to ἐπέδωκε is not παρθένος ἁγνή but πίστις (ver. 12). For κέρασμα, 'the mixed cup', in ver. 16 see Justin *Apol.* i. 67.

In v. 19 the substitution of ὑπὲρ μοῦ for ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου seems probable. By συνῳδὸς he appears to mean a fellow-Christian.

In v. 21 the line of seven feet, and in ver. 22 the substitution of Ἱεροπόλει

(perhaps Ἱεροπτόλει) for Ἱεραπόλει, are justified (despite the metre) by the epitaph of Alexander.

It is plain that this curious epitaph, existing at Hieropolis and attracting public attention there, was the text for the story in the Life. As I have stated elsewhere (*Colossians* p. 55), it seems to me that the allegorical character of the inscription, which appears in the Good Shepherd with the great eyes, in the flocks on mountain and plain, in the fish and the fountain, extends likewise to the circumstances connected with the visit to Rome. The people, whom he saw stamped with the bright seal, are the baptised Christians, in accordance with a common metaphorical sense of *σφραγίς*. In this case we shall naturally interpret the queen (*βασίλισσα*) as denoting the Roman Church, which at an early date was described by Ignatius as *προκαθημένη ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*, and which about this time is lauded by Dionysius of Corinth for her forwardness in works of love (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 23). The language seems to be suggested by Ps. xlv (xliv). 10 *παρέστη ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἐν ἱματισμῷ διαχρύσῳ περιβεβλημένη, πεποικιλμένη*. This allegorical interpretation is now adopted by Pitra (*Anal. Solesm.* II. p. 173 sq.), though before he had explained the words literally (*Spicil. Solesm.* III. p. 532 sq.), and also by Duchesne (*Rev. des Quest. Histor.* Juillet 1883, p. 23 sq.). If interpreted literally, the *σφραγίς* would refer to the signet-rings worn by the higher orders among the Romans (Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 1. 6, 7, who contrasts the use of rings among the Romans with their absence among most other nations; 'nullosque omnino [annulos] major pars gentium, hominumque etiam qui sub imperio nostro degunt, hodieque habeat; non signat Oriens aut Aegyptus etiam nunc'). This supposed worldliness, which was attracted by the glittering rings and cloth of gold, scandalises Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 621).

The legend however grew up about the literal interpretation; and, if we abandon the latter, the story of the interview with Lucilla and Faustina, which is the pivot of the narrative, falls to the ground. With this interview also the main chronological note disappears. We may still however maintain with probability, that the later tradition was substantially correct in making Abercius flourish and pay his visit to Rome in the reign of M. Aurelius; but beyond this we cannot go. This date is at all events consistent with another notice apparently relating to this same person. When I still supposed, as was then the universal opinion, that the Abercius of the epitaph was bishop of Hierapolis on the Mæander, I ventured to identify him, as others had done, with the Avircius Marcellus to whom an anonymous writer (Eus. *H. E.* v. 16) addresses a treatise in an early stage of the Montanist controversy (see *Colossians* p. 56). This identification becomes still more probable now that he has been shown to belong to Hieropolis of Lesser Phrygia; for this anonymous writer mentions one Zoticus of Otrous as his 'fellow-presbyter' (*τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ Ὀτρηνοῦ*), and Otrous was only two miles from this Hieropolis. Starting from this identification, Duchesne (p. 30) places the date of this Montanist treatise at about A.D. 211. This date is founded on the statement of the anonymous author, that 'more than thirteen years' had elapsed since the death of Maximilla, during which there had been no war in the world either partial or general (*οὔτε μερικὸς οὔτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονε πόλεμος*), and even the Christians had enjoyed continuous peace (*ἀλλὰ καὶ χριστιανοῖς μᾶλλον εἰρήνη διάμονος*). With Bonwetsch (*Montanismus* p. 146 sq.), he calculates these thirteen years from A.D. 198, the year of Severus' Parthian victories, onward. But I do not see how a contemporary could possibly have spoken of A.D. 199—211 as a period of continuous peace either to the world or to the Church. The Eastern war was not ended in A.D. 198. A fierce war too was waged in Britain

from A.D. 207—210, which demanded the emperor's own presence, and he died at York early in the next year (A.D. 211). This war could not have been overlooked or ignored. Meanwhile the Christians suffered severely, as the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas show. The alternative is the period which was roughly coextensive with the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180—192); and I agree with Hilgenfeld (*Ketzergeschichte* p. 565), Keim (*Rom. u. das Christenthum* p. 638 sq.), Volter (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXVII. 1883, p. 27), and Görres (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884, p. 234, 424 sq.), in regarding this as a far more probable solution. After the first year or two of this reign the Christians had almost continuous quiet. The empire also was at peace. There were indeed insignificant conflicts in A.D. 184, and the struggle in Britain afforded the emperor an excuse for assuming the name Britannicus, but it was wholly incomparable in magnitude or duration with the British war of Severus. The Antimontanist treatise therefore with which we are concerned would be written about the close of the reign of Commodus; and this must be somewhere about the date which Eusebius assigns to it, from the place which it occupies in his narrative. In this treatise the writer addresses Avircius Marcellus as a person of authority, and states that Avircius had urged him a very long time ago (ἐκ πλείστου ὅσου καὶ ἱκανωτάτου χρόνου) to write on the subject. The mode of address is quite consistent with his being a bishop, though he is not so styled. Thus Avircius Marcellus would have flourished during the reign of M. Aurelius, and might well have gone to Rome about the time (A.D. 163) mentioned by the legend.

But when was this Life of Abercius written? It assumes the existence of two provinces of Phrygia, the Greater and the Lesser, distinct from Asia; or in other words it presupposes the redistribution of the provinces under Diocletian, until whose time Phrygia had been under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of Asia. Moreover the description of the post roads, as Ramsay has shown, points to a time after Byzantium had become the capital of the world. Lastly; there is a distinct reference to certain unjust doings of the emperor Julian. It must therefore have been written after his death (A.D. 363).

On the other hand there is no allusion to the later names of the two provinces of Phrygia, as Pacatiana and Salutaris respectively. These names however appear first at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. This therefore seems to be the latest probable date. Moreover Phrygia Parva is represented as governed by a *praeses* (ἡγεμών) in the Life, as it was still governed at the date of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, but when Hierocles wrote (before A.D. 535) its governor was a *consularis*.

For these reasons Ramsay in his earlier paper (*The Tale of Saint Abercius* p. 347) placed the date of the Life between A.D. 363 and A.D. 385. But in his later paper (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* p. 425 sq.) he calls attention to the erasure of Παῦλον in the inscription, and suggests that the word was obliterated from hatred of the Paulician heresy about the end of the seventh century. The erasure however was certainly made before the Life was written; and on this ground he abandons the theory of the date propounded in his earlier paper.

But is it so certain that this erasure was a protest against the Paulicians? Might it not be aimed at the Marcionites who exalted S. Paul not less than the Paulicians did, and whom the Life represents Abercius as confounding by his preaching? Or might not the erasure, if intentional, be due to the orthodox zeal of some one who supposed that this companion of Abercius was the heretic Paul of Samosata? It appears to me that there is still much to be said for the latter half of the fourth century

(say about A.D. 380), as the date of the Life. This same period apparently gave birth to the spurious Life of Polycarp, which is equally lavish in the miraculous; and I am disposed provisionally to attribute this biography of Abercius, if not to the same pen, at least to the same school of hagiologers, intent on glorifying the early local saints of these parts. But it has doubtless undergone literary revision at the hands of the Metaphrast, like the Lives of Ignatius, so that the original style has been obliterated. A Life of Abercius, containing the same matter as the Metaphrast's in all essential respects, was in the hands of Clement the Hymnologer in the earlier part of the ninth century (see *Anal. Solesm.* II. p. 180 sq.).

But Ramsay considers the Letter to Euxenianus to belong to an earlier date than the Life in which it is embedded. Euxenianus resides at Hieropolis. He is an official of high rank. Yet he is represented as having assisted the emperor M. Aurelius in the relief of Smyrna after the great earthquake (which really occurred A.D. 180, but which this story places earlier than Abercius' visit to Rome, A.D. 163). Moreover mention is made of his procurator Cæcilius[1]. 'The letter must therefore have been composed at a time when Phrygia and Asia were under the same governor', and consequently before Diocletian's redistribution of the provinces A.D. 297. The writer of the Life has 'rather slurred over the official character of Euxenianus, who must have been proconsul of Asia. He and his procurator Cælius [Cæcilius] are officers of the Roman Empire; the rest of the machinery in the tale belongs to the Byzantine Empire' (*Tale of Abercius* pp. 248, 249). I am not satisfied with this argument. There is no reason at all why a person, usually resident at Hieropolis and enjoying great influence there, should not at one time or other have been proconsul of Asia, whether the biographer did or did not suppose Hieropolis to lie within the limits of proconsular Asia. Moreover the term *magistriani* seems to point to a time subsequent to the re-arrangement of offices under Diocletian and Constantine (see Ducange *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Latin.* s.v., Sophocles *Lexicon* s.v.). At least I have not succeeded in finding any use till considerably later; for Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* c. 149, can hardly be quoting the exact words of Hippolytus. The *magistriani* were officers under the *Magister Officiorum*, who among his other manifold and important duties had the regulation of the public posts. And lastly; the letter is intimately bound up with the main fiction of the Life—the summons to Rome by the emperor M. Aurelius and the miraculous cure of his daughter Lucilla ensuing thereupon; and it is highly improbable that such a fiction should have been put forward within a century of the time when the saint lived, and while paganism was still the religion of the State and of the emperor.

It should be added that, though the writer of the Life is fairly well informed as to the incidents of the reign of M. Aurelius, e.g. the circumstances connected with the Eastern campaign of L. Verus and his marriage with Lucilla, the great earthquake at Smyrna, the disturbances on the Rhenish frontier, etc., yet his chronology is altogether at fault. The blunder which places the earthquake at Smyrna before the campaigns of L. Verus against Vologesus has been already noticed. So again, he antedates the expedition of M. Aurelius against the Germans, making it coincident with the sojourn of L. Verus in the East, though it actually took place some years later. The Cornelianus mentioned in the Life may perhaps be identified with Atidius Cornelianus of whom Capitolinus speaks (*Marcus* 8), or with Sulpicius Cornelianus whose name occurs in Fronto's correspondence (p. 173, Naber) and to whom Phrynichus dedicates

[1] The name is correctly written Caecilius (see *Anal. Solesm.* II. p. 166), not Caelius.

his *Ecloge*. It is unnecessary to refute the argument of Pitra (*Anal. Solesm.* II. pp. 165,177) who, following Baronius, interprets *novi homines* in Capitolinus (*Marcus* 7 'pueros et puellas novorum hominum frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt') of the Christians, and finds in the passage a remarkable confirmation of the story of the dole given to the Hieropolitans (see above, p. 477). By a strange error Pitra represents Casaubon as supporting an interpretation which he distinctly rejects. The expression *novi homines* has a well-known meaning in Latin writers.

This Abercius of Hieropolis was credited with some literary distinction. Baronius had in his hands an epistle to M. Aurelius, purporting to have been written by him, which he obviously considered genuine and which he describes as 'apostolicum redolens spiritum,' promising to publish it in his *Annals* (*Martyr. Rom.* Oct. 22). To his great grief however he afterwards lost it ('doluimus vehementer e manibus nostris elapsam nescio quomodo'), and was therefore unable to fulfil his promise (*Annal.* s.a. 163, n. 15). It may be conjectured that this letter was only another fiction belonging to the Abercius legend, having no more authority than the letter of the emperor to Euxenianus which I have printed above. A *βίβλος διδασκαλίας* also by Abercius is mentioned in the Acts (§ 39); and allusion is made to it in the Hymn of Clemens on Abercius (*Anal. Solesm.* II. p. 185 *βίβλον ἱερὰν διδασκαλίας κατέλιπες πρακτικὴν διδαχὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς καταγγέλλουσαν*). It was not unusual in later times to father a *didascalia* upon any famous bishop of the primitive church, as we see in the cases of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp (see above, p. 338).

The following inscription has been communicated to me by Mr W. M. Ramsay who discovered it in Prymnessos, about 30 miles by road from Hieropolis, but very much less across the mountains;

ΑΒΙΡΚΙΟC . ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ . ΔΙΑΚΩΝ . ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΑ . ΤΟ . ΜΕΜΟΡΙΟΝ .
ΕΑΥΤΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΗ . CΥΜΒΙΩ . ΜΟΥ . ΘΕΥΠΡΕΠΙΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΟΙC . ΤΕΚΝΟΙC.

Beneath the inscription is a figure (presumably the Saviour) with the right hand uplifted, perhaps in the act of benediction, and on either side at a lower level are busts of a man and woman, doubtless Abircius and his wife. The style of the monument belongs in Mr Ramsay's opinion to the early years of the third century. The form *διάκων* (comp. Boeckh *C. I. G.* 9517) is startling at this early date, but may perhaps be explained by the fact that Greek was not the vernacular language of these parts. Unless this is the monument of some relation of the famous Hieropolitan bishop, it may be taken as a testimony to the popularity which he had won for the name in these parts. In the same way we have seen a sub-deacon in Smyrna (see above, p. 421) bearing the name of its famous bishop Polycarp.

To Mr Ramsay also I owe another Christian inscription containing the name Abircius and found likewise in the neighbourhood of Prymnessos;

[Α]ΥΡ . ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟC . ΑΒΙΡΚΙΟΥ . ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΑ . ΤΟ . ΗΡΩΙΟΝ . ΑΙΑΥΤΩ .
[ΚΑ]Ι . ΤΗ . ΜΗΤΡΙ . ΜΟΥ . ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΝΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΟΙC . ΙΔΙΟΙC . ΜΟΥ .
[ΚΑ]Ι . ΤΟΙC . ΑΝΕΨΙΟΙC . ΜΟΥ . ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ . ΟΙ . ΠΑΡΙΟΝΤΕC.

Above the inscription are the Christian symbols Α . Ρ . Ω . As the great Abercius bore the name Marcellus, and as the mother of his namesake in this inscription is called Marcellina, there is a presumption that the two were related.

(γ) *Decree against Superstitious Rites.*

(i) DIGESTA xlviii. 19. 30.

Modestinus primo libro de poenis. Si quis aliquid fecerit quo leves hominum animi superstitionis numine terrentur, divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegari rescripsit.

(ii) PAULUS *Sentent.* v. 21. 2.

Qui novas et usu vel ratione incognitas religiones inducunt, ex quibus animi hominum moveantur, honestiores deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur.

These two notices apparently refer to the same decree. Though not directly aimed at the Christians, it might be used as a serviceable weapon against them. In interpreting the motive of M. Aurelius in this ordinance, we ought not to forget that he allowed himself wide latitude in the matter of rites which others would call superstitious (see above, p. 449 sq.). The date seems to be between A.D. 169—176, when Marcus was sole emperor.

2. *ACTS AND NOTICES OF MARTYRDOMS.*

(i) HADRIAN [A.D. 117—138].

(α) *Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome.*

Iren. iii. 3. 4 **μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον [Ξύστον] Τελεσφόρος ὃς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν.**

This must have happened in the latest years of Hadrian († A.D. 138). Lipsius (*Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe* p. 263) places the death of Telesphorus between A.D. 135—137. In the Liberian Catalogue (*ib.* p. 266) his death is assigned to A.D. 138.

(β) *Symphorosa and her Seven Sons.*

The story is given in the *Passio Symphorosae etc.* (Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 70 sq.). This work is ascribed in the MSS to Julius Africanus the Chronographer (c. A.D. 220). The narrative is as follows:

Hadrian has built his Tiburtine Villa and wishes to inaugurate it with sacrifices. The demons complain that Symphorosa (more correctly Sympherusa) and her sons torment them by their prayers to their God. She is apprehended and brought before the emperor. She refuses to sacrifice to idols and is thrown into the river with a huge stone about her neck, and her body is buried by her brother Eugenius in the suburbs of Tivoli. Her sons follow her example in resisting the emperor's command. They are bound to seven stakes near the Temple of Hercules, and stabbed to death in different parts of the body, the first in the throat, the second in the breast, the

third in the heart, and so forth. Their bodies are then thrown into a deep pit, hence called 'ad septem Biothanatos'. Their burial place is at the 8th milestone on the Tiburtine Way, and their day is xv Kal. Aug. The persecution thus ended, having lasted eighteen months. In the course of the interview with the emperor, Symphorosa mentions her husband Getulius and his brother Amantius as having been put to death by Hadrian.

This document was admitted by Ruinart into his collection of genuine Acts. It is accepted likewise as substantially authentic history by Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 241 sq., p. 595 sq.), though he does not venture to ascribe it to Africanus or suppose that we possess the Acts in their original form. Even Overbeck (*Stud. zur Gesch. der Alten Kirche* p. 139) assigns a relative value to them. On the other hand they have been attacked by Basnage (*Ann. Pol. Eccl.* II. p. 46 sq.) and more recently by Görres (*Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. Theol.* XXI. p. 48 sq., 1878), though for the most part not on the right grounds. One of their main arguments is the supposed anachronism in the formula (§ 4) 'regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo'. This argument however Görres was subsequently obliged to retract (*ib.* XXII. p. 97 sq., 1879), since the formula occurs as early as the Letter of the Smyrnæans on the death of Polycarp (§ 21, see II. p. 984) and in the undoubtedly genuine *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* (see below, p. 508). This point will be discussed below, in the chapter on the Letter of the Smyrnæans. At the same time he supposes that Symphorosa and her seven sons were historical persons, because they are mentioned in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, xv Kal. Aug. (comp. v Kal. Jul.). Aubé (*Les Persecutions* p. 289 sq.) rejects the story altogether. On the other hand it has gained an advocate in Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen* p. 29). A fresh argument in its favour has also been found in the discovery of the basilica (Stevenson *Scoperta della Basilica di Santa Simforosa e dei suoi Sette Figli*, Roma 1878; comp. *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1878, p. 75); and chiefly on the strength of this discovery Doulcet (*Sur les Rapports* etc. p. 95 sq.) accepts these Acts as worthy of credit, though he does not venture to claim them as an original document.

But in fact the story condemns itself both in its framework and in its details.

(i) Its framework is common to several other stories of martyrdom and was not Christian in its origin;

(a) The earliest example is in the Fourth Book of Maccabees (viii. 1 sq.). The tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes orders before him seven Jewish brothers with their aged mother, who was a widow. Threatening them with the most horrible tortures, he commands them to conform to Greek usages and violate the law of Moses. The eldest is taken first. One by one they defy the tyrant, undergo cruel tortures, and are put to death, their mother encouraging them in their defiance. Her own turn comes next. To avoid being apprehended, she throws herself on the pyre and perishes. These martyrdoms, we are told, are the triumphs of godly reason (ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός) over physical pains and affections (Fritzsche *Libr. Apocr. Vet. Test.* p. 366 sq.). This book has been wrongly attributed to Josephus (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 10). It was probably written in the first century before the Christian era (see Grimm *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. zu den Apokr.* IV. p. 291 sq.). The Maccabean story is repeated in Josippon Ben-Gorion iv. 19 (p. 110 sq., Gagnier), where the name Hannah is given to the mother.

(b) It is next found in Rabbinical writings. The sufferers are still Jews, but the persecutor is now Hadrian. Doulcet (p. 96) directs attention to the Talmudic story (*Talm. Babl.* Gittin p. 57 b), but he fails to see that it is a strong argument

against the genuineness of the story of Symphorosa, and even alleges it in favour of this story. Through the kindness of Dr Schiller-Szinessy I am able to add four other passages from Rabbinical writings where the story is told; *Midrash Ekhah Rabbathi* (on Lam. i. 16), *Tanna debe Eliyyahu* (Rabba c. 30), *Yalqut* (pericope *Ki Thabo*); *ib.* on Lam. ii. 15.

In this Rabbinical story the seven sons are brought in order before 'Cæsar'. His name does not appear except in *Tanna*, where it is given as Hadrian; but in *Talmud Babli* Hadrian's name is mentioned in the context, though not in immediate connexion with this story. The widowed mother is called Miriam; but she is represented differently, as the daughter of Nechtom, of Tanchum, and of Menachem, in the different accounts. After her seven sons are put to death, she goes up to the roof, throws herself down, and thus dies.

(c) In the story of Symphorosa we have advanced a step further. The name of Hadrian remains, as in the last version; but the martyrs are no longer Jewish but Christian.

(d) Another Christian modification of the story is the martyrdom of Felicitas and her Seven Sons. Here another step again has been taken. The emperor's name has been changed. The martyrdoms take place no longer under Hadrian, but under 'Antoninus'. This version of the story will be considered hereafter (p. 495).

The story, as given in the Babylonian Talmud, is told on the authority of Rab Jehudah, who flourished in the 3rd century. As Hadrian was a determined foe of the Jews, while he treated the Christians with comparative leniency, it is a safe conclusion that the Jewish story which connects these martyrdoms with his name is prior to the Christian.

(ii) But the legend of Symphorosa is condemned not less by its *details*. The seven different modes of punishment doubtless seemed to the author to give variety and finish to the narrative. But they are extremely improbable in themselves; and we cannot well conceive Hadrian indulging in such grotesque and puerile exhibitions of cruelty. If it were conceivable at all, the incident must have taken place in the last months of his life, when his mind was unhinged.

The recently discovered basilica bears testimony to the belief of a later age, but is wholly inadequate to overcome the inherent improbabilities of the story. It was found where the Acts represent the bodies of the seven sons of Symphorosa to have been laid ('in via Tiburtina milliario ab urbe nono', *al.* 'octavo', VIII for VIIII), and where likewise the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* places their sepulchre. In the *Epitome Libri de Locis Sanctorum Martyrum* (De Rossi *Roma Sotterr.* I. pp. 142, 178), compiled about the time of Pope Honorius (A.D. 625—638), martyrs bearing the same names as these seven sons and their mother are mentioned as buried on the Tiburtine Way; but they are not spoken of as mother and sons, and other martyrs are mixed up with them. In the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* under xv Kal. Aug. we have the notice 'natalis S. Symphorosae, matris septem germanorum quae cum ipsis est passa, quorum nomina haec sunt, Petrus, Marcellianus, Januarius, Dionysius, Simphronius, Clemens, Germanus'—wholly different names from those given in the Acts of Symphorosa. In this same Martyrology however under v Kal. Jul. the same seven names as in the Acts, Crescens, Julianus, etc., appear with others, as suffering 'in Hispania'; but as we have under the same day, though referring to others, the words 'Romae, miliario nono' and 'et septem germanorum', the text is doubtless much confused.

The probable inference from these facts is that the names Crescens, Julianus, etc.,

do represent genuine martyrs, who were buried in the neighbourhood of Symphorosa, but had no other connexion with her; and that their sonship was a later adaptation of the story of the Maccabæan mother and her sons. They were brothers as members of the Christian brotherhood, but in no other sense. If so, there is no sufficient ground for assigning their martyrdom to the reign of Hadrian. The companion story of Felicitas and her seven sons, which I shall have to consider presently, is best explained in the same way.

The Acts of Symphorosa state that the heathen pontiffs, at whose instigation these sons of Symphorosa were martyred, called the place of their execution *Ad Septem Biothanatos*. This word *βιοθάνατος* (or more correctly *βιαιοθάνατος*), which commonly meant 'a suicide', was applied by the heathen to Christians who voluntarily courted martyrdom: see W. Dindorf in Steph. Thes. s. v. *βιαιοθανατέω*, and Ducange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. 'Biothanati'. It seems probable that the place did bear this name, so that the statement is not a pure invention of the writer of these Acts.

(γ) *S. Dionysius the Areopagite.*

The *Martyrologium Vetus Romanum* p. 170 (*Patrol. Lat.* CXXIII.) under v Non. Octob. has the entry; 'Athenis Dionysii Areopagitae sub Adriano diversis tormentis passi, ut Aristides testis est in opere quod de Christiana religione composuit; hoc opus apud Athenienses inter antiquorum memorias clarissimum tenetur'. This notice has been copied by subsequent Latin martyrologists.

A person who enjoyed distinction as an Areopagite as early as A. D. 52, when S. Paul visited Athens, could hardly have been living during the reign of Hadrian (A. D. 118—139). In order to obviate this difficulty Otto (*Corp. Apol. Christ.* IX. p. 345 sq.) supposes that in the authority used by this martyrologist, 'sub Adriano' was a marginal note referring to the time when Aristides' Apology was written. It is hardly probable however that, if Aristides had made this statement respecting Dionysius the Areopagite, it would have been overlooked by Eusebius. At all events Eusebius elsewhere (*H. E.* iii. 4) takes the pains to record a notice which he found in Dionysius of Corinth respecting his namesake the Areopagite. We must therefore suppose that our martyrologist has altogether mistaken his authority. There is another mention of Aristides the Apologist in this same Martyrology (ii Kal. Sept.).

(δ) *Alexander Bishop of Rome and others.*

Linked with this bishop in the honours of martyrdom are his priests Eventius and Theodulus, with their converts Hermes the prefect and Quirinus the tribune. The authority is the *Acts of Alexander* (May 3). These Acts may be safely rejected on several grounds;

(a) They are full of historical mis-statements and anachronisms. Thus Aurelian the persecutor of these martyrs is represented as *comes utriusque militiae* at the time of Trajan's death; the title being thus antedated by some centuries. Hermes is City Prefect at the time, though history says nothing of a person of this name bearing this office. Aurelian's wife, who by the way plays the part of Pilate's wife, warning her husband against shedding the blood of an innocent man, is called Severina (or Severiana). But Severina is the name of the consort of the emperor Aurelian. (b) They teem with miracles and exaggerations of all kinds. Thus S. Alexander converts the

greater part of the senators; Hermes has 1250 slaves who with their wives and families all become Christians; and the like. (c) Irenæus is evidently ignorant that any early bishop of Rome suffered martyrdom but Telesphorus. The worthlessness of these Acts is well shown by Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 590 sq.). They are also assailed by Aubé (*Persecutions* p. 284 sq.). Connected herewith is the reported martyrdom of S. Balbina, the daughter of Quirinus.

The tomb of a martyr Quirinus is mentioned in the 7th century (De Rossi *Rom. Sott.* I. p. 180) in the Cemetery of Prætextatus, where the Acts of Alexander represent our Quirinus to have been buried; and this may possibly be the tomb which has been discovered in recent times (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 78 sq.). But this discovery, which however De Rossi considers very doubtful, would, even if confirmed, be far from establishing the story of the Acts. Again, certain persons bearing the names of Alexander and his companions are commemorated in the Old Roman and Hieronymian Martyrologies under iv Non. Maii (May 3), the same day which the Acts of Alexander assign to them, and in the former he is designated 'Papa'. But in the latter the very form of the entry, 'Romae Eventii, Alexandri, Theoduli, Fortunati', seems to show that the pope was not meant. Here again, as in the case of Symphorosa, there is probably some foundation for the story; but who the martyrs were and when they were martyred, it would be impossible to say. See on this point Tillemont *l. c.* pp. 238, 592. Again the name Hermes occurs as early as the *Liberian Catalogue* under v Kal. Sept., but the same remark applies to this notice also.

(ε) *Other Martyrs.*

Besides the martyrs already mentioned, the following are recorded; (1) Placidus and his wife Trajana, renamed Eustathius and Theopista, with their sons Agapius and Theopistus. The story in the main points is a rechauffé of the Clementine Recognitions with altered names. It is criticized by Tillemont II. p. 226 sq., and Aubé p. 280 sq. (2) Getulius, already mentioned as the husband of Symphorosa, and Amantius his brother, with Cerealis, and Primitivus. Their day is June 10. These Acts are not so extravagant as many, but they have no claim to be regarded as authentic. They betray their late date by occasional indications, e.g. when they style Cerealis the *Vicarius* of Hadrian. Licinius, who is designated *consularis*, is introduced into these Acts, perhaps because his name was found in the rescript of Hadrian to Fundanus (see above, p. 462 sq.). (3) Several martyrs in Italy and Sardinia (see Tillemont II. p. 228 sq.), Terentianus of Todi, Marcianus of Tortona, Secundus of Asti, Calocerus of Albenga, Faustinus and Jovita of Brescia, and several others. (4) S. Serapia the Virgin and S. Sabina her convert. Their Acts are criticized somewhat too leniently by Tillemont (II. p. 597 sq.). They are too full of extravagances and present too many historical difficulties to deserve credit. They are however comparatively old, being quoted by the martyrologists of the ninth century, and the names of the saints appear still earlier in the Old Roman Martyrology (iv Kal. Sept., iii Non. Sept.). On the resting-place of these martyrs see *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1871, p. 90 sq., 1876, p. 71 sq. They may have been historical personages, but there is no sufficient ground for placing their death under Hadrian. (5) Publius bishop of Athens. By an error of Jerome his martyrdom has been assigned to this reign; see below, p. 524 sq. (6) The widow Sophia with her three Virgin daughters, Pistis, Elpis, and Agape, who suffered in Rome. The oil from their tombs is among those sent by Gregory the

Great to Q. Theodolind; but even here their unhistorical character betrays itself by the fact of their being twice mentioned, first as 'S. Sophiae cum tres filias suas' (*sic*), and then as 'S. Spei, S. Sapientiae, S. Fidis (*sic*), S. Caritatis', without any consciousness that they are the same persons, or rather the same impersonations. Their Acts appear in several forms (see Tillemont II. p. 586). In the Greek Menæa (Sept. 17) they are stated to have suffered under Diocletian. Assuredly they did suffer again and again under him, as under other persecutors. De Rossi (*Rom. Sotterr.* II. p. 171 sq.; comp. *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1882, p. 40) has a discussion on the two groups of martyrs bearing these names in Rome; and seems disposed to attach too much credit to these martyrdoms. (7) S. Zoe with her husband S. Hesperus and their two children; Pamphylian saints, who however are stated to have suffered in Rome. Their day is May 2. They are commemorated in the Greek Menæa, but not in the Roman Church, till quite recent times. The Old Roman Martyrology however (iii Non. Jul.) names a Zoe with her husband Nicostratus, who likewise perished at Rome. It is impossible not to suspect some connexion.

This is not quite an exhaustive list; but the few remaining names do not deserve special consideration.

It will be seen from this summary that the direct evidence for a persecution under Hadrian melts away under critical examination. Eusebius knows of no such persecution. He mentions indeed that Quadratus presented his Apology to this emperor, because 'certain wicked men were endeavouring to molest our people' (*H. E.* iv. 3); but the implication is that they were thwarted in their endeavours. At a later point he introduces the rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, and quotes by way of preface the words of Justin in which Hadrian is praised for his uprightness (*H. E.* iv. 8, 9). Even the martyrdom of Telesphorus he places in the first year of Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius (*H. E.* iv. 10). Still farther on (*H. E.* iv. 26) he quotes the passage in Melito, in which this father mentions the favourable attitude of Hadrian towards the Christians as shown in the rescript to Fundanus. So far therefore as the knowledge of Eusebius goes, Hadrian's hands are guiltless of Christian blood.

Jerome however, as will appear presently (p. 525), from a misinterpretation of Eusebius' words, assigns a 'very severe persecution' to this reign, though he acquits the emperor himself of any complicity in it (*Epist.* 70, *Vir. Ill.* 19, quoted below, l. c.). And somewhat later Sulpicius Severus, when he formulates the persecutions and fixes the number at ten, counts the persecution of Hadrian as 'the fourth' (*Chron.* ii. 31, quoted below, p. 525), doubtless misled by Jerome. From that time forward it is accepted as a historical fact; and in the Latin Church numerous martyrdoms are assigned to this reign. When any Church in the West invested its founder or first bishop with the glories of martyrdom, the reign of Hadrian was a convenient receptacle for these real or supposed martyrdoms which were without a date. It has been seen that all the evidence worth considering (inadequate as it is) for any persecutions under Hadrian belongs to the Western Church. Yet even here it must be observed that Tertullian writes as if he were ignorant of any sufferings undergone by the Christians in this reign (*Apol.* 5, quoted below, p. 522).

At the same time it is necessary to repeat the caution which has already been given in treating of the previous reign (p. 17 sq.). Our knowledge of Christian history in the second century is very scanty and fragmentary. A persecution might have raged in one and another quarter of the empire without leaving any record behind.

There is one other important witness whose evidence deserves to be weighed. The Shepherd of Hermas is full of references to persecutions. A living writer has described this book as 'issuing from a bath of blood' (Renan *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 303). It is indeed haunted in large parts by this ghastly spectre of persecution (*Vis.* i. 4, ii. 2, 3, iii. 1, 2, 5, 6, *Mand.* viii. 10, *Sim.* viii. 3, 6, 8, 10, ix. 21, 26, 28). Much stress is laid by Doulcet (p. 92 sq.) on the testimony of this book, which he places about A.D. 136. Its date however is very uncertain. If the statement of the author of the Muratorian Canon be rigorously interpreted[1], it was written during the Roman episcopate of Pius, i.e. A.D. 139 at the earliest, and therefore after Hadrian's death, if Lipsius' chronology of the Roman bishops be correct (p. 263). Moreover when we scan its evidence more closely, we do not find that persecution was actually raging at the time, but only that it had raged in the past, and that it was then again imminent in the expectations of the writer. 'Persecution cometh' (*θλῖψις ἔρχεται*) is the prophetic warning which he utters (*Vis.* ii. 3; comp. *Vis.* iv. 1 *τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐπερχομένης*). Whether his prophecy came true or not, we have no means of saying. It might have been suggested by some occurrence soon after the accession of Antoninus, or by the death of Telesphorus at the close of Hadrian's reign, if not by some earlier event.

The mention of Telesphorus suggests the most probable account of the persecution under Hadrian, if any such persecution there was. The disordered intellect and morbid fears of the emperor at the close of his reign were fatal to some of his most trusted and intimate friends, and this temper might well have broken out in a petulant attack on the Christians. This hypothesis however does not satisfy the statement of Jerome, to whom we have traced the tradition. This father evidently conceives it to have raged in the earlier years of Hadrian, and to have ceased in consequence of the Apologies presented to the emperor on the occasion of his visit to Athens (A.D. 125). Moreover he distinctly exculpates the emperor himself.

(ii) Antoninus Pius [A.D. 138—161].

(α) *Publius Bishop of Athens.*

Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 *ἐλέγχει* [*τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*] *ὡσὰν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀποστάντας τοῦ λόγου, ἐξ οὗπερ τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν Πούπλιον μαρτυρῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διωγμούς· Κοδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πούπλιον καταστάντος αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται.* Eusebius is here speaking of a letter of Dionysius of Corinth to the Athenians. The mistake of Jerome in placing these incidents under Hadrian is corrected below, p. 524 sq., where also reasons are given for assigning them to the reign of his successor.

(β) *Ptolemæus, Lucius, and another.*

The account of these martyrdoms is given by Justin *Apol.* ii. 2, and runs as follows;

A certain woman, converted to Christianity, refused to gratify her husband in his foul desires. Being unable to deter him, she obtained a divorce. In revenge he

[1] 'Pastorem...Hermas conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre ejus'; see *Philippians* p. 169.

accused her of being a Christian. She petitioned the emperor to defer the trial until she had settled some private affairs, and her petition was granted. The husband, thus baffled, turned upon Ptolemæus, who had been her instructor in the faith. He persuaded a centurion who was a friend to put Ptolemæus in chains, and examine him on this single point, whether he was a Christian (*ἀνερωτῆσαι αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον εἰ χριστιανός ἐστι*). Ptolemæus avowed his faith. Accordingly he was detained in prison and ultimately brought up before Urbicus the prefect. The prefect again asked him this same question and this only, whether he was a Christian (*ὁμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξητάσθη, εἰ εἴη χριστιανός*). Again he confessed, and this time he was sentenced to death. As he was led away to execution, another Christian, Lucius, remonstrated with Urbicus for sentencing an innocent man, simply because he called himself a Christian. Lucius in turn was asked whether he was not himself a Christian. He confessed and was sentenced to be executed. This happened likewise with a third. Justin adds that he himself expects to be treated in the same way. It has been shown that Lollius Urbicus was Prefect of the City in the later years of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 155—160; see Aubé *Saint Justin* p. 68 sq., following Borghesi (Cavedoni *Nuovi Cenni Cronologici*, Modena 1858, p. 7 sq.; Borghesi *Œuvres* VIII. p. 545).

This notice is especially valuable, *first* because it shows what might happen at any moment, even when no regular persecution was raging, and *secondly* because it exhibits the form of procedure, showing that there is no divergence from the principle formulated by Trajan, and that the mere confession of Christianity was regarded as a capital offence independently of any alleged crimes charged on the Christians.

(γ) *Polycarp and his Companions.*

These martyrdoms will be shown hereafter to have taken place in all probability in A.D. 155.

Once again criticism obliges us to reverse the verdict of tradition. Hadrian, who is represented as a ruthless assailant of the Christians and to whose reign the fourth general persecution is assigned, has come out from our investigation with comparatively clean hands. On the other hand the reign of Antoninus Pius, which has been regarded as a period of unbroken peace for the Church, is found to be stained with the blood of not a few martyrs, and the instances known are such as to suggest that sufferings of the same kind were by no means infrequent.

It has been pointed out (p. 492) that the gloomy forebodings of a coming persecution in the Shepherd of Hermas may not improbably refer to the commencement of Antoninus' reign; and again in the First Apology of Justin, which was written in the earlier years of this same emperor, martyrdom is more than once spoken of, as a very present danger (i. 2, 4, 11, 24, 25, 39, 45, 57, 68). The mere name of Christian was a sufficient ground for condemnation (i. 4 *τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ἔλεγχον λαμβάνετε*).

(iii) Marcus Aurelius [A.D. 161—180].

(α) *Justin and his Companions* [c. A.D. 163].

The Acts are printed in Otto's Justin Martyr, *Op.* II. p. 266 sq., ed. 3. Their bald simplicity is the best guarantee of their genuineness, of which indeed there can be no reasonable doubt. It seems plain also that the Justin here intended is none other

than the Apologist, from the answer which he gives to the Prefect, 'I strove to learn all philosophies (λόγους), but I threw in my lot with (*συνεθέμην*) the true philosophy of the Christians (*τοῖς ἀληθέσι λόγοις τοῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν*)'. The date is ascertainable within narrow limits. Q. Junius Rusticus, the City Prefect by whom he is tried, seems to have entered upon this office A. D. 163 (Aubé *Saint Justin* p. 74, after Borghesi *Œuvres* VIII. p. 549, IX. p. 307). The only objection to this view is the fact that in his *Second Apology* (§ 3), which was written some years earlier, Justin expresses his apprehension lest Crescens might compass his destruction, and that Justin's pupil Tatian (*ad Graec.* 19) likewise refers to these plots of Crescens. There is nothing however in the language either of Justin or of Tatian, which shows that the apprehensions were immediately justified by the event. Indeed the opposite might plausibly be inferred from the fact that Tatian speaks of Crescens as plotting against himself as well as against Justin. If the one escaped, why not the other?

The names of Justin's companions who suffered with him are Chariton, Charito, Euelpistus, Hierax, Pæon, and Liberianus. They are all interrogated one after the other, confess themselves Christians, and are ordered off to execution. The interrogations are brief and direct, and there is no exaggeration of language or extravagance of incident. At the same time they are perfectly natural and lifelike.

(β) *Thraseas, Sagaris, and others* [c. A.D. 165].

The authorities are Polycrates of Ephesus in Eus. *H. E.* v. 24 *ἔτι δὲ καὶ* Πολύκαρπος *ὁ ἐν* Σμύρνῃ *καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς, καὶ* Θρασέας *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ* Εὐμενείας, *ὃς ἐν* Σμύρνῃ *κεκοίμηται· τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν* Σάγαριν *ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃς ἐν* Λαοδικείᾳ *κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ* Παπίριον *τὸν μακάριον, καὶ* Μελίτωνα *τὸν εὐνοῦχον κ.τ.λ.*, Melito in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26 *ἐπὶ* Σερουιλλίου Παύλου *ἀνθυπάτου, ᾧ* Σάγαρις *καιρῷ ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἐγένετο ζήτησις πολλὴ ἐν* Λαοδικείᾳ *περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.* Thraseas was likewise mentioned by Apollonius, Eus. *H. E.* v. 18 *καὶ* Θρασέα *δέ τινος τῶν τότε μαρτύρων μνημονεύει.* His name appears also in *Vit. Polyc.* 20 *μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν τοῦ σώματος* Θρασέου *τοῦ μάρτυρος*: and in Wright's *Syriac Martyrology* p. 10 under Oct. 27 we read, 'In the city of Eumeneia in Phrygia, Thraseas, Polycarpus, Gaius, and eight others'.

Waddington (*Fastes Asiatiques* p. 228), following Borghesi (*Œuvres* VIII. p. 504, comp. IX. p. 310), places the proconsulate of Paullus, whose *nomen* here should be written Sergius instead of Servillius, within the years A.D. 164—166. In the years A.D. 164 and A.D. 167 the Paschal full moon fell on a Sunday, and this may be what Melito means by *ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρόν* (see Salmon in Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* III. p. 896 s. v. Melito). The later date however would seem to be almost too late for the *cursus honorum* of Sergius Paullus, so that, if our interpretation of Melito's words be correct, we should probably adopt A.D. 164. At all events this date cannot be very far wrong. But the order—Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris—seems to be chronological; and if so, the martyrdom of Thraseas must be placed some time between A.D. 155 and A.D. 164. Like Polycarp, he suffered at Smyrna; and, if it was at a recurrence of the same quinquennial festival, the year must have been A.D. 159 or 163. But where so many 'ifs' are involved in the process, though no one may be improbable in itself, the final result must be precarious. It may be a question whether Papirius and Melito are here included among the martyrs. Papirius is the bishop of Smyrna next in succession to Polycarp (see above, p. 448).

These sporadic martyrdoms, of which the notices have been accidentally preserved, are valuable as showing the dangerous position of the Christians throughout the reign of M. Aurelius.

(γ) *Felicitas and her Seven Sons* [A.D. 162?].

This document may be conveniently read in Ruinart *Acta Martyrum Sincera* p. 72 sq. (Ratisb. 1859), or in Doulcet *Rapports de l'Église Chrétienne* etc., p. 190 sq.; see also the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, Julius, III. p. 12. Doulcet has given a list of the Paris MSS containing it, and has printed it from 'the most correct and most ancient' of these. A much longer recension of these Acts is likewise given in the Bollandist *Act. Sanct.* l.c. p. 14 sq.; but this is obviously enlarged from the shorter form at a later date and may be dismissed from our consideration.

The pontiffs make a representation to the emperor Antoninus that the gods will not be appeased so long as the widow Felicitas and her sons insult them. Antoninus therefore orders Publius the City Prefect to compel them to sacrifice. The prefect obeys; but neither by blandishments nor by menaces can they be induced to yield. The mother encourages her sons, one at least being a very young child, in their resistance. The names of the sons are Januarius, Felix, Philippus, Silanus, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis. Publius sends his report to the emperor who delivers the prisoners to different judges that they may be put to death by different modes of punishment (misit per varios judices, ut variis suppliciis laniarentur). Accordingly the first is beaten to death with leaded thongs; the second and third with clubs; the fourth is thrown down a precipice; the fifth, sixth, and seventh, suffer capital punishment; the mother herself likewise is beheaded.

Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 324 sq.) touches lightly on these Acts; but they have been the subject of fuller discussion in Borghesi *Œuvres* VIII. p. 545 sq. (reprinted from Cavedoni *Nuovi Cenni Cronologici* p. 7 sq.), Aubé *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1875, p. 125 sq. (reprinted in *Histoire des Persécutions* p. 439 sq.), Doulcet *Rapports de l'Église Chrétienne* p. 187 sq.; besides several papers of De Rossi in the *Bulletini di Archeologia Cristiana*.

It is a general opinion that the document was originally written in Greek. So Tillemont, Borghesi, and Doulcet. This opinion is founded on such expressions as *regi Antonino*, a rendering of the Greek βασιλεῖ, for 'rex' is not used of the Roman emperor till much later; *seditio pontificum*, where 'seditio' is a mistranslation of σύστασις 'a conference'; and the like.

The authenticity of these Acts has been maintained by De Rossi, Borghesi, Doulcet, and others, but attacked by Aubé. Renan (*Marc-Aurèle* p. 58) accepts Aubé's view. Tillemont writes of them cautiously that they 'have not all the characteristics of genuine Acts'. This is a too lenient judgment. Their internal characteristics seem fatal to their authenticity. Like the legend of Symphorosa and her seven sons, which I have considered already (p. 486 sq.), this is only one of several reproductions of the story of the Maccabæan mother. Moreover its fabulous character is shown by the incidents themselves. The conduct of the pontiffs is hardly explicable; the part ascribed to the emperor is still less credible. I am very far from saying that under Antoninus Pius or M. Aurelius—more especially under the latter—the execution of eight Christians in Rome itself, and by the emperor's own orders, is an incident beyond the range of possibility or even of probability. The fate of Justin and his companions, who were put to death in Rome itself by the City Prefect, the intimate and

trusted friend of M. Aurelius, under his very eyes, and the martyrdoms of Vienne and Lyons, for which M. Aurelius made himself directly responsible (see below, p. 499 sq.), show how little the Christians could hope from the tender mercies of this otherwise humane and philosophic emperor. But the procedure, which refers them to other judges after they have been tried and have confessed their guilt before the City Prefect, is unintelligible; and the childishness which adopts this course, that different judges may inflict different punishments, condemns itself by its absurdity.

Is there then no foundation of truth in this story? The answer to this question must be sought in the early records and monuments, which are independent of the Acts. In the Bucherian Calendar, which in its present form belongs to the age of Liberius (A.D. 354), but was compiled some twenty years earlier, among the depositions of the saints under 'vi Id. Jul.' we have the entry; 'Felicis et Philippi in Priscillae; et in Jordanorum, Martialis, Vitalis, Alexandri; et in Maximi, Silani (hunc Silanum martyrem Novati furati sunt); et in Pretextati, Januarii' (Ruinart p. 632). This 10th of July is accordingly designated 'the day of the Martyrs' elsewhere in an early sepulchral inscription, in which we read VII . IDVS . JVL . DP . POSTERA . DIE . MARTYRORVM (Corsini *Append. ad Notas Graecorum* p. 12; comp. *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1874, p. 149). Of the four cemeteries named in the Bucherian list the first three were on the Salarian, the fourth on the Appian way. On the Cemetery of Priscilla see De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1880 p. 5 sq.; and on the memorial of Felix and Philippus erected there comp. especially pp. 5 sq., 25, 43 sq., 47 sq. The epitaph on these two persons ascribed to Damasus has been preserved (see p. 44). It speaks of them as martyrs, but says nothing of their being brothers or sons of Felicitas. The Cemetery of the Jordani, in which Martialis, Vitalis, and Alexander were laid, was ravaged by the Goths A.D. 537, when the inscription placed in their honour by Damasus was destroyed (see Doulcet p. 206). But it is related of Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498—514) that he renovated this cemetery 'propter corpus sancti Alexandri'; and a fragment of an inscription has been restored so as to refer to this event, [REDDIT . ALEXAND]RO . SEPTEM . DE . [FRATRIBVS . VNI] (see *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1873, pp. 17, 46). If this restoration be correct, the story of the seven brothers had already taken shape, but it cannot command entire confidence, where so much is conjecture. The Seven Virgins likewise were buried in this cemetery, and the reference may be to these. On the Cemetery of Maximus, where the bones of Silanus lay, until according to the story they were removed by the Novatians, see *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1863, p. 41 sq. In this cemetery was buried also the body of S. Felicitas. Of Pope Boniface who was residing here at the time of his election (A.D. 418, Dec. 29), it is stated in the Liber Pontificalis, that he 'fecit oratorium in coemeterio sanctae Felicitatis juxta corpus et ornavit sepulchrum sanctae martyris Felicitatis et S. Livanii (Silvani?)'; and on this building was an inscription containing the verse

Insontes pueros sequitur [parens] per amoena vireta.

Pope Damasus also wrote an inscription for her tomb, in which was the line

Femina non timuit gladium, cum natis obivit.

Hitherto we have not found the actual tombs of any of these martyrs; but the case is different with Januarius the remaining one of the seven. For a description of the Cemetery of Praetextatus on the Appian way, see *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1863, p. 1 sq., 1872, p. 45 sq. Here the tomb of Januarius was found in 1858 with the inscription by Damasus BEAT[ISSIMO . MARTYRI] . JAN[VARIO . DA]MASVS . E[PISCOP] . FE-

[CIT]. The architecture of the chamber in which it is placed is confidently assigned by De Rossi to the age of the Antonines.

A basilica of S. Felicitas was likewise discovered in the year 1812 near the Baths of Titus; and on one of the walls were inscribed words which might be read Ἀλεξανδροῦ ποτε δόμος ὅδε (Piale in Guattani's *Memorie Enciclopediche sulle Antichità etc. di Roma*, 1816, p. 153 sq.). It is conjectured that Alexander was the husband of Felicitas (the legend gives her a son Alexander, still an infant, when he was martyred), and that as a widow she occupied the house after his death (Doulcet p. 210; comp. De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1869, p. 45, 1876, p. 47). In this building Gregory the Great delivered his extant homily (*In Evang. Hom.* i. 3, *Op.* v. p. 151 sq., Venet. 1769) in honour of S. Felicitas. It is described as 'habita ad populum in basilica sanctae Felicitatis martyris in die natali ejus', and in the course of the homily Gregory says, 'Adest beata Felicitas cujus hodie natalitia celebramus...septem quippe filios, sicut *in gestis ejus emendatioribus* legitur, sic post se timuit vivos in carne relinquere, etc.' It is supposed that these 'gesta emendatiora' are the Acts of which we are speaking, and that Gregory contrasts them with the longer form which (as I have mentioned) is printed in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*.

But this seems to me very questionable. This same Gregory, sending as reliques to the Lombard Queen Theodolind oil from the tombs of the martyrs at Rome, accompanies them with a list (Ruinart p. 634, De Rossi *Rom. Sotterr.* i. p. 176). In one part of the list we have 'Sanctae Felicitatis cum septem filios suos' (*sic*); and much lower down at intervals, separated from each other, the names of the July Martyrs in three groups; (1) 'Sancti Vitalis, Sancti Alexandri, Sancti Martialis', (2) 'Sancti Felicis, Sancti Philippi et aliorum multorum sanctorum', (3) 'Sancti Januari', in accordance with the grouping of the Liberian catalogue (see above, p. 496); Silanus not being mentioned, doubtless because his body had disappeared and was supposed to have been stolen away by the Novatians. Thus Gregory not only betrays no knowledge that the July Martyrs are sons of Felicitas, but treats them as separate persons. Moreover the 'birth-day' of S. Felicitas is uniformly placed on Nov. 23, and the birth-days of the Seven Martyrs named as above on July 10; whereas the extant Acts evidently represent the mother as suffering at the same time with her sons[1]. On the other hand the form of entry in the *Old Roman Martyrology* seems to point to the later legend which makes these martyrs sons of Felicitas. On vi Id. Jul. [July 10] we read 'Romae, Septem fratrum', and on ix Kal. Dec. [Nov. 23] 'Felicitatis, matris vii filiorum'. The *Hieronymian Martyrology* has on the former day 'natalis sanctorum septem germanorum, id est Felicis, Philippi, Vitalis, Martialis, Alexandri, Silani, Januarii', and on the latter 'Felicitatis'.

Doulcet in an interesting essay (p. 187 sq.) has gathered together the particulars which I have given respecting the monuments, for the purpose of establishing the authenticity of the statements in the Acts. To myself they seem to fall far short of proving this. They do indeed appear to show that the July Martyrs were real

[1] 'Et matrem eorum capite truncari jussit' (Doulcet, p. 192 sq.), where it may be a question whether the subject is 'Antoninus', or the last-mentioned judge who condemned three of the brothers. For 'et' Ruinart reads 'alius', i.e. 'judex'. Some MSS have 'et paullo post ab alio jussa est decollari', which is evidently an emendation to reconcile the narrative with the fact of the mother being commemorated more than four months later than the sons.

persons, but they indicate that in the earlier forms of the story they were not represented as sons of Felicitas, or even as brothers one of another. The separation into four groups in the Liberian list, and the four different places of sepulture, suggest that they had no other connexion with one another, except the day of their martyrdom, and the link of Christian brotherhood. They may not even have suffered in the same year. An easy explanation offers itself of the independent martyrdom of so many persons on the same day of the same month. This day, vi Id. Jul., was the accession of Antoninus Pius. As such, it would naturally be the day on which M. Aurelius was associated in the honours of the imperial dignity. Thus during the reign of the former certainly, and during that of the latter very probably, it would be kept as a day of festivity (see Fronto *Epist.* p. 167, Naber). But these imperial anniversaries were especially fatal to the Christians. There was a double reason for this. On the one hand the festivity demanded victims for the arena, and thus whetted the appetite of the people for the blood of the 'atheists'. On the other the occasion suggested a test—the worship of the 'genius' of the emperor—with which a Christian could not conscientiously comply, and thus it supplied the victims which the festival required. It seems not improbable also (though here the evidence is more scanty) that Felicitas likewise was a real person, and she may even have had a son or sons who were martyred. But the legend, as we have it, has fitted her martyrdom into a framework adopted from the Maccabæan story; while names for her sons—thus made seven in number—have been borrowed from the July Martyrs. How this conjunction was effected, it would be impossible to say. Perhaps it was suggested by the fact that one of these martyrs, Silanus, was laid in the same cemetery with Felicitas herself. Nor again is it easy to say what was the original nucleus, and what are the later accretions, in the existing Acts of Felicitas, as published by Ruinart. Reasons have been given above (p. 497) for suspecting that the *gesta emendatiora*, known to Gregory the Great, did not contain the names of the July Martyrs; but, if this suspicion be correct, we are still unable to say what relation they bore to the existing Acts.

It still remains to enquire at what date these martyrs may have suffered. And here we first interrogate the Acts. But their evidence on this point has been differently interpreted. Ruinart assigns the martyrdoms to the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 150; De Rossi, Borghesi, Doulcet, and others, to the joint sovereignty of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, A.D. 162; Aubé, to that of Severus and Caracalla, A.D. 198—203.

The reigning and acting sovereign is mentioned in various ways; 'Antonini Imperatoris', 'Antonino Augusto', 'Imperator Antoninus', 'Dominus noster Imperator Antoninus', 'Imperatori', 'Antoninus'. But elsewhere a plural is used; 'Dominorum nostrorum jussa', 'amicus Augustorum', 'Augustorum instituta'. These last expressions imply a divided sovereignty; for, though we might perhaps explain 'Augustorum instituta' of the decrees of successive sovereigns, 'amicus Augustorum' resists this interpretation. The reign of Antoninus Pius therefore is eliminated; and we have only to consider the other two alternatives.

The objection to the latter of the two, the joint rule of Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla), is the prominence given to Caracalla, then a boy from 10 to 15 years old[1]. Nor indeed is it easy to find a time when he would be in Rome and alone within the possible limits of date. Severus was in the East nearly the whole time, and

[1] He was born April 4, A. D. 188; see Höfner *Septimius Severus* p. 44.

Caracalla apparently was with him. They returned to Rome together A.D. 202 (Herodian. iii. 10. 1). The Acts therefore point to the divided sovereignty of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. The name of the City Prefect is given as Publius; and Borghesi seems to have established the fact that Publius Salvius Julianus was prefect in A.D. 161, 162 (*Œuvres* VIII. p. 548 sq., IX. p. 302 sq.), being succeeded in the office by Rusticus not before A.D. 163[1].

This date is further confirmed by other considerations lying outside the Acts themselves. (α) The great inundation of the Tiber, followed by a terrible famine, as recorded by Capitolinus (*Marcus* 8), has been shown to have occurred in A.D. 162; see Borghesi l. c. p. 549. This would furnish the occasion when the pontiffs declared 'deos nostros sic irasci ut penitus placari non possint'. (β) We have seen that De Rossi confidently ascribes the burial chamber of Januarius to the age of the Antonines. This is disputed by Aubé, p. 453 sq. Judging from analogous cases, I should have thought it somewhat difficult to assert with confidence that the architecture and decorations of a building must fix its date about A.D. 160, and would not allow of its having been built forty years later. But it is presumptuous in any one who has not made a special study of the subject to challenge a verdict which is founded on patient investigation and long experience. (γ) Lastly: the day of the martyrdom of the seven sons (this does not apply to Felicitas herself)—the 10th of July—is a strong point in favour of the earlier date. This day, as we have seen (p. 498), was a festival under Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius, and therefore a likely time for martyrdoms under these emperors; but no such coincidence can be found for the reign of Severus.

(δ) *The Gallican Martyrs* [A.D. 177].

The history of the persecutions at Vienne and Lyons is recorded in a contemporary letter from these churches to 'the brethren in Asia and Phrygia'. The document itself indeed has been lost, but very large parts of it are preserved by Eusebius *H.E.* v. 1, 2. In fact so far as regards the actual persecution, Eusebius has probably not passed over anything of very material importance. The date is fixed definitely to the 17th year of M. Antoninus, A.D. 177 (*H.E.* v. procem.).

The persecution was wholesale, so that it was not safe for any Christian to appear out of doors (§ 5). No difference of age or sex was made. The nonagenarian Pothinus, the slave girl Blandina, the young lad Ponticus, all were remorselessly slaughtered. The prisoners were put to the most cruel tortures. All the elements of power combined to crush the brethren. The multitude was infuriated against them (§ 7 *ἠγριωμένῳ πλήθει ὡς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι*: comp. *ib. τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου πανδημεὶ σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα*). Even their very kinsmen and connexions turned upon them like wild beasts, exasperated by the foul libels disseminated against them (§ 15). The governor of the province made a public proclamation that all the Christians should be sought out (§ 14 *δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς*). Lastly, the emperor himself was consulted concerning some of the prisoners, and his

[1] The name Publius however, assigned to the Prefect, is equally consistent with the later date assigned by Aubé to the martyrdom. Publius Cornelius Anullinus was City Prefect (*C. I. L.* II. 2073), and he must have held the office about A.D. 200 (Doulcet p. 199; comp. Aubé pp. 457, 464, Borghesi *Œuvres* IX. p. 333).

sentence was awaited (§ 44). He replied that those who denied their Christianity should be let off, and the others put to death. The principle of Trajan's rescript was acted upon, so far as regards the grounds of condemnation. 'Nomen ipsum', the mere profession of Christianity, was sufficient to condemn the accused. On the other hand the governor departed from the directions of this rescript in hunting out the Christians. Altogether it was the most bloody persecution on record up to this date, except perhaps the Neronian; and for it Marcus Aurelius is directly and personally responsible.

Eusebius prefaces his extracts from the Letters of the Gallican Churches by saying that we may conjecture from this one example how the persecution raged in various parts (*κατά τινα μέρη*) of the earth; and again at the close he adds that we may fairly infer from this account what would probably happen in the other provinces (*ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπαρχίαις*). The reasonableness of this suspicion can hardly be denied.

Gregory of Tours (*Glor. Mart.* 49) states the number of the martyrs to have been 48, but his existing text gives the names of only 45. Perhaps three have fallen out in the course of transcription. He would find a list in the Letter to Eleutherus mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 4). As his threefold division of the martyrs corresponds with Eusebius' account, it is clear that he derived his information from this source. Of the names mentioned in the extracts of the Gallican Letter preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 1), Attalus is wanting in Gregory. For Gregory's account of these same martyrdoms in his *Hist. Franc.* i. 26, see below, p. 551.

Connected with this general onslaught and consequent upon it, are certain sporadic martyrdoms in Gaul, the later gleanings of the persecution; but they are not recorded on any trustworthy authority. Such is the story of Benignus and his converts. Of these I have spoken already (p. 431). Such likewise are the sufferings of Epipodius and Alexander at Pierre Encise a suburb of Lyons, and again of Symphorianus at Autun. Their Acts are included by Ruinart in his collection (p. 119 sq.); but they condemn themselves by their internal character. Such again are some martyrdoms, in addition to these, recorded in the pages of Gregory of Tours; but a place in his narrative is no guarantee of historic truth. It is much to be regretted that Eusebius did not give all the documents connected with the persecution at Vienne and Lyons complete. We should then possibly have found some attachment to authentic history in some of these stories. Without this aid, it would be only lost labour to attempt to extricate the historic facts which underlie the legends. Some of these martyrdoms are dealt with by Tillemont *Mémoires* III. p. 30 sq.

(ε) *Cæcilia and her Companions* [A.D. 177—180?].

Cæcilia was a lady of illustrious birth, who had been brought up from her cradle as a Christian. She was betrothed to a young man, a heathen named Valerian, but had dedicated her virginity to God. On the day when the marriage was to have been consummated, she persuaded him to seek the counsels of Pope Urban. He did so, and was converted and baptized. Valerian had a brother Tiburtius, still a heathen. He was overcome by the discourses of Valerian and Cæcilia; and after catechetical instruction from Urban, he followed his brother's example. A persecution was raging at this time. Turcius Almachius, the Prefect of the City, was slaughtering the saints daily, and had ordered their bodies to remain without burial. Tiburtius and Valerian disobeyed these orders and devoted themselves to the pious work of burying the dead.

Summoned before the prefect, they confessed their Christianity and were ordered away to execution. They were led away by Maximus the chamberlain ('cubicularius') of the prefect to the place called 'Pagus', situated at the fourth milestone from the city. There they were slain by the sword. But meanwhile Maximus himself had been so impressed by their demeanour and conversation, that he was baptized—he and his family; and many others were converted by his instrumentality. For this Almachius sentenced him to be beaten to death with leaded thongs. His body was laid by Cæcilia in the same tomb with those of her husband and brother-in-law. After this she herself was brought before the prefect. Having boldly avowed her religion and rebuked the prefect, she was by his order confined in her bath which was heated intensely for the purpose of scorching her to death. A day and a night she remained there, suffering no inconvenience. Then the prefect sent an executioner to behead her. Striking three blows and failing to sever the head, the executioner left her, while the Christians whom she had converted stanched the wounds with linen cloths. For three days she survived, during which time she left her house to his 'holiness' Pope Urban to be a church for ever. Then she delivered up her soul to God. The day of her departure was the 22nd of November. Her body was taken up by Urban, who buried it 'among other bishops his colleagues, where all the confessors and martyrs are deposited'. According to her injunctions her house was converted into a church.

Such is the skeleton of the story of S. Cæcilia, divested of the miracle and romance. It is contained in her Acts, of which an account will be found in De Rossi *Roma Sotterr.* II. p. xxxii. sq., and in Aubé *Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire Romain* (A.D. 180—249) 1881, p. 352 sq. They may be conveniently read in Surius under Nov. 22. His text is a re-translation from the Metaphrast, who had translated them from the original Latin into Greek. For the Greek see *S. Caeciliae Virginis et Martyris Acta etc.* a J. Laderchio I. p. 229 sq. (Romae 1722). The various Acts are given in this volume as edited by Bosio.

These Acts are plainly not authentic. To say nothing of their general character, they abound in the supernatural, while they betray themselves by their anachronisms and inconsistencies. Thus Cæcilia is stated to have been martyred under Pope Urban (A.D. 222—230), and a violent persecution was raging at the time—so violent that the Christians are hunted out of their hiding-places and decent burial is denied to the slain. But this period falls within the reign of Alexander Severus, when the Christians were not only unmolested, but even regarded with favour. Moreover the Acts speak of more than one emperor, 'Domini nostri invictissimi principes', 'ab invictissimis principibus', 'imperatores'; but there was no divided rule during this period. Again the names of the prefect, Turcius Almachius (Τούρκιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλμάκιος), are suspicious, and savour of a later date.

The Acts of Pope Urban are a sequel to those of S. Cæcilia, written perhaps much later, but certainly founded on them. The same prefect Turcius Almachius appears in them, and the dimensions of the persecution are still further magnified. Altogether these Acts only increase the difficulty, without throwing any light on the facts underlying the fiction. The different recensions of these Acts will be found in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* May 25. The least extravagant form of them is there accepted as genuine, and attributed to the notaries of the Roman Church under Anteros the successor of Urban in the papal chair. Their spurious character is laid bare by Tillemont *Mémoires* III. p. 686 sq., and by Aubé *Les Chrétiens* etc. p. 381 sq.; comp. also Lipsius *Chronol. der Röm. Bisch.* p. 179 sq.

If therefore we had possessed only the Acts, we might have rejected the whole story of Cæcilia as pure fiction without any basis of historical truth. Indeed, the narrative would, if true, have had no interest for my present investigation, inasmuch as the martyrdom is placed by these Acts outside the limits of time with which I am concerned. But we are compelled by certain historical incidents, relating to the real or supposed remains of Cæcilia, to reconsider the matter.

In the year 817 Pope Paschal I. removed to the different churches within the city the reliques of 2300 martyrs buried in the extra-mural catacombs—among them those lying in the Papal crypt in the Cemetery of S. Callistus. Desiring to translate the remains of S. Cæcilia with the rest, he could nowhere find them. He therefore accepted the common rumour that they had been carried off by the Lombards under Aistulph (A.D. 755). Four years later however the saint herself appeared to him in a vision, and told him that he had been so close to her that they 'could have conversed together' ('ut proprio loqui invicem ore valeremus'). Acting upon this hint he renewed the search and, as he tells us in the diploma issued on the occasion (Labb. *Conc.* IX. p. 593, ed. Coleti, Mans. *Conc.* XIV. p. 374), 'Ipsius venerabilis virginis corpus...in Coemeterio Sancti Xysti sito foris portam Appiam, *sicut in sacratissima illius passione manifeste narratur*, inter collegas episcopos, in aureis indumentis cum venerabili sponso[1] reperimus, ubi etiam linteamina, cum quibus sacratissimus sanguis ejus abstersus est de plagis quas spiculator [speculator] trina percussione crudeliter ingesserat, ad pedes beatissimae virginis in unum revoluta plenaque cruore invenimus' (see De Rossi *Rom. Sotterr.* II. p. 133). Compare Laderchi *S. Caec. Virg. et Mart. Act.* I. p. 200, where this Diploma is annotated by Bosio. The same account is given also by the writer who continued the *Liber Pontificalis* from A.D. 757—858, and who therefore was contemporary or almost contemporary with the discovery; but the similarity of language shows that he had the account of Paschal himself before him, and does not write independently. For 'Sancti Xysti' however the *Liber Pontificalis* substitutes 'Praetextati'—an error which is explained by the circumstances mentioned below in the note. The burial place named by Pope Paschal is the Crypt of S. Xystus (or Sixtus) in the Cemetery of S. Callistus, 'in Coemeterio S. Callisti ad S. Xystum'. It was the common burial place of the popes in the third century and the earlier years of the fourth, the principal personage being Xystus II, the martyr in the persecution under Valerian (A.D. 258). Sometimes however instead of 'ad S. Xystum' it was called 'ad S. Caeciliam', from the other famous martyr who lay in this locality. From this its original resting-place the body of S. Cæcilia was translated with all honour to the basilica which bears her name in the Trastevere. At the

[1] The 'venerabilis sponsus' here mentioned is doubtless Valerian; but Valerian, Tiburtius, and Maximus, were buried not in the Cemetery of S. Callistus, but in that of Prætextatus, on the other side of the Appian way. Unless therefore the words 'cum venerabili sponso' are a later insertion in the diploma, being taken from the *Liber Pontificalis*, there must have been before Paschal's time a translation of Valerian's remains from their original resting-place to this crypt of S. Xystus. Other independent reasons exist for supposing that such a translation took place (De Rossi *Rom. Sotterr.* II. p. 134 sq.). This hypothesis will explain the error of the *Liber Pontificalis* which places the body of S. Cæcilia herself in the Cemetery of Prætextatus. Some copies of Paschal's letter combine the two, and write 'S. Sixti seu Praetextati'.

same time Paschal removed to the same place the bones of Valerian, Tiburtius, and Maximus, and those of Urban and Lucius the 'pontiffs'.

In the year 1599 Sfondrati Cardinal of S. Cæcilia, at that time engaged in restoring the Church, opened the graves beneath and behind the high altar, and discovered the sarcophagus as deposited there by Pope Paschal. Within the sarcophagus, enclosed in a coffin of cypress wood, was the body of a young woman lying on the right side, her knees slightly drawn and her face turned towards the ground. Her dress, inwoven with gold thread, was stained with blood. At her feet were the linen cloths saturated with blood, as described by Paschal. The modern statue by Maderna is intended to represent the attitude of the body as it was found. The body was seen among many others, including Pope Clement himself, by Baronius (*Annal.* ann. 821, §§ xv, xvi) and by Bosio (*Historia Passionis S. Caeciliae*, Romae 1600), both of whom have left descriptions. At the same time the remains—or what seemed to be such—of the other bodies deposited there by Paschal were found.

There seems no reason therefore for questioning the identity of the body discovered at the close of the sixteenth century with the body removed from the Cemetery of S. Xystus by Paschal and deposited there as that of S. Cæcilia nearly eight centuries before. But can we trace it farther back than this?

The recent discoveries of De Rossi in the immediate proximity to the Crypt of S. Xystus (*Rom. Sotterr.* II. p. 113 sq.) enable us to give a partial answer to this question. Leading out of the papal crypt, he found another chamber, to which the passage had been blocked up. It contained a large niche which was empty. Above this was a picture of a female saint, dressed in rich robes betokening noble birth. At her foot were written the names of several priests and of a 'scriniarius'. Below this picture is another of a bishop, bearing the name S. VRBANVS. By its side are some letters which De Rossi fills in with great probability [DE]CORI . [CA]EC . [M]AR., i.e. 'decori Caeciliae Martyris'. In this same chamber were found also the fragments of an epitaph which, by supplying the missing letters, gives the name ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΣ . ΠΡΑΙ[ΤΕΞΣΤ]ΑΤΟΣ . ΚΑΙΚ[ΙΛΙΑΝΟΣ]. This inscription he judges from the style to belong to the beginning or middle of the third century. In the same chamber also he found another inscription [OCTA]VIVS . CAECILIANVS . V. C. [IN . PA]CE . DEPOSIT . (where V. C. stands for 'Vir Clarissimus'), with the monogram ☧. Moreover in other parts of the Cemetery of Callistus—more especially in the Crypt of Lucina—were found other memorials of Christian Cæcilii and Cæciliani from the end of the second century onward; and above ground in this very region were columbaria and other sepulchral monuments of the heathen Cæcilii from the time of Augustus (*Rom. Sotterr.* I. p. 310 sq., II. p. 137 sq., p. 361 sq.).

There can be very little doubt therefore that we have discovered the place from which Paschal removed the body—or what he supposed to be the body—of S. Cæcilia in the 9th century. Indeed De Rossi, drawing his inference from the names themselves and from the character of the writing, believes that the priests and the scriniarius, whose names appear at the foot of the saint, are the persons who witnessed the discovery and removal of her remains on this occasion. This is evidently the locality intended in the Acts, where Pope Urban is stated to have buried Cæcilia 'inter alios collegas suos episcopos, ubi sunt omnes confessores et martyres depositi' (§ 26).

But if so, what inferences may we draw from the tomb and its surroundings? The answer given by De Rossi is as follows; that Cæcilia was, as she is represented in her Acts, a lady of noble birth; that the land here belonged to her gens; that some

members of the family were converted to Christianity in the second century, so that Cæcilia was a Christian from her cradle, as the Acts state; that these Christian Cæcilii made over the subterranean vaults for the purposes of Christian burial, and consequently they themselves were laid here; that this was the origin of the Cemetery of S. Callistus, or at least of parts of it; that, inasmuch as we find a member of the family bearing the name Prætextatus, we not improbably have here an explanation of the name of a neighbouring Cemetery, *Coemeterium Pretextati* (comp. *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1872, p. 47 sq.), and of the circumstance that her husband is said to have been buried in this Cemetery; that the main outlines of the story are true; that they were preserved by tradition in the family; and that some member of it dressed up the tradition with the usual exaggerations, embellishments, and distortions, not before the end of the fourth century, in the form which is presented in the extant Acts.

This is a mere outline of De Rossi's theory, which ought to be considered in all its subsidiary details before justice can be done to it. Without pledging ourselves to every point in it, we may allow that (granting the preservation of a body under such circumstances for so long a period of years, and this after all is the real difficulty) it seems to explain all the facts of the case. We may therefore accept it provisionally, until some better explanation is offered. Yet Aubé most unaccountably (p. 352 sq.), though he devotes between 60 and 70 pages to the subject and even criticizes De Rossi's opinion respecting the date of the martyrdom, entirely ignores both the history of the supposed remains and the recent discoveries in the Cemetery of Callistus. Lipsius (p. 181 sq.) does indeed refer to these points; but he is far from doing justice to the theory and does not examine it as a whole. Renan (*Marc-Aurèle* p. 453 sq.) only touches the subject, so far as to question whether the Cæcilii of the Christian inscriptions bore the name 'by right of blood'.

But the question still remains. Granted that Cæcilia was a real person, when was she martyred? The Latin Acts, as we have seen, place the martyrdom under Alexander Severus; the Greek Menæa (Nov. 22) under Diocletian. De Rossi (II. p. 147 sq.) falls back on a notice in Ado, who writes 'passa est autem beata virgo Marci Aurelii et Commodi imperatorum temporibus', i.e. A.D. 177—180, when father and son were joint-emperors. This date had also been adopted, though hesitatingly, by Tillemont (*Mémoires* III. pp. 260, 689 sq.), who however suggests Sicily as the place of martyrdom on the strength of a line in Venantius Fortunatus. *Miscell.* viii. 6 (p. 271 Migne), 'Caeciliam Sicula profert, Seleucia Teclam'. This date agrees with the plural, which occurs several times in the Acts, 'domini', 'imperatores', 'principes', and points to a divided sovereignty. Nor is there any force in the objection of Aubé (p. 402) that under M. Aurelius 'a high functionary of State' would not have used such an expression as 'domini nostri invictissimi imperatores', these adulatory forms only commencing to be used under the Severian dynasty and not becoming common till towards the end of the 3rd century. For (1) it is not asserted that the Acts were contemporary or nearly contemporary documents, or that they preserve the exact expressions used. The contention is that though the Acts were written down in their present form some two or three centuries later, yet they have preserved the tradition of a divided sovereignty. But (2) Fronto addresses Antoninus Pius as 'sanctissime imperator' (p. 169), while his common expression of M. Aurelius and L. Verus is 'dominus meus'. Still fuller testimony may be obtained from the inscriptions. Have we not a sufficiently close parallel in such language as *C. I. L.* VI. 1001 'Optimo maximoque principi et cum summa benignitate

justissimo' of Antoninus Pius; VIII. 2547 'fortissimo liberalissimoque principe', VI. 1009 'optimo ac piissimo', *ib.* 1014 'omnes omnium ante se maximorum imperatorum glorias supergressus bellicosissimis gentibus deletis aut subactis', of M. Aurelius? The last is dated A.D. 176, and forms part of an inscription commemorating the Germanic and Sarmatian victories of M. Aurelius. Thus it is quasi-official, and shows the sort of language which was applied to the emperors at the time with their own approval. Hence, so far as it goes, the expression 'invictissimi imperatores' of the Acts is favourable to De Rossi's date. Moreover De Rossi is satisfied that the chamber containing the tomb of Cæcilia, or at least the original part of it (for it has been enlarged and lighted from above at a later date), is older than the papal crypt with which it is connected (II. p. 152 sq.). On this architectural argument I shall not venture to express an opinion. But the difficulty arising from the date of Pope Urban (A.D. 222—230) still remains. De Rossi's solution is as follows. He finds notices in the Martyrologies, Itineraries, Catalogues, etc., at the same time, of a tomb of a bishop Urban in the Cemetery of Prætextatus, and likewise of another in the Cemetery of Callistus. The latter grave is still found in the papal crypt with the inscription OYPBANOΣ E..... Hence he supposes that there were two Urbans—the one bishop of Rome, the other bishop of some unknown place, but residing in the neighbourhood of Rome during the persecution—the former a confessor, the latter a martyr—the one belonging to the age of Alexander Severus, the other to that of M. Aurelius. He believes therefore that there is a confusion in the Acts of S. Cæcilia, and that her friend was not the bishop of Rome, but this otherwise unknown person who afterwards himself suffered martyrdom. To this earlier Urban he assigns the grave in the papal crypt. The inscription was engraved on a marble slab of an altar-tomb in a niche, whereas the epitaphs of the bishops of Rome belong to the loculi at the sides of the chamber. This fact indicates an earlier date for Urban, as the principal position would be filled first (II. pp. 52 sq., 152 sq.). This confusion of the two persons likewise explains how Pope Urban is sometimes called a martyr, though he had no claim to this distinction. Moreover in the list of bishops and others buried in the papal crypt which was inscribed there by Sixtus III. (A.D. 432—440), as ingeniously restored by De Rossi, Urbanus occurs, not among the popes, whose names stand together at the head of the list, but lower down among others (II. p. 33 sq.). Altogether De Rossi has worked out his view with great penetration and ingenuity; and no abbreviation, such as I have attempted, can do justice to it. The theory of the two Urbans was not first started by De Rossi. It had been suggested before by Tillemont (*Mémoires* III. p. 686), and adopted by Sollier (Usuardi *Martyr.* 25 Maii) and others, to explain the phenomena; but De Rossi's investigations and combinations have given shape and consistency to it. It cannot indeed be regarded as certain; but it may be accepted provisionally, as the only theory hitherto propounded which explains the facts. Lipsius subjects it to a rigid criticism, but he is obliged in the end to confess that this hypothesis may possibly be correct (p. 183). He will not however allow that the Urban of the papal crypt lived as early as the time of M. Aurelius.

Yet, if a second Urban be once conceded, this date has greater claims to acceptance than any other, both by reason of the architectural argument, of which I shall not attempt to appraise the value, and also on account of the direct statement of Ado, which is the more valuable because it is quite independent of, and indeed contradictory to, the Acts. On the other hand I cannot attach much weight to De Rossi's argument (II. p. 150) from the resemblance of the imperial edict in the Acts § 24 'Domini invicti imperatores jusserunt, ut qui non negaverint se esse Christianos

puniantur, qui autem negaverint dimittantur', with the account of the rescript of M. Aurelius in the Gallican persecution (Eusebius *H. E.* v. 1), which in Rufinus' translation runs 'Cum a Caesare rescriptum fuisset, ut persistentes quidem punirentur, negantes autem dimitterentur'; because it might have been borrowed directly from this source. Nor indeed was this principle peculiar to the reign of M. Aurelius, but it guided the persecutions throughout the second century.

Aubé (p. 416) throws out another suggestion. A certain Urbanus is mentioned in Cyprian's correspondence (*Epist.* xlix, li, liii, liv, ed. Hartel) as a priest and confessor at Rome. He at first took a strong line against the lapsed, but afterwards, towards the end of A.D. 251, he gave way and was reconciled to the Roman bishop Cornelius. Why, he asks, may this person not have been afterwards elected bishop, not at Rome, but in the neighbourhood; have converted Cæcilia and her companions; and have perished after them, somewhere about A.D. 257—260, in a persecution which their imprudence had stirred up?

This has no advantage over De Rossi's view, while it is entirely destitute of the external support which the latter can claim. The representations in the Acts are not indeed consistent with De Rossi's date, but neither are they with Aubé's. The names of the Prefect, Turcius Almachius, are borrowed from a later epoch than either. A complete list of the City Prefects from A.D. 254 to A.D. 354 is extant, and neither name is found during the third century. The Turcii came into prominence in the age of Constantine; one Turcius Apronianus was City Prefect in A.D. 339 and another in A.D. 363 (Bosio in Laderchi *S. Caec. Virg. et Mart.* I. p. 65 sq.; Tillemont *Empereurs* IV. pp. 325, 526, Paris 1697). The latter served under Julian. The fact that the family was known to have remained pagan long after the great change under Constantine, and to have more than once held the City Prefecture, might suggest the use of the name to the writer of these Acts. The surname Almachius is not known to have been borne by the Turcii. De Rossi indeed proposes to substitute Amachius (II. pp. xxxvii, 149), but he seems to have overlooked passages in which Almachius (or Almacius) occurs. Besides the passages quoted in Devit (*Lexic. Forcellin. Onomast.* s. v.) it is found also in a Numidian inscription (*C. I. L.* VIII. 4469) belonging to the age of Constantine or his successor. So far as we can see, it appears for the first time about the middle of the fourth century. We may say generally of the setting of the story of S. Cæcilia, that it belongs neither to the second century nor to the third, but to the fourth or fifth. Whether the plurality of emperors formed part of the later setting, or was a survival of the original tradition, we have no means of determining. In itself it might be either. But the fact that evidence (such as it is) exists for placing the martyrdom under the divided sovereignty of M. Aurelius and Commodus inclines us to the latter alternative.

Reasons are given by De Rossi (II. p. 153 sq.) for the belief that the true day of the martyrdom was Sept. 16 (as given in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*), and that Nov. 22, the day commonly assigned to her, is the anniversary of her translation to the Transtiberine Church. For a similar transference, see below, II. p. 432.

(ζ) *The Madaurian Martyrs* [A.D. 180].

These sufferers bore Punic names; Namphamo (commonly, but incorrectly, written Namphanio), Miggin, Lucitas, and a woman Samaë. Our knowledge of them is entirely derived from the correspondence of the heathen grammarian Maximus

of Madaura with S. Augustine (Augustin. *Epist.* xv, xvi, *Op.* II. p. 19 sq.). Maximus writes; 'Quis enim ferat Jovi fulmina vibranti praeferri Migginem; Junoni, Minervae, Veneri, Vestaeque, Samaen; et cunctis, proh nefas, diis immortalibus archimartyrem Namphamonem; inter quos Lucitas etiam haud minore cultu suscipitur, atque alii interminato numero, etc.'; and Augustine rebukes him for ridiculing Punic names, 'cum simus utrique in Africa constituti', adding 'Namphamo quid aliud significat quam *boni pedis hominem*'? The principal name in this group occurs frequently in the African inscriptions (*C. I. L.* VIII. p. 1030, index) variously spelt, Namphamo, Nampamo, Namfamo, Namefamo, Namephamo, with the allied names Namphame, Namphamilla, Namphamina. De Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1873, p. 68 sq.) compares it with Agathopus, Calepodius, both occurring not uncommonly in Christian nomenclature. Of the others, we find Miggin, *ib.* no. 10686, where it occurs twice in a Christian inscription (comp. Migginnia, *ib.* no. 2186; see also *Ephem. Epigr.* V. p. 476); but the nearest approaches to Samae are Samate (no. 7789) and Sammia (no. 8553); and I cannot find anything at all resembling Lucitas in the African collection. In a Norican inscription however (*C. I. L.* III. 5289) we meet with Loucita (see *Ephem. Epigr.* IV. p. 522).

From the language of Maximus this Namphamo seems to have been the protomartyr of Africa; and, if so, he would have suffered when Saturninus was proconsul (Tertull. *Scap.* 3 'Vigellius Saturninus qui primus hic gladium in nos egit lumina amisit'). But this is the same proconsul who condemned the Scillitan Martyrs, of whom I shall have to speak presently. So long therefore as the Scillitan Martyrdoms were assigned to the reign of Severus, the Madaurian were dated accordingly, A.D. 198 or 200 or 202, by different critics. It may now however be regarded as certain that the Scillitans suffered July 17, A.D. 180. And, as the proconsuls entered upon their duties about May, Namphamo and his companions must have been martyred almost immediately before them. Görres indeed contemplates the possibility of their having suffered 'already in 179 still under M. Aurelius'; but this could not be, unless indeed Saturninus was continued in office more than the normal year of the proconsulate. Baronius in his *Martyrologium* assigns the martyrdom of Namphamo and his companions definitely to July 4, and Görres regards this as an arbitrary date of the Cardinal's invention. But I suspect he had some authority for it. Otherwise it was an eminently felicitous guess. In the old Carthaginian Calendar (Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 633) these Madaurian martyrs are not mentioned; but, if I mistake not, there is a lacuna at the place where they would come, if their day was July 4.

I add, by way of caution, that if the correspondence of Maximus and Augustine be our sole authority for these martyrdoms, then there is no solid ground for supposing the others to have been martyred at the same time with Namphamo, though this is not improbable in itself. The language of Maximus would be satisfied if they suffered separately and in different reigns. It should be added also that the inferences drawn as to the date depend entirely on the interpretation of *archimartyr* as equivalent to *protomartyr*. This seems highly probable, but it is not certain.

On these martyrdoms see Aubé *Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire Romain* A.D. 180—249, p. 199 sq., and especially Görres *Das Christenthum etc. zur Zeit des Kaisers Commodus* p. 261 sq., in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884. The former has the disadvantage of having been written before the true date of the Scillitan martyrdoms was ascertained.

(η) *The Scillitan Martyrs* [A.D. 180].

Their genuine Acts in Greek were first published by Usener in a programme, *Index Scholarum Bonnens.* 1881, from the Paris MS *Graec.* 1470. This gave occasion to Aubé's *Étude sur un nouveau texte Grec des Actes des Martyrs Scillitains* (Paris 1881). See also Görres *Das Christenthum etc.* p. 252 sq. The papers of Aubé and Görres contain everything that is important on the subject. Aubé has printed all the different recensions of the Acts.

By Usener's discovery the older discussions have been more or less antiquated. The more important of these are Tillemont *Mémoires* III. pp. 131 sq., 638 sq., Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 129 sq., Aubé *Les Chrétiens etc.* pp. 191 sq., 499 sq.

Of the genuineness of the newly discovered Greek Acts there can be no reasonable doubt. They betray their antiquity by their modes of expression, as for instance when the writings which we call the New Testament are described as *αἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίβλοι καὶ προσεπιτούτοις ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου τοῦ ὁσίου ἀνδρός*. But it may be questioned whether we have before us the original or a translation. The former view is taken by Aubé (*Étude* etc. p. 12 sq.), and I am disposed to agree with him, though I am not able to accept all his arguments[1]. So also Renan *Marc-Aurèle* pp. 456, 457, Doulcet *Les Rapports etc.* p. 126, and apparently Görres p. 254. Usener on the other hand regards the document as a translation from the Latin, and this is the view of Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXIV. p. 382, 1881).

The Latin Acts appear in four different recensions, which will be found in Aubé (*Étude* p. 30 sq.). They are all evidently derived ultimately from the form preserved in the Greek. Where the Greek has *τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος*, and one Latin 'domini nostri imperatoris', the others have the plural 'dominis nostris imperatoribus'; and to this expression one (called *Acta Proconsularia* and first published by Baronius *Eccl. Hist.* ad ann. 202) adds 'Severo et Antono', i.e. 'Antonino' (=Caracalla). Hence the incorrect date assigned to these martyrdoms. At the commencement the dating is given 'Praesidente (with vv. ll. 'Praesente,' 'Praestante') bis Claudiano consule', for which another form has 'Existente Claudio (Claudiano) consule'. So long as these martyrdoms were assigned to the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, this was supposed to refer to Ti. Claudius Severus who was one of the consuls A.D. 200. Léon Renier however (Borghesi *Œuvres* VIII. p. 615) acutely conjectured that we ought to read, 'Praesente II Condiano Coss.', these being the consuls of the year A.D. 180. This conjecture is confirmed by the Greek Acts which have, *Ἐπὶ Πέρσαντος* [l. *Περσεντος*] *τὸ δεύτερον καὶ* Κλαυδιανοῦ [l. *Κονδιανοῦ*] *τῶν ὑπάτων*. This same notice is repeated likewise at the close of these Acts. This alteration of the dates removes another great difficulty. Tertullian (*ad Scap.* 3) speaks of Vigellius Saturninus (presumably the same Saturninus here mentioned) as the first persecutor of the Christians in Africa[2]. But in the *Apologeticum* of this same father, which can hardly be dated later than A.D. 200 (Aubé *Les Chrétiens etc.* p. 195 sq.).

[1] Thus for instance he states (p. 17) that *δεχθέντες* is never used as a passive, but this statement is refuted by such passages as Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6. 4; see Veitch *Greek Verbs* s. v. *δέχομαι*. On the other hand he has omitted some arguments which tell in his favour.

[2] If he was proconsul in A.D. 180, he would probably be consul about A.D. 167, but he must have been *suffectus*, as the name does not occur in the fasti. An Aemilius Saturninus was consul A.D. 174.

mention is made again and again of bloody persecutions. Yet Caracalla was not associated with Severus in the empire till A.D. 198; and the interval thus limited (A.D. 198—200) would afford insufficient time for such experiences as the language of Tertullian implies.

The Scillitan (Scilitan) Martyrs derived their name from a town in Numidia, which region at this time belonged at least in part to Proconsular Africa[1]. Hence they were tried by the Proconsul at Carthage. The name of the town is given by most recent writers as *Scillium* (*Sillium*). I may perhaps have overlooked some ancient authority which justifies this form; but I have not found the name anywhere. The termination of the adjective might rather suggest *Scillis* or *Scillita*, and would be consistent with other forms also. In the Greek Acts the place is called Ἰσχλὴ τῆς Νουμιδίας; but the first word is probably corrupt, and the correct reading may be Σχιλή. The name would seem therefore to have been Scilla. It is indeed so called (Scylla) by Notker (*Patrol. Lat.* CXXXI. p. 1121). In one of the *Notitiae* (p. 79, ed. Parthey) a Numidian episcopal see Σκήλη is mentioned. I do not know whether this is the place with which we are concerned. A Scillitanus (Scilitanus, Sillitanus, Silitanus) is found in several lists of the African bishops (Victor Vitensis p. 121, ed. Petschenig; Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 192, 211, 236, v. 264, VII. 151, ed. Colet); but they do not all belong to the same place (see *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* VIII. p. 33).

The Scillitan martyrs were twelve in number. Six of these—three men and three women—were brought before the proconsul together for trial. Their leader was Speratus. Of the others one at least, Nartzallus (Νάρτζαλλος, Νάρτζαλος), bears a Punic name which occurs in the African inscriptions (*C. I. L.* VIII. 5282 'Narsalus'; comp. *ib.* 1387 'Nartialis'). A second name also, Cittinus (Κιττῖνος, Κιττῆνος), occurs several times in these inscriptions (*C. I. L.* VIII. 2564, 5127, 9064, 9131, Cittinus, Citinus; comp. 9187, 9188, Cittina). When asked, they all confessed themselves Christians. Saturninus the proconsul offered them a respite of thirty days for reconsidering the matter. They declined the offer, and were condemned to death. Sentence was passed at the same time on six others—four men and two women—who are described as not appearing in court (*τοὺς ἀφάντους*), but whose names are given. Probably they had been tried and confessed themselves Christians before, but their sentence had been deferred. All the twelve were executed by the sword on July 17. The Scillitan martyrs were held in high honour. Their festival appears in the early Carthaginian Calendar, in the Old Roman Martyrology, and in the Hieronymian Martyrology, in which last however, as usual, there is much confusion and repetition. A basilica was erected in their honour at Carthage, in which one at least of Augustine's sermons was delivered (Aug. *Serm.* 155, *Op.* v. p. 741, ed. Bened.). This church was devastated in the Vandalic invasion (Vict. Vit. i. 9).

The two last-mentioned groups of martyrdoms, the Madaurian and the Scillitan, as we have already seen, do not belong strictly to the reign of M. Aurelius. He died on March 17 of the year, and they took place in July. But Saturninus the persecuting magistrate, who according to custom would start for his province in the middle of April, must have been appointed by M. Aurelius, and his treatment of the Christians may be regarded as a continuation of this emperor's policy. The reign of his son and successor Commodus is represented as a period of unbroken peace by the historians of the Church (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 21; comp. Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16:

[1] On the relations of Numidia to Proconsular Asia see Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* I. p. 307 sq., and especially Mommsen *C. I. L.* VIII. p. xv. sq., p. 467 sq.

see above, p. 482 sq.). There were indeed outbreaks from time to time at the commencement of this reign, while the emperor was still guided by the friends and counsellors of his father[1], but as soon as Marcia's influence over him was established, the Church was free from molestation. The relations of the Church and the Empire in this reign are considered in two good articles by Görres, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884, p. 228 sq., p. 395 sq.

But not only are the sufferings of the Christians during this reign learnt from direct notices of martyrdoms. The same inference is drawn from the language of the Apologists[2]. Justin Martyr, Melito, Athenagoras, and Theophilus, all tell the same tale. The first indeed wrote before Marcus had actually ascended the throne; but he was already supreme in the counsels of Antoninus Pius, and among the chief maligners and persecutors of the Christians were his most intimate and trusted friends, such as Fronto and Rusticus. Again, the last may have written some months after his death, but the retrospect which he gives must refer especially to the period comprised by his reign. The two remaining writers, Melito and Athenagoras, addressed their apologies to him in his mid career as a sovereign—the one probably about A.D. 170, the other almost certainly in A.D. 177. To this list should be added Minucius Felix, if indeed we may with confidence accept the earlier date which many recent critics have agreed to assign to him[3].

The facts which have been elicited in the previous investigation make up a serious bill of indictment against the administration of M. Aurelius. Whether the Romans owed more to Hadrian who left them Antoninus, or to M. Aurelius who left them Commodus, I shall not stay to discuss; but there can be no question that the Christians received far fairer treatment under the former emperor than under the latter. The persecutions under M. Aurelius extend throughout his reign. They were fierce and deliberate. They were aggravated, at least in some cases, by cruel tortures. They had the emperor's direct personal sanction. They break out in all parts of the empire, in Rome[4], in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Africa, possibly also in Byzantium[5]. Yet unquestion-

[1] Herodian. i. 6. 1 *ὀλίγου μὲν οὖν τινὸς χρόνου πάντα ἐπράττετο* [*ὁ Κόμμοδος*] *τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πατρῴων φίλων κ.τ.λ.*, i. 8. 1 *χρόνου μὲν οὖν τινὸς ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἀπένεμε τοῖς πατρῴοις φίλοις, πάντα τε ἔπραττεν ἐκείνοις συμβούλοις χρώμενος.*

[2] The passages will be found below, p. 518 sq.

[3] See below, p. 518 sq.

[4] In estimating the persecutions of this reign we should probably add to the Roman martyrdoms already mentioned (p. 493 sq.) the sufferings of many or most of those confessors, who were condemned to the Sardinian mines and were afterwards released under Commodus (Hippol. *Hær.* ix. 12).

[5] The authorities for the persecution in Byzantium are Tertull. *ad Scap.* 3 'Caecilius Capella in illo exitu Byzantino, Christiani gaudete, exclamavit,' Epiphan. *Hær.* liv. 1 (p. 463) *Οὗτος* [*ὁ Θεόδοτος ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου*] *ἅμα τισὶ πλείοσιν ἐν καιρῷ διωγμοῦ ἐνστάντος, οὐκ οἶδα εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ* (l. *ἐν ποίῳ τούτῳ?*) *διωγμῷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντος συλληφθεὶς μετὰ πλειόνων καὶ ἐξετασθεὶς σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Θεοῦ δοῦλοι τὸ νῖκος ἀπενεγκάμενοι βραβεῖον ἔτυχον ἐπουρανίων, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρήσαντες, οὗτος δὲ κ.τ.λ.* The passage of Tertullian evidently points to the terrible punishment, which Severus inflicted upon Byzantium (A.D. 196) after a three years' siege, for espousing the cause of his rival Niger (see Höfner *Septimius Severus* p. 172 sq.), and which Cæcilius Capella here regards as a day of vengeance for the Christians, of whom he himself had been the persecutor. Baronius (Ann. 196) and

ably M. Aurelius was more logical from a Roman point of view than Hadrian. To be 'a Roman' was before all things his ideal (*Med.* ii. 5, iii. 5), and these Christians scorned the state-worship, which was the very core of Roman public life. Probably he held himself to be acting out the character which Capitolinus (*Marcus* 24) assigns to him, 'contra manifestos et gravium criminum reos inexorabilis permanebat', when he condemned scores of men to death for no other cause than that they confessed the name of Christ. If moreover he believed the foul aspersions of his 'darling master' ('jucundissime magister') Fronto on the Christians, he would doubtless consider that he was treating them with only too great leniency.

Doubtless we should have heard very much more about the persecutions during this reign, if the emperor's exceptionally high character as a man and as ruler had not stopped the mouths of the Christians. But they were restrained by every motive of prudence and every instinct of self-preservation from saying too much against the sovereign whom his subjects lovingly called 'father', 'brother', and 'son', according to their time of life, who when he died was believed to have been taken back to the gods that had lent him, and to whom after death divine honours were voluntarily paid with such universal consent that it was held sacrilege not to set up his image in a house (Capitol. *Marcus* 20). If the Christians ventured to brand such a man as a persecutor, the retort would be obvious; 'You condemn yourselves by this charge. He could only have treated you harshly, because you deserved harsh treatment. This was not persecution; it was just punishment.' It is indeed, from every point of view, a 'tragic fact'—a mournful satire on the one-sidedness of human nature even in its higher types—that M. Aurelius ranks among the sternest persecutors of the Christians.

Tillemont (*Mémoires* II. p. 315 sq.) assign this persecution to the reign of M. Aurelius; and among recent writers Renan also (*Marc-Aurèle* p. 279 sq.) takes this view. This Theodotus the leather-seller is stated by Epiphanius to have fled to Rome and promulgated his heresy there after denying his faith during the persecution at Byzantium; and we know from an independent source (Hippol.[?] in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28) that he was excommunicated by Victor Bishop of Rome (A.D. 189—198 or 199). But some years would probably have elapsed before he became sufficiently famous to call down this censure on his head. This is an argument (so far as it goes) in favour of the reign of M. Aurelius. On the other hand Burton (*First Three Centuries* II. p. 211 sq.) gives a wholly different explanation. He supposes that Cæcilius commanded the garrison of Byzantium on behalf of Pescennius Niger; that the Christians there refused to take up arms and actively espouse the cause of this rival sovereign; that they thus incurred the hatred of Cæcilius and the Byzantines; and that in consequence they were harassed and persecuted by them. This view harmonizes better with the incidents, and I am disposed on the whole to adopt it. The vengeance is thus brought into close proximity with the suffering; and the saying of Cæcilius gains in point. Moreover the incident then becomes a better illustration of the lesson which Tertullian would enforce; for he is giving examples of divine judgments overtaking the persecutors of the Christians (see below, p. 522 sq.). But if we were to place the persecution under M. Aurelius, the retribution would be delayed 16 years at the least, and there would be no very direct connexion between the offence and the punishment.

On the whole therefore we may hold the memory of M. Aurelius clear of this additional stain of blood.

3. *HEATHEN WRITERS.*

The following passages, so far as I know, contain all the notices of the Christians in heathen writers during the three reigns.

(i) Epictetus [c. A.D. 120].

Arrian, *Diss.* iv. 7. 6.

Εἶτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναταί τις οὕτω διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι.

Epictetus is here discussing the attitude of fearlessness before a tyrant's menaces. As he still survived under Hadrian, with whom he was on intimate terms (Spartian. *Hadr.* 16), his knowledge of the Christians was probably drawn from the persecution under Trajan. It is worthy of notice that Junius Rusticus, the honoured friend and teacher of M. Aurelius and the persecutor of the Christians (see above, pp. 445, 494), who was himself an accomplished Stoic (Dion Cass. lxxi. 35, Capitol. *Marc.* 3, Orelli *Inscr.* 1190), was the first to place 'the memoirs of Epictetus' (*τὰ Ἐπικτητεῖα ὑπομνήματα*, i.e. the work of Arrian which we possess and which contains this notice of the Christians) in the hands of his imperial pupil (M. Antonin. *Med.* i. 7). Doubtless however it is a mistake of Themistius (*Orat.* 5, p. 63 D; comp. Suidas s. v. *Ἐπίκτητος*) to represent Epictetus as still surviving and being promoted by 'the two Antonines'; see on this point Gataker on M. Anton. *Med.* viii. 31.

(ii) Phlegon [A.D. 137].

(a) *Chronica* xiii. (Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 14).

Φλέγων μέντοι ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἢ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ, οἶμαι, τῶν Χρονικῶν καὶ τὴν περί τινων μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν ἔδωκε τῷ Χριστῷ, συγχυθεὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πέτρου ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπήντησε· πλὴν κἀκεῖνος καὶ διὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἄκων ὡσπερεὶ οὐ κενὸν θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι τὸν ἐν τοῖς πατράσι τῶν δογμάτων λόγον.

It may be questionable whether Phlegon, when mentioning the eclipse, connected it with the Crucifixion (see Lardner's *Works* VII. p. 105 sq., London 1835); but it seems clear from this passage that he mentioned Christ in some terms or other.

(b) *ib.* (Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 33).

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐκλείψεως, οὗ βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔοικεν ἐσταυρῶσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων τότε γενομένων σεισμῶν τῆς γῆς ἀνέγραψε καὶ Φλέγων ἐν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἢ τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ, οἶμαι, τῶν Χρονικῶν.

(c) *ib.* (Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 59).

Οἴεται δὲ [ὁ Κέλσος] τερατείαν εἶναι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τὸν σκότον· περὶ ὧν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω ἀπελογησάμεθα, παραθέμενοι τὸν Φλέγοντα ἱστορήσαντα κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σωτῆρος τοιαῦτα ἀπηντηκέναι.

(d) Euseb. *Chron.* II. p. 148 (ed. Schöne).

Γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας [συναγαγὼν] περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ιγ΄ ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε· Τῷ δ΄ ἔτει τῆς σβ΄ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, καὶ νὺξ ὥρᾳ ἕκτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι. σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενόμενος τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ.

For other references to this statement see Lardner's *Works* VII. p. 107 sq., Müller *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III. p. 606 sq. The date given above (A.D. 137) is the year to which this work, the *Chronica*, was brought down, and in which therefore presumably it was completed. Phlegon was the secretary of the emperor Hadrian, whose autobiography was published in his name (Spartian. *Hadr.* 16, Vopisc. *Saturn.* 7; see above p. 465).

(iii) Fronto [c. A.D. 150—160].

(a) Minucius Felix *Octav.* 9.

Et de convivio notum est. Passim omnes locuntur. Id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. Ad epulas sollemni die coeunt etc.

(b) *ib.* 31.

Et de incesto convivio fabulam grandem adversum nos daemonum coitio mentita est... sic de isto et tuus Fronto non ut adfirmator testimonium fecit, sed convicium ut orator adspersit.

It appears from these passages that Fronto of Cirta, the tutor of M. Aurelius, lent his name to the vulgar libel against the Christians of shameful orgies at their love-feasts (see above, p. 52 sq.). It is not improbable that many other of the arguments used by the pagan interlocutor in this Apology were borrowed from Fronto. Fronto lived on the most affectionate terms with M. Aurelius, as the extant correspondence shows. On the relation of the Apology of Minucius Felix to Fronto see below, p. 519.

(iv) Celsus [c. A.D. 150—160?].

Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 69.

Ὑμῶν δὲ [i.e. τῶν χριστιανῶν] κἂν πλανᾶταί τις ἔτι λανθάνων, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖται πρὸς θανάτου δίκην.

It would be impossible to give all the passages from this writer which are quoted or referred to by Origen *c. Celsum*; and a selection would be unsatisfactory. I have therefore contented myself with a single sentence bearing on the persecutions.

The date of Celsus is uncertain. He has been placed by one critic as early as Nero, and by another as late as A.D. 240. This last date is plainly impossible, since he wrote many years before Origen (*c. Cels.* praef. 4 ἤδη καὶ πάλαι νεκροῦ). Keim (*Celsus' Wahres Wort* p. 261 sq., 1873) dates the work A.D. 176—178; and this view has found considerable favour with subsequent writers. It is accepted in the main for instance by Aubé (*La Polémique Païenne* p. 164 sq., 1878), who places it during the joint reign of M. Aurelius and Commodus (A.D. 176—180). Renan also (*Marc-Aurèle* p. 345 sq.) takes this view. The chief ground for this date is the identification of this Celsus with the Celsus to whom Lucian dedicates his *Alexander*, written after the death of M. Aurelius (A.D. 180). Pelgaud however (*Étude sur Celse* p. 151 sq., Lyon 1878), while rejecting this identification, nevertheless adopts substantially the same date. Is there adequate ground for this identification?

Origen declares himself wholly ignorant who the writer of the work before him was. He had not seen it before it was sent to him by his friend Ambrosius with a request that he would answer it (praef.). He knows of only two literary persons bearing the name Celsus who can come under consideration, both Epicureans, the one under Nero, the other under Hadrian and subsequent emperors (κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν καὶ κατωτέρω, i. 8). As the former was too early, he assumes that the latter must be the person in question. In fact, he arrives at this result by a process of exhaustion. This latter Celsus is doubtless the same to whom Lucian dedicates his work, and whom we may infer from Lucian's language to have been an Epicurean (*Alexander* 25, 43, 61). Origen speaks of him as having written against magic (*c. Cels.* i. 68); and in like manner Lucian ascribes such a work to his friend Celsus (*Alexander* 21). But the writer of the 'True Word' is anything but an Epicurean. He may be described roughly as a Platonist eclectic. Moreover, so far from deriding magic, he evidently regards it with favour (*c. Cels.* i. 68). All this puzzles Origen exceedingly (e.g. iv. 54). He can only suppose that Celsus is playing a part, that he may assail Christianity from the vantage ground of a more respectable philosophy. This supposition however is highly incredible. A man known to be an Epicurean would have fatally discredited himself as a controversialist, if he had feigned himself a Platonist for the purposes of controversy.

This identification therefore must be discarded; and we must regard Celsus as an otherwise unknown person. We are thus left without any direct clue to the date. In the absence of decisive evidence, great stress has been laid by three of the writers already mentioned, Keim, Aubé, and Pelgaud, as well as by several others, on a reference which they discover to a divided sovereignty. Celsus writes (viii. 71), οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀνεκτόν σου λέγοντος ὡς, ἂν οἱ νῦν βασιλεύοντες ἡμῶν σοι πεισθέντες ἀλῶσι, τοὺς αὖθις βασιλεύοντας πείσεις. This, it is supposed, can only refer to a joint-empire such as that of M. Aurelius and L. Verus a few years earlier (A.D. 161—169), and that of M. Aurelius and Commodus at the time when this treatise is supposed to have been written (A.D. 177—180). If the passage had stood alone, the argument might have had a certain very slight value. But elsewhere Celsus uses the singular (viii. 73 προτρέπεται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος ἀρήγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ παντὶ σθένει). This language however might be explained on the ground that M. Aurelius alone was in command of the army at the time. But there are other passages which will not admit this interpretation. Thus Celsus quotes as worthy of acceptance the Homeric

maxim εἷς βασιλεύς (ἔστω), and he continues, ἂν τοῦτο λύσῃς τὸ δόγμα, εἰκότως ἀμυνεῖται σε ὁ βασιλεύς. Could any language more unfortunate be conceived, if at this very time there were two Augusti? Why should he, when he was expressly enforcing the duty of loyalty to two emperors, quote as authoritative a passage which declares emphatically that there ought only to be one? These expressions therefore seem to me to be almost absolutely decisive that there were not at this time, and (I would add likewise) there had not been very recently, two joint sovereigns. In other words they seem to indicate a date before A.D. 161, when M. Aurelius and L. Verus were associated in the imperial power. I should be disposed therefore provisionally to assign the 'True Word' to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The expression οἱ νῦν βασιλεύοντες will create no difficulty on this hypothesis. Though there was only one emperor at this time, yet Justin can nevertheless speak of Pius, Marcus, and Lucius, as βασιλεῖς (*Apol.* i. 14, 17); and Melito describes M. Aurelius as administering all the affairs of State with or for Antoninus Pius (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26; see below, p. 520).

An account of the various opinions relating to the date of this work of Celsus will be found in Keim p. 261 sq., Aubé p. 172 sq., and Pelgaud p. 187 sq.

(v) GALEN [c. A.D. 160].

(a) *Op.* VIII. p. 579 (ed. Kühn).

Ἵνα μή τις εὐθὺς κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς εἰς Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διατριβὴν ἀφιγμένος, νόμων ἀναποδείκτων ἀκούῃ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἥκιστα χρή.

(b) *ib.* p. 657.

Θᾶττον γὰρ ἄν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ μεταδιδάξειεν ἢ τοὺς ταῖς αἱρέσεσι προστετηκότας ἰατρούς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους.

The year given (A.D. 160) is an approximate date for this treatise. It was written before Galen's second visit to Rome (see *De Libris Propriis* 1, Op. XIX. p. 12). I do not know whether the exact year is determinable.

(c) Abulfeda *Historia Anteislamica* p. 109 (Fleischer).

Galeni tempore religio Christianorum magna jam incrementa ceperat, eorumque mentionem fecit in libro de sententiis Politiae Platonicae, his verbis;

'Hominum plerique orationem demonstrativam continuam mente assequi nequeunt; quare indigent ut instituantur parabolis (narrationes dicit de praemiis et poenis in vita futura sperandis), veluti nostro tempore videmus homines illos qui Christiani vocantur fidem suam e parabolis petiisse. Hi tamen interdum talia faciunt, qualia qui vere philosophantur. Nam quod mortem contemnunt, id quidem ante oculos habemus; item quod verecundia quadam ducti ab usu rerum venerearum abhorrent. Sunt enim inter eos et foeminae et viri qui per totam vitam a concubitu abstinuerint; sunt etiam qui

in animis regendis coercendisque et in acerrimo studio eo progressi sint ut nihil cedant vere philosophantibus.'

Haec Galenus.

This is Fleischer's translation from the Arabic. A similar statement is attributed to Galen 'in Commentario in Phaedonem Platonis' in Gregor. Barhebr. *Chronicon Syriacum* II. p. 55 (Bruns et Kirsch); but it is mixed up with some demonstrably false matter.

(vi) Apuleius [c. A.D. 160—170?].

Metam. ix. 14.

Tunc spretis atque calcatis divinis numinibus, in vicem spretae religionis mentita sacrilega praesumptione Dei quem praedicaret unicum, confictis observationibus vanis, fallens omnes homines et miserum maritum decipiens, etc.

This woman, whose character is painted in the darkest colours, is supposed to be represented here as a convert to Christianity; but this is doubtful. There must however have been Christians at this time, or soon after, in Madaura the native place of Apuleius, as may be inferred from the martyrdoms which occurred there a few years later (see above, p. 506 sq.).

For the date of this work see Teuffel *Gesch. der Röm. Liter.* § 345.

(vii) Lucian [c. A.D. 165, 180].

(a) *De morte Peregrini* 11 sq.

The passages are quoted above, p. 129 sq. This work was written apparently soon after A.D. 165.

(b) *Alexander* 25.

ἐκφέρει [ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος] φόβητρόν τι ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγων ἀθέων ἐμπεπλῆσθαι καὶ Χριστιανῶν τὸν Πόντον, οἳ περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῶσι τὰ κάκιστα βλασφημεῖν, οὓς ἐκέλευε λίθοις ἐλαύνειν, εἴ γε ἐθέλουσιν ἵλεων ἔχειν τὸν Θεόν.

(c) *ib.* 38.

καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ [ἡμέρᾳ] πρόρρησις ἦν ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησι τοιαύτη· Εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες τῷ Θεῷ τελείσθωσαν τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. εἶτ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐξέλασις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο λέγων, Ἔξω Χριστιανούς, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο, Ἔξω Ἐπικουρείους.

This scene is laid in Italy. The work was written after the death of Marcus (A.D. 180).

(viii) Aristides [A.D. 150—180?].

Orat. xlvi (*Op.* II. p. 402, ed. Dindorf).

Προπηλακίζουσι δ' ὡς κρείττονες, δύο τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις ἔνοχοι κακοῖς ὄντες, ταπεινότητι καὶ αὐθαδείᾳ, τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ δυσσεβέσι παραπλήσιοι τοὺς τρόπους. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοις τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον τῆς δυσσεβείας, ὅτι τοὺς κρείττους οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ οὗτοι τρόπον τινὰ ἀφεστᾶσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πάντων τῶν κρειττόνων κ.τ.λ.

The main persons described in the passage are evidently the Cynics, and to these οὗτοι refers; see Bernays *Lucian u. die Kyniker* pp. 38 sq., 100 sq. Consequently οἱ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ (afterwards referred to in ἐκείνοις), to whom they are compared, might be either Jews or Christians (see above, p. 331). But the points of comparison with the Cynics require us to understand the expression of the Christians rather than the Jews; comp. Lucian *Peregr.* 11 (see above, p. 129 sq.), where we have περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα. Jebb wrongly supposes that the Christians are the principal persons attacked, though many points in the description will not suit them, and accordingly explains 'the people in Palestine' to whom they are compared as referring to the Jews.

The date of these Orations seems to be indeterminable.

(ix) Marcus Antoninus [c. A.D. 174].

Meditationes xi. 3.

Τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καί, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πεῖσαι, ἀπραγῴδως.

The readiness of which he speaks is the readiness to meet death.

4. *CHRISTIAN WRITERS.*

The following is a selection of passages from Christian writers, who either wrote during this period or refer to it. The passages are chosen either with a view to convenient reference (as having been alluded to in the previous pages) or for their own interest.

(i) Epistle to Diognetus [c. A.D. ?].

c. 5 ἀγαπῶσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται· ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρίνονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται.

The writer is describing the Christians. Notwithstanding all that has been written to the contrary, the Epistle to Diognetus may, I think, with fair confidence be placed during the period with which we are concerned, and not improbably in the earlier years of it.

(ii) Hermas [c. A.D. 135—140?].

The references to this writer have been given already (p. 492), where also the bearing of his allusions to persecutions is considered.

(iii) Justin [c. A.D. 140—160].

Dial. c. Tryph. 110 (p. 337).

κεφαλοτομούμενοι γὰρ καὶ σταυρούμενοι καὶ θηρίοις παραβαλλόμενοι καὶ δεσμοῖς καὶ πυρὶ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις βασάνοις ὅτι οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τῆς ὁμολογίας δῆλόν ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.

See also the context. Reference has been made already (p. 492) to the account of the martyrdoms in the *Second Apology*, which should be read in full. See also on the subject of persecutions *Apol.* i. 3, 4 (p. 54), 7 (p. 56 E), 11 (p. 58 E), 26 (p. 70 C), 31 (p. 72 E), 39 (p. 78 B), 45 (p. 83 A), 57 (p. 91 E), 68 (p. 99 C), *Dial.* 34 (p. 253 A), 35 (p. 254 A), 39 (p. 258 C), 46 (p. 265 C), 82 (p. 308 C), 131 (p. 360 C), etc.

The date given is intended roughly to comprise the period of Justin's literary activity. The Dialogue was probably written somewhere midway in this period.

(iv) Minucius Felix [c. A.D. 160?].

Octavius 37.

Quam pulchrum spectaculum Deo, cum Christianus cum dolore congreditur, cum adversum minas et supplicia et tormenta componitur, cum strepitum mortis et horrorem carnificis inridens inculcat, cum libertatem suam adversus reges et principes erigit...et quot ex nostris, non dextram solum sed totum corpus uri, cremari, sine ullis ejulatibus pertulerunt...pueri et mulierculae nostrae cruces et tormenta, feras et omnes suppliciorum terriculas, inspirata patientia doloris, inludunt.

The resemblances between Minucius Felix and the *Apologeticum* of Tertullian (written not later than A.D. 200) are too striking to be accidental. The date of Minucius therefore depends on the settlement of the question which of the two is the plagiarist. Among older critics it was generally assumed that Minucius borrowed from Tertullian, and accordingly he was generally assigned to the reign of Alexander Severus or thereabouts, though there were some important names among the dissentients[1]. Ebert however (*Abhandl. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* v. p. 321 sq., 1868; comp. *Christl.-Latein. Literatur* p. 24 sq.) by his thorough investigation of the subject changed the general current of opinion. He was thought to have established the priority of Minucius, and is followed in this by Keim (*Celsus' Wahres Wort* p. 153 sq.), Teuffel (*Gesch. d. Röm. Litterat.* § 350), Aubé (*La Polémique Païenne* p. 78 sq.), Görres (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884, p. 433 sq.), Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*

[1] An account of the earlier literature of the subject will be found in Keim p. 153 sq.; comp. also Görres, p. 433.

p. 389 sq.), and most subsequent writers. On the other hand V. Schultze (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 485 sq.) has attempted to answer Ebert, and he has succeeded in convincing Salmon (Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s. v. Minucius Felix). Again Schulze himself has been answered by Schwenke (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1883, p. 263 sq.), and his reply is as convincing as it is acute. The relation of Minucius Felix to Celsus has been considered by Keim (l.c. p. 157 sq.), and his resemblances to Athenagoras are discussed by Loesche (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1882, p. 168 sq.), but nothing tangible is elicited, so far as regards the date.

The priority of Minucius being assumed, Keim saw reasons for dating the *Octavius* A.D. 177. One of his strongest arguments was the supposed mention of a divided sovereignty in § 29 'principibus et regibus', § 33 'reges statum regni sui etc.', § 37 'adversus reges et principes'; but these are obviously general expressions and have no reference whatever to the actual sovereignty of Rome at the time (see above, p. 514). Yet this frail argument is repeated by Aubé, Görres, and Schultze, without misgiving. The last-mentioned writer even sees a reference in 'reges et principes' to the two Augusti and two Cæsars of the time of Diocletian, to which age he assigns the work; but in doing so, he is obliged to condemn as spurious Cyprian's work *De Idolorum Vanitate*, which is largely indebted to the *Octavius*. On this point see Möller (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 757). Schultze has not succeeded, so far as I have observed, in carrying any one with him in his view as to the late date. On the other hand Schwenke (p. 289) points to another passage, which shows clearly that there cannot have been a divided sovereignty when Minucius wrote. In § 18 speaking of the unity of the Deity he writes, 'Quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit aut sine cruore desiit?' After giving some illustrations, and among these the wars of Cæsar and Pompeius, 'generi et soceri bella toto orbe diffusa sunt, et *tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit*,' he continues, 'Vide cetera: rex unus apibus, dux unus in gregibus, in armentis rector unus: tu in caelo summam majestatem dividi credas et scindi veri illius ac divini imperii totam potestatem?' How could he possibly have asked the question 'Quando umquam', if he were actually living under the joint sovereignty of M. Aurelius and Commodus (A.D. 177—180), and had witnessed only a few years before (A.D. 161—169) the joint sovereignty of M. Aurelius and L. Verus? In neither case did the partnership of the empire commence in distrust or end in bloodshed. For this reason Schwenke is disposed to place the *Octavius* at the close of the reign of Antoninus Pius (about A.D. 160); and I see no better solution.

It can hardly be placed much earlier, owing to the mention of Fronto (cc. 9, 31; see above, p. 513); 'Cirtensis noster', 'tuus Fronto'. The last we hear of Fronto is in A.D. 166, and it is not probable that he survived much later. The references to him in the *Octavius* do not require us to suppose him dead at the time, but rather suggest that he was still living. It was an 'Oration' written or delivered by Fronto, in which he had attacked the Christians. The reference therefore is much more natural soon after the attack, than it would be if this Apology were written much later, say in the reign of Diocletian, or even in that of Alexander Severus. In favour of this last-mentioned date it has been urged that a Caecilius Natalis (the name of the interlocutor in this dialogue) is mentioned in several inscriptions at Cirta (*C. I. L.* 6996, 7094—7098), one of them dated A. D. 210 (Dessau in *Hermes* 1880, p. 471 sq.; comp. Salmon l.c. p. 924). But the M. Caecilius Q. F. Natalis of these inscriptions, though doubtless a member of the same family, may just as well have been the son or grandson of the interlocutor, as the interlocutor himself,

An objection has also been raised on the ground that we should not expect to find a cultivated Latin writer in the ranks of the Christians at this early date. This objection does not seem serious. The Church of Rome unquestionably was mainly Greek and Oriental in its origin. But it was already fast emerging from this original condition. Sixty or seventy years earlier than this date, under Domitian (A.D. 95), it had adherents in the imperial family itself. Thirty years later it was governed by a Latin bishop Victor (A.D. 189—198 or 199). The Latin element at this time therefore must have been very considerable, and it would comprise the more educated or at least the more influential members of the Christian community. Moreover it is not certain that the work was not written quite as much for Africa as for Rome. Fronto, whom it refutes, and Caecilius, who is the heathen interlocutor, are both Africans. Perhaps the writer also was an African. I find the name L. Minucius Felix among the inscriptions of Theveste, which is also in Numidia (*C. I. L.* VIII. 1964), and Q. Minucius Felici [Felicianus?] at Rusicade, likewise in Numidia (*C. I. L.* VIII. 8112). Nor is it altogether beside the question to remark that the Numidian inscriptions exhibit the combination of names Minucius Natalis (*C. I. L.* VIII. 2478, 4643, 4676; comp. II. 4509—4511, Henzen 5450, 6498) in a father and son, both proconsuls of Africa, the latter in A.D. 139. See Borghesi *Œuvres* VIII. p. 46 sq., who gives reasons for connecting them with Minucius Fundanus (see above, p. 460 sq.), the Asiatic proconsul to whom Hadrian wrote concerning the Christians.

It may be objected also that the severity of the persecutions, as gathered from the passage which I have given above, points to the last years of M. Aurelius rather than to the comparatively peaceable reign of Antoninus Pius. But we have seen that the rule of Antoninus Pius was by no means unstained by Christian blood. At all events Justin Martyr, writing during the same reign, uses equally strong language (see above, p. 518). Nay, the statement 'pueri et mulierculae nostrae etc.', though doubtless it would appropriately describe sufferings such as those of Ponticus and Blandina in the Gallican persecution under M. Aurelius, has a parallel as early as Clement of Rome c. 6. On the whole however the freedom of intercourse which the *Octavius* supposes, and the general tenour of the dialogue, suggest a period of respite from persecution, as those critics have seen who place it under Alexander Severus. So far therefore the phenomena are more favourable to the year 160, than to a date some twenty years later.

(v) Melito [c. A.D. 170].

Apologia (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26).

Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων [Νέρωνος καὶ Δομετιανοῦ] ἄγνοιαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπιπλήξαντες ἐγγράφως, ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι ἐτόλμησαν. ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ Φουνδανῷ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ ἡγουμένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας γράφων φαίνεται· ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ πάντα συνδιοικοῦντος [MSS τὰ σύμπαντα διοικοῦντος] αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισσαίους, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἕλληνας. σὲ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων

τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἔχοντα γνώμην, καὶ πολύ γε φιλανθρωποτέραν καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν, πεπείσμεθα πάντα πράσσειν ὅσα σου δεόμεθα.

The various points in this important passage have been already under consideration (pp. 2 sq., 8, 16, 440, 442, 443, 462, 467 sq., 469).

(vi) Athenagoras [A.D. 177].

Supplicatio 1, 2.

Ὑμῖν δὲ...τὸ ὄνομα τί ἀπεχθάνεται; οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα μίσους ἄξια, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδίκημα δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας. διόπερ τὸ πρᾶον ὑμῶν καὶ ἥμερον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα εἰρηνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θαυμάζοντες, οἱ μὲν καθ' ἕνα ἰσονομοῦνται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ἴσης μετέχουσι τιμῆς, καὶ ἡ σύμπασα οἰκουμένη τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ συνέσει βαθείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοί, ὅτι μὴ προνενόησθε καὶ ἡμῶν, συγχωρεῖτε δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας...ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι, ἐπὶ μόνῳ ὀνόματι προσπολεμούντων ἡμῖν τῶν πολλῶν, μηνῦσαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐτολμήσαμεν.. καὶ δεόμεθα ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τι σκέψασθαι, ὅπως παυσώμεθά ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν σφαττόμενοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς χρήματα ἡ παρὰ τῶν διωκόντων ζημία...ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ὅταν ἀπείπωμεν τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν... οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοσύνης τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, αἰτίαν λαβόντας ἀδικημάτων, μὴ πρότερον ἢ ἐλεγχθῆναι κολάζεσθαι, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μεῖζον ἰσχύειν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ ἐλέγχων, οὐκ εἰ ἠδίκησέ τι ὁ κρινόμενος τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπιζητούντων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ὡς εἰς ἀδίκημα ἐνυβριζόντων... τὸ τοίνυν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἴσον καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν, μὴ ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεθα μισεῖσθαι καὶ κολάζεσθαι (τί γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς κακίαν τελεῖ;), ἀλλὰ κρίνεσθαι ἐφ' ὅτων ἂν καὶ εὐθύνῃ τις, καὶ ἢ ἀφίεσθαι ἀπολυομένους τὰς κατηγορίας ἢ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἁλισκομένους πονηρούς, μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (οὐδεὶς γὰρ Χριστιανὸς πονηρός, εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀδικήματι.

The emperors addressed are M. Antoninus and L. Commodus. I have quoted the passage at some length because it shows clearly the principle on which the Roman government acted. The 'nomen ipsum', independently of any 'flagitia cohaerentia nomini', was a sufficient ground of condemnation (see p. 50); and at no period during the second century was this principle more rigidly enforced than under M. Aurelius. It appears in sharp outline alike in the martyrdoms of Justin and his companions at the commencement of this reign and in the persecutions of Vienne and Lyons at its close.

(vii) Theophilus of Antioch [c. A.D. 180].

Ad Autol. iii. 30.

Ἔτι μὴν καὶ τοὺς σεβομένους αὐτὸν ἐδίωξαν καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν διώκουσιν ...τοὺς δὲ σπεύδοντας πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀσκοῦντας βίον ὅσιον, οὓς μὲν ἐλιθο-

βόλησαν, οὓς δὲ ἐθανάτωσαν, καὶ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο ὠμοῖς αἰκισμοῖς περιβάλλουσιν.

On this passage see Görres in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884, p. 265 sq. This part of the work was written after the death of M. Aurelius (see iii. 27, 28) March A.D. 180, and apparently not later than A.D. 181. It therefore represents the state of things during the reign of M. Aurelius.

(viii) TERTULLIAN [C. A.D. 200, 211].

(a) *Apologeticum* 5.

Ceterum de tot exinde [a Domitiano] principibus ad hodiernum divinum humanumque sapientibus edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum. At nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Quales ergo leges istae quae adversus nos soli exercent impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam omnium curiositatum explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Judaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus, impressit.

On the attitude of Tertullian towards the good emperors see above pp. 2, 8.

(b) *Ad Scapulam* 4.

Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum in elogio concussione ejus intellecta dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem secundum mandatum...M. quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis imbres in siti illa impetravit. Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsae? Tunc et populus adclamans Deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Jovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit.

The 'mandatum' would seem to refer to the rescript of Hadrian to Fundanus. The story of the Thundering Legion has been considered already, p. 433 sq.

(c) *Ad Scapulam* 3.

Possumus aeque et exitus quorundam praesidum tibi proponere, qui in fine vitae suae recordati sunt deliquisse, quod vexassent Christianos. Vigellius Saturninus, qui primus hic gladium in nos egit, lumina amisit. Claudius Lucius Herminianus in Cappadocia, cum,

indigne ferens uxorem suam ad hanc sectam transisse, Christianos crudeliter tractasset, solusque in praetorio suo vastatus peste convivis vermibus ebullisset, *Nemo sciat*, aiebat, *ne gaudeant Christiani aut sperent Christianae.* Postea cognito errore suo, quod tormentis quosdam a proposito suo excidere fecisset, paene Christianus decessit. Caecilius Capella in illo exitu Byzantino, *Christiani gaudete*, exclamavit. Sed qui videntur sibi impune tulisse, venient in diem divini judicii.

The date of this treatise is A.D. 211.

The persecution under Saturninus proconsul of Africa took place A.D. 180 (see above, p. 507). The sufferings at Byzantium under Capella have been assigned with some probability to A.D. 196 (see above, p. 510 sq.). If we suppose the order to be chronological, Cl. L. Herminianus would come between the two, and therefore probably the incident related of him would fall during the reign of Commodus. The name Herminianus is written variously in the MSS. It is curious that we meet with two proconsuls of Africa bearing the name Clodius Hermogenianus about the middle of the fourth century (see *C. I. L.* VIII. 1860).

(d) *Ad Scapulam* 5.

Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequeretur instanter, omnes illius civitatis Christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu facta obtulerunt. Tum ille, paucis duci jussis, reliquis ait, Ὦ δειλοί, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἢ βρόχους ἔχετε.

Some difference of opinion has existed with respect to the person here intended. (1) Arrius Antoninus, the maternal grandfather of the emperor Antoninus Pius, was a famous proconsul of Asia (Plin. *Epist.* iv. 3, Capitol. *Pius* 1, 3). His proconsulate has sometimes been placed in the reign of Trajan, e.g. by Dodwell (*Diss. Cypr.* II § 27), who supposes this person to be meant by Tertullian. More probably however he was proconsul under Titus or early in Domitian's reign (Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 154 sq.; comp. Tillemont *Mémoires* II. p. 572). He would therefore be too early. (2) Baronius considers that Antoninus Pius himself is meant. This, I suppose, is Mosheim's view, since he places the incident in the reign of Hadrian (*De Rebus Christianis* p. 235). Uhlhorn (*Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* p. 262 sq.) certainly identifies this Arrius Antoninus with the future emperor. Gibbon also (*Decline and Fall* c. xvi, II. p. 253, ed. Smith) is inclined to adopt this identification; but he strangely places the date of the proconsulship under Trajan. Against this identification Tillemont (l. c.) argues that there is no evidence of his bearing the name Arrius. Here however he is mistaken. The name Arrius Antoninus is given to him more than once (Spartian. *Hadr.* 24, Capitol. *Pius* 4), owing to his adoption, it would appear, by his maternal grandfather (Capitol. *Pius* 1). His full name before his elevation was T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus (Klein *Fasti Consulares* p. 69). His proconsulship, which was famous (Capitol. *Pius* 3), must have fallen about the year 135 (Waddington *l.c.* p. 205 sq.). With greater justice Tillemont urges that Tertullian would have distinguished the future emperor in some other way. It should be added that such indiscriminate slaughter, as is ascribed to Arrius Antoninus in this story, is altogether irreconcilable with the well-known clemency of the man (see above, p. 443), and that Tertullian himself (*Apol.* 5) speaks

of him as no persecutor of the Christians. If therefore he is the person intended, the story must have been 'improved' in the course of transmission. Even as it stands, it betrays an unwillingness on the part of the proconsul to push matters to extremities. (3) One Gaius Arrius Antoninus was proconsul of Asia (Lamprid. *Commodus* 7) about A.D. 184 or 185 (Waddington *l.c.* p. 239 sq.). This is probably the person meant (Tillemont *Mémoires* II. pp. 170, 572, Keim *Rom. u. Christenthum* p. 610, Renan *Marc-Aurèle* p. 62, Görres *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884, p. 395 sq., Aubé *Les Chrétiens* etc. p. 29 sq.). Waddington (*l.c.*), though preferring this latest Arrius Antoninus, considers the earliest of the three possible. This latest was a great friend of Fronto, who addresses him as 'my master and very dear son' ('mi domine fili carissime', Fronto *Epist.* p. 192, Naber), and was advanced to successive honours by the 'sanctissimi imperatores' M. Aurelius and L. Verus (Henzen no. 6485; comp. Borghesi *Œuvres* v. p. 383 sq.). From the nature of some of these offices it would seem that Marcus had especial confidence in him. He was apparently a very severe administrator of justice, and made himself many enemies thereby. Fronto writes to him, 'Raro umquam tot simul capita de caelo tacta sunt, quot tu condemnasti' (p. 195), and remonstrates with him for his harsh treatment in one case more especially (p. 192 sq.). Unfortunately Fronto's letters to him are much mutilated. This was during the joint reign of Marcus and Lucius (p. 194 'imperatores nostri'). A sentence pronounced by Arrius, when proconsul of Asia, was the occasion of a plot against him which cost him his life (Lamprid. *Comm.* 7). Thus the character of this Arrius Antoninus entirely suits the story of Tertullian (Aubé p. 31 sq.). Our only difficulty is in placing a persecution so severe as this is represented in the reign of Commodus, which was a period of general tranquillity for the Church. But possibly the story is exaggerated. Moreover, as occurring in the early years of the reign it may be looked upon, like the Madaurian and Scillitan martyrdoms (see above p. 506 sq.), as a survival of the policy of M. Aurelius. Nor does it seem impossible, having regard to the data, to place the proconsulship of Arrius Antoninus two or three years earlier than it is tentatively placed by Waddington.

(ix) Hieronymus [A.D. 392, 397].

(a) *Vir. Illustr.* 19.

Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, Publio Athenarum episcopo ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur et ecclesiam grandi terrore dispersam fide et industria sua congregat. Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset hiemem, invisens Eleusinam, et omnibus paene Graeciae sacris initiatus dedisset occasionem his, qui Christianos oderant, absque praecepto imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum etc.

Jerome has derived his information from two passages of Eusebius; *H. E.* iv. 3, which mentions that Quadratus the Apologist addresses his work to Hadrian 'because certain wicked men were endeavouring to harass our people' (ὅτι δὴ πονηροί τινες ἄνδρες τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρῶντο), and *H. E.* iv. 23, which relates on the authority of Dionysius of Corinth that Quadratus Bishop of Athens succeeded Publius and gathered together the congregation which had been scattered by the persecution. He

identifies Quadratus the Apologist with Quadratus the Bishop, and thus he assigns to the reign of Hadrian the persecution which was fatal to Publius. In this identification he is most probably wrong. At least Eusebius seems to have no suspicion of it, and Jerome's information is derived wholly from Eusebius. But Harnack (*Texte u. Untersuchungen* I. p. 102) goes too far when he says that Dionysius of Corinth represents Quadratus as bishop of Athens in the time of M. Aurelius. Dionysius himself wrote during this reign, but his language does not imply that Quadratus was still living. Indeed the opposite might be inferred with some probability from the fact that he represents the Athenian Church as having fallen away from the faith since Quadratus gathered the Church together after the martyrdom of Publius. We may conjecture that the persecution, in which Publius suffered, fell in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and that it gave occasion to the letter of this emperor to the Athenians which is mentioned by Melito (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26; see above, pp. 491, 493).

Jerome's authority reigned supreme in the Western Church; and doubtless from these passages the idea of a persecution under Hadrian spread among Latin writers. Eusebius knows nothing of any such persecution; and later Greek writers are for the most part equally ignorant of it. The legends of martyrdom under this emperor are confined almost entirely to Italy and the West (see above, p. 486 sq.).

(b) *Epist.* 70 (*Op.* I. p. 428).

Quadratus apostolorum discipulus et Atheniensis pontifex ecclesiae nonne Adriano principi, Eleusinae sacra invisenti, librum pro nostra religione tradidit? Et tantae admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens sedaret ingenium.

This epistle belongs to the year 397.

(x) Sulpicius Severus [A.D. 403].

Chron. ii. 31, 32.

Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen postea exerceri prohibuit, injustum esse pronuntians ut quisquam sine crimine reus constitueretur. Post Adrianum Antonino Pio imperante pax ecclesiis fuit. Sub Aurelio deinde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata.

See above, p. 491.

(xi) Orosius [A.D. 417, 418].

Adv. Paganos vii. 13, 14, 15.

13 Hic [Hadrianus] per Quadratum discipulum apostolorum et Aristidem Atheniensem, virum fide sapientiaque plenum, et per Serenum Granium legatum libris de Christiana religione compositis instructus atque eruditus, praecepit per epistulam ad Minucium proconsulem Asiae datam, ut nemini liceret Christianos sine objectu criminis aut probatione damnare.

14... Verum Justinus philosophus librum pro Christiana religione compositum Antonino tradidit benignumque eum erga Christianos homines fecit.

15... Sed in diebus Parthici belli persecutiones Christianorum quarta jam post Neronem vice in Asia et in Gallia graves praecepto ejus [Marci Antonini] exstiterunt, multique sanctorum martyrio coronati sunt.

He afterwards relates the story of the Thundering Legion.

(xii) Xiphilinus [c. A.D. 1070].

(Dion Cass. lxx. 3.)

Ὁ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὑπηκόων τισὶ βαρὺς οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς ἐπαχθὴς ἀλλὰ πολλήν τινα τούτοις νέμων αἰδῶ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τιμῇ, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐτίμα Χριστιανούς, προστιθείς. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἐπιστολάς τινας τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ παρατίθεται κ.τ.λ.

It would seem that Xiphilinus is wholly dependent on Eusebius for his conception of this emperor's relations towards the Christians.

(xiii) Oracula Sibyllina [c. A.D. 138, 160, 267].

(a) v. 46—52.

μετ' αὐτὸν δ' ἄλλος ἀνάξει
ἀργυρόκρανος ἀνήρ· τῷ δ' ἔσσεται οὔνομα πόντου·
ἔσται καὶ πανάριστος ἀνήρ, καὶ πάντα νοήσει·
καὶ ἐπὶ σοί, πανάριστε, πανέξοχε, κυανοχαῖτα,
καὶ ἐπὶ σοῖσι κλάδοισι τάδ' ἔσσεται ἤματα πάντα.
τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν· ὁ δὲ τρίτατος σφῶν ὀψὲ κρατήσει.
τείρομαι ἡ τριτάλαινα κακὴν φάτιν ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθαι.

The 'silver-headed' (*ἀργυρόκρανος*), 'grey-haired' (*κυανοχαῖτα*) king, who bears 'the name of a sea', is Hadrian. He was sixty-two when he died. The three, who shall rule after him, are Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and L. Verus. This Sibylline oracle therefore was written not before the last year of Hadrian's reign (A.D. 138). The adoption of Antoninus Pius took place in February of that year, and Hadrian died in July. It is probable that we should place the poem during this interval, since the writer would not have been likely to express himself in this way, *τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν*, if the reign of Antoninus Pius had actually begun. Alexandre indeed (*Oracula Sibyllina* I. p. 187) maintains that it cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 139, because Antoninus did not adopt M. Aurelius till the second year of his reign, and elsewhere (II. p. 353) he places the date after the first consulate of L. Verus and before the death of Pius, i.e. between A.D. 154—161. But the adoption of M. Aurelius and L. Verus into the imperial family was understood from the first to be part of the arrangement by

which Hadrian adopted Antoninus; see esp. Dion Cass. lxix. 21 *τόν τε Κομμόδου υἱὸν Κόμμοδον εἰσεποίησεν* [*Ἁδριανὸς*] *αὐτῷ* [i.e. *Ἀντωνίνῳ*] *καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ Μάρκον Ἄννιον Οὖῆρον, βουληθεὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσοντας ἀποδεῖξαι* (comp. Spartian. *Hadr.* 24, Capitol. *Pius* 4, *Marcus* 5, *Verus* 2). The point at issue however is not very important for our present purpose, as under any circumstances the words were written by a contemporary. The 'third of them', who shall 'rule late', is evidently L. Verus. As a matter of fact he died several years before M. Aurelius; but as he was much younger than M. Aurelius, he seemed likely to survive him, when the Sibyllist wrote. L. Verus was as a young man, strong and vigorous, whereas M. Aurelius had delicate health (Dion Cass. lxxi. 1 *ὁ δὲ Λούκιος ἔρρωτο τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν*; see Schiller *Römische Kaiserzeit* I. p. 637).

The whole of this 5th book of the Sibylline Oracles does not seem to have been the work of one and the same hand. The writer of the greater part would appear to have been a Jew. In ver. 221 sq. *πρῶτα μὲν ἐκ τρισσῶν κεφαλῶν* (an obscure and perhaps corrupt passage) he seems to be denouncing a terrible judgment on the Antonines and on the world at large, as a punishment for Hadrian's treatment of the chosen people. On the other hand the praise of Hadrian in the passage before us cannot have emanated from a Jew, since the erection of Ælia Capitolina and the Jewish war of Hadrian had preceded the adoption of Antoninus.

(b) VIII. 50—72.

ἀλλ' ὅτε σοι βασιλεῖς χλιδανοὶ τρὶς πέντε γένωνται,
κόσμον δουλώσαντες ἀπ' ἀντολίης μέχρι δυσμῶν,
ἔσσετ' ἄναξ πολιόκρανος, ἔχων πέλας οὔνομα πόντου,
κόσμον ἐποπτεύων μιαρῷ ποδί, δῶρα πορίζων,
χρυσὸν μὲν πάμπλειστον ἔχων καὶ ἄργυρον ἐχθρῶν
πλείονα συλλέξας, καὶ γυμνώσας ἀναλύσει,
καὶ μαγικῶν ἀδύτων μυστήρια πάντα μεθέξει·
παῖδα θεὸν δείκνυσιν, ἅπαντα σεβάσματα λύσει,
κἀξ ἀρχῆς τὰ πλάνης μυστήρια πᾶσιν ἀνοίξει.
αἴλινος ἔκτοτε καιρὸς, ὅτ' [αἴλινος αὐτὸς] ὀλεῖται.
καί ποτε δῆμος ἐρεῖ, Μέγα σὸν κράτος, ἄστυ, πεσεῖται,
εἰδὼς εὐθὺ τὸ μέλλον ἐπερχόμενον κακὸν ἦμαρ.
καὶ τότε πενθήσουσιν ὁμοῦ, τὴν σὴν προβλέποντες
οἰκτροτάτην μοῖραν, πατέρες καὶ νήπια τέκνα·
αἴ, αἴ, θρηνήσουσι λυγραῖς παρὰ Θύμβριδος ὄχθαις.
τὸν μέτα τρεῖς ἄρξουσι πανύστατον ἦμαρ ἔχοντες,
οὔνομα πληρώσαντες ἐπουρανίοιο Θεοῖο,
οὗ τὸ κράτος καὶ νῦν κεῖς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας.
εἷς μὲν, πρέσβυς ἐών, σκήπτρων ἐπὶ πουλὺ κρατήσει,
οἰκτρότατος βασιλεύς, ὃς χρήματα κόσμου ἅπαντα
δώμασιν ἐγκλείσει τηρῶν, ἵν', ὅταν γ' ἐπανέλθῃ
ἐκ περάτων γαίης ὁ φυγὰς μητροκτόνος ἐλθών,
ταῦτα ἅπασι διδοὺς πλοῦτον μέγαν Ἀσσίδι θήσει.

The fifteen kings are reckoned from Julius Cæsar to Hadrian inclusive. The 'hoary-headed' king is therefore himself the fifteenth. In the words *παῖδα θεὸν δείκνυσιν* we have a reference to the deification of Antinous, which naturally attracted the notice of Christian writers (Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8, Justin *Apol.* i. 29, Tatian *ad Graec.* 10, Athenag. *Suppl.* 30, Theophil. *ad Autol.* iii. 8, etc.). The line Αἴλινος κ.τ.λ. is a play on this emperor's name Αἴλιος. The three who rule after him are said to bear the name of the God of heaven from the similarity of the words *Antoninus, Adonai* (=Antonai; see below, II. p. 492 sq.). The expected return of Nero (*μητροκτόνος*) is foreshadowed in the last lines.

The Sibyllist who wrote this eighth book is distinctly a Christian. The passage before us is the latest chronological notice which it contains. It would therefore seem to have been written during the reign of Antoninus Pius. It certainly cannot have been written much later; for this Sibyllist elsewhere (ver. 140 sq.) places the return of Nero and the great catastrophe in A.U.C. 948 [=A.D. 195], the number corresponding to the name ΡΩΜΗ (100+800+40+8).

(c) XII. 163—200.

μετ᾽ αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἄλλος ἀνάξει
ἀργυρόκρανος ἀνήρ· τοῦ δ᾽ ἔσσεται οὔνομα πόντου·
ἀρχὴν στοιχείου προφέρων τετρασύλλαβος ἄρης.
θυτοὺς καὶ ναοὺς πόλεσι πάσαις ἀναθήσει,
κόσμον ἐποπτεύων ἰδίῳ ποδί, δῶρα κομίζων,
χρυσόν τ᾽ ἤλεκτρόν [τε] πολὺν πολλοῖσι παρέξει.
οὗτος καὶ μαγικῶν μυστήρια πάντα καθέξει
ἐξ ἀδύτων, καὶ μὴν πολὺ φέρτερον ἀνθρώποισι
θήσει κοιρανέοντα.....κεραυνός.
εἰρήνη δὲ [μάκαιρα] γενήσεται, ὁππόταν ἔσται
οὗτος ἄναξ· ἔσται δὲ καὶ ἀγλαόφωνος ἀοιδός,
καὶ νομίμων μέτοχός [τε] θεμιστοπόλος τε δίκαιος.
αὐτὸς δ᾽ αὖ πέσεται, μοίρῃ ἰδίῃ καταλύσας.
τὸν μέτα τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὀψὲ κρατήσει,
τρεῖς δεκάδας κατέχων· αὐτὰρ μονάδος πάλι πρώτης
ἄλλος ἄναξ ἄρξει· μετὰ δ᾽ αὐτὸν κοίρανος ἄλλος
ἐκ δεκάδων ἑπτά· τοῖς οὐνόματ᾽ ἔσσεται ἐσθλά.
αὐτοὶ δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ ὀλέσουσι πολυστίκτους ἀνθρώπους
Βρεττανούς, Μαύρους μεγάλους, Δάκας, Ἄραβάς τε.
ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταν τούτων ὁ νεώτατος ἐξαπολεῖται,
δὴ τότε Παρθίᾳ πάλιν ἐπελεύσεται ἄρης
δεινός, ὁ πρὶν τρώσας, καὶ εἰς τέλος ἐξαλαπάξει.
καὶ τότε δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἄναξ πέσεται δολίου ὑπὸ θηρός,
γυμνάζων παλάμας· πρόφασις δ᾽ αὖτη θανάτοιο.
τὸν μέτα γ᾽ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἄρξει, σοφὰ πολλά τε εἰδώς,
τοὔνομ᾽ ἔχων πρώτου.....κρατεροῦ βασιλῆος,
ἐκ μονάδος πρώτης· ἔσται δ᾽ ἀγαθός τε μέγας τε.

* * * *

καί ποτε Ῥωμαίοισιν ἀνασταχυώσεται ἔλκος
δεινότατον πολέμοις· χώρην δέ μιν ἐξαλαπάξει
πᾶσαν Γερμανῶν, ὁπόταν μέγα σῆμα Θεοῖο
οὐρανόθεν προφανῇ, καί τ' ἄνδρας χαλκοκορυστὰς
τρυχομένους σώσειε δι' εὐσεβίην βασιλῆος·
αὐτῷ γὰρ Θεὸς οὐράνιος μάλα πάνθ' ὑπακούσει·
εὐξάμενος βρέξει παρὰ καιρὸν ὄμβριον ὕδωρ.

In this last line we should perhaps read εὐξαμένῳ and παρακαίριον with Alexandre.

This Sibyllist has borrowed largely from his predecessors. Hadrian however is still further described as a warrior of four syllables (Ἀδριανός), commencing with the first letter of the alphabet. The description of his three successors is somewhat confused. Lucius is described as τρεῖς δεκάδας κατέχων, the first letter of his name Λ standing for 30. The ἄλλος ἄναξ is Antoninus Pius whose name, like Hadrian's, begins with A (μονάδος πάλι πρώτης). The κοίρανος ἄλλος, whose initial letter O stands for 70 (ἐκ δεκάδων ἑπτά), is Verus (Οὔηρος), by which name is meant not, as commonly, L. Verus, but M. Aurelius. The latter however is called Verus by Eusebius and other Christian writers, and even by Julian *Caesares* p. 312 A τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρίδος Βήρου καὶ Λουκίου, where the name is applied to Marcus in distinction to Lucius. The expression 'good names' refers to the similarity of the sounds *Antoninus*, *Adonai*, as in the previous Sibyllist, who however explains his meaning more fully. The expression applied to Lucius, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὀψὲ κρατήσει, is borrowed from the other Sibyllist (*Orac. Sib.* v. 51), though the prediction had been falsified by the result. Our later Sibyllist must have repeated it parrot-like, or have interpreted it some other way. In ver. 182 ὁ νεώτατος is again L. Verus, though it is difficult to reconcile the statements in the following verses (vv. 183—185) with history. The ἄλλος ἀνὴρ of ver. 187 must again be M. Aurelius, as is shown by what follows. The Sibyllist may have been misled by the confusion of Eusebius in his references to the emperors at this epoch. For the miracle of the thundering legion mentioned in vv. 195—200 see above, p. 469 sq.

The four last Sibylline books, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, are by the same hand. This list of the Roman Emperors in the 12th book ends with Alexander Severus; but the subsequent history of the empire is continued in the following books, being given by way of prediction. The last page of history, with which the prophetess shows any acquaintance, comprises the successes of Odenathus in the East and his recognition as emperor (A.D. 264—267). This closes the 13th book. The opening of the 14th contains apparently an allusion to the death of Odenathus (A.D. 267) and possibly (ver. 18) refers also to Aureolus the Western pretender to the empire, whose rebellion was nearly synchronous with this event. But the writer betrays no knowledge of Zenobia as the successor of Odenathus. It is true he goes on to predict the later history, foretelling a succession of emperors and giving the initial letters of their names; but his predictions have no resemblance to the actual facts of history, and he is evidently drawing from his imagination. The date of this Sibyllist therefore is not later than A.D. 267 or 268. On this subject see Alexandre *Oracula Sibyllina* II. p. 415 sq.

2.

MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS.

THIS branch of the subject need not detain us long. It has no such close and immediate connexion with the literary transmission, and therefore with the question of integrity and genuineness of Polycarp's Epistle, as in the case of the Ignatian letters. Moreover in most of the MSS the Epistle of Polycarp is appended to the Ignatian letters, and these MSS have been already described.

We have seen that, as originally written and despatched to the Philippians, it stood *before* the Seven Epistles of Ignatius, which were *subjoined* (ὑποτεταγμέναι) as a sort of appendix (see above, pp. 323, 428, and II. p. 932). This position it does not occupy in any extant Greek MS. It does indeed occur in some MSS in connexion with the Ignatian letters; but the circumstances are such as to deprive the fact of any value.

In the first place it is not found in connexion with the seven genuine epistles, but only with the thirteen interpolated and spurious letters. In the next place, it is placed not before, but after these letters, in those Greek MSS in which the combination is found. Thirdly and lastly, it is not so combined in all our Greek MSS, but only in one particular group, of which the parent MS, *Vaticanus* 859, is extant and belongs to the 11th or 12th century (see above, p. 103 sq.). This group has no claim to represent a very early stage in the transmission of the documents which it contains. On the contrary it has many corruptions of text, and it fuses together the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas into one. On the other hand Polycarp's Epistle is wanting in two most important extant MSS of these Ignatian letters—the only two which are independent

of the group already named—*Monacensis* 394, and *Constantinopolitanus* (see above, pp. 102, 110). It appears also to have been wanting in a third independent MS, *Nydpruccianus*, which is now no longer extant, but which furnished the text of a very early edition (see above, p. 109). It will be evident from these facts that the connexion of the Epistle of Polycarp with the Ignatian letters in the extant Greek MSS is late and accidental. It is in no sense due to historical transmission from the original copy, in which Polycarp attached the letters of Ignatius to his own. A late transcriber would naturally be anxious to include the works of these two contemporary Apostolic fathers in the same volume, more especially as Ignatius addresses Polycarp and Polycarp mentions Ignatius; though he might have to transcribe them from different manuscripts.

Whether at the time when it was written Polycarp's Epistle was circulated independently, as well as in connexion with the Ignatian letters, we have no certain information. But this would probably be the case. A copy of so important a letter would be kept by the author, and his disciples would transcribe it for more general circulation. The earliest Christian writers however, who quote or mention it—Irenæus and Eusebius, Timotheus and Severus—had in their possession likewise the letters of Ignatius (see below, p. 547 sq.); and presumably therefore the two were still attached together in their copies, as they had been in the original document sent to the Philippians. The first direct notice of the Epistle of Polycarp, as separate from the letters of Ignatius, appears in Photius (c. A.D. 850), who speaks of it as contained in a little volume (*βιβλιδάριον*) comprising likewise the Two Epistles of Clement of Rome, but not (as we may infer from his silence) the Epistles of Ignatius, with which he betrays no acquaintance (see below, p. 556).

(i) Greek Manuscripts.

The extant Greek Manuscripts have all descended from one faulty, and probably not very early, archetype. This is shown by the fact mentioned more than once already (pp. 104, 105; comp. II. p. 901), that the epistle is mutilated at the end and runs on without any break into the Epistle of Barnabas, of which the commencement is wanting. The sentence at the junction is *ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν λαὸν τὸν κενὸν (καινὸν) κ.τ.λ.*, of which *ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ* belongs to Polycarp § 9, and *τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν* to Barnabas § 5. They have all likewise the

same heading, *τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης καὶ ἱερομάρτυρος πρὸς φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολή*. This family of MSS however may be divided into two classes, according as Polycarp's Epistle is or is not connected with the Ignatian letters.

(i) The MSS belonging to the first class have been already described (see above, p. 103 sq.). They are as follows.

1. *Vaticanus* 859 [v], described above, p. 103 [g_2]. The Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas are contained on fol. 195—211.

2. *Ottobonianus* 348 [o], described above, p. 104, where reasons are given for believing it to be a direct transcript of the preceding. The Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas are on fol. 63—84.

3. *Florentinus Laur.* vii. 21 [f], described above, p. 105, where its parentage is traced to the last mentioned MS [o].

4. *Parisiensis Graec.* 937 [p], described above, p. 106, where its close connexion with the last mentioned MS [f] is pointed out. The Epistle of Polycarp begins on fol. 48 a.

These four MSS I have re-collated myself for the Epistle of Polycarp, so as to exhibit their connexion. But since v may be regarded as the common ancestor of the others [o f p], these latter have no independent value in determining the text. For previous collations see II. p. 904.

(ii) The MSS in which the Epistle of Polycarp (with the Epistle of Barnabas still attached) is found apart from the Ignatian Epistles are the following.

(5) *Casanatensis* G. v. 14 [c], described above, p. 74 sq. The Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas are found in the same volume with the Ignatian Epistles (the genuine and spurious, but not the interpolated letters); but they are not in the same handwriting, and the connexion is due solely to the binder. The volume in fact is made up of several tracts in different handwritings of different dates and on different sized paper, loosely bound together. The handwriting of the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas seems to me probably later than the 15th century, to which Dressel ascribes it. I have recollated this MS, which was first collated by Dressel.

(6) *Barberinus* 7 [b], see above, p. 75. In the handwriting of Lucas Holsten, who on fol. 2 writes; 'S. Polycarpi Episcopi et Martyris Epistola ad Philippenses S. Barnabae Apostoli *ἀκέφαλος*. Ex Msto bibliothecae S. Silvestri in Quirinali collata cum Msto vetustiore Vatic. bibl.' This last MS is *Vatic.* 859, from which accordingly he gives an occasional various reading. The MS of S. Silvester is the same which Voss (p. 310) in his edition of the Epistle of Barnabas calls *Theatinorum qui Romae agunt* (see Gebhardt, Barnab. *Epist.* Proleg. pp. x, xiv). It

has since been lost. *Barber.* 7 was collated by Dressel, and I have recollated it.

(7) *Neapolitanus* II. A. 17 [n], a paper MS of the 15th century, in the National Library (Bibliotheca Borbonica) at Naples, called *Borbonicus* by Gebhardt (*ib.* p. xi) and by Zahn (Ignat. et Polyc. *Epist.* p. xliv). This MS is described in Cyrilli *Codices Graeci MSS Bibliothecae Borbonicae* I. p. 43 sq. (Neapoli, 1826). I collated the Epistle of Polycarp in this MS many years ago for this edition. A collation has since been made by E. Martini for Gebhardt, and some various readings in the Epistle of Polycarp are given from this collation by Zahn (Proleg. p. xliv); see II. p. 904. The Epistle of Polycarp begins fol. 533 b.

(8) *Salmasianus* [s], concerning which see II. p. 903.

(9) *Andrius* [a], belonging to the monastery Ζωοδόχου Πηγῆς in Andros. The Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas, combined as usual, were transcribed from this MS and published in the *Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece* (Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος) I. p. 209 sq. (Athens, 1883). The transcriber Constantius Pleziotes, who contributes this article to the *Bulletin*, supposes that he is giving the lost end of the Epistle of Polycarp, being wholly unaware that he is only reproducing Polycarp's letter with a large part of the Epistle of Barnabas attached, as it is found in all the extant Greek MSS. This MS is described as written on paper in small close characters with many contractions, in three different handwritings. A colophon in the beginning states that it was purchased in 1656 by one Nathaniel an Athenian monk. The last page is wanting (except an unimportant scrap), so that the text ends with *μησήσεις* (sic) *πᾶν ὃ οὐ* in Barnab. § 19. It would appear from the description to be quite a late MS. It contains among other patristic works the *Hodegus* of Anastasius of Sinai.

This text was published too late to be of use for my own text of the epistle (II. p. 905); nor would it have contributed anything of value. It is a MS of the same type as c b n s, but the transcriber has tampered with the text before him in various places. Thus in Polyc. § 7 for *πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἀντίχριστός ἐστι* he reads *πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι.* The negative has been accidentally omitted in the beginning of the sentence, and he has altered the end arbitrarily for the sake of the sense. Again in Barnab. § 6, where the writer, explaining the plural of Gen. i. 26 'Let us make', says *ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν υἱόν*, the transcriber adds *καὶ πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.*

Pleziotes represents his MS as giving the words at the end of Polyc.

§ 9 καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα. This is probably an error, as all the other MSS omit the last three words and plunge into the Epistle of Barnabas in the middle of the sentence. If the statement be correct, the scribe of this or of some ancestral MS must have obtained the missing words from Eusebius.

(ii) Latin Version.

In the Latin MSS the Epistle of Polycarp appears in proximity with the spurious and interpolated letters of Ignatius and other Ignatian matter such as the Acts of Martyrdom, the Laus Heronis, and the Correspondence with the Virgin. A description of thirteen such MSS is given above, p. 118 sq. In twelve out of the thirteen the Epistle of Polycarp comes after the Ignatian letters, and generally with some intervening matter. The thirteenth, *Vindobonensis* 1068 (p. 122), in which it precedes these letters, belongs to a comparatively late date and has no claims to be regarded as giving the earlier order. There is no reason to suppose that the Latin MSS represent one Greek original containing the whole of the Ignatian and Polycarpian matter. If the translation were made from a single Greek original, it must have been a comparatively late MS. This is evident from the fact that the Acts of Martyrdom here presented are a conflate work, made up of the Roman and Antiochene Acts of Ignatius combined (see II. pp. 365, 370). It is not even certain that the version of Polycarp's Epistle was made by the same hand which translated the Ignatian letters; and the two may have been combined after each separately had assumed its Latin dress. The vocabulary perhaps suggests different hands, though its evidence is far from decisive. Thus θυσιαστήριον in Polyc. *Phil.* 4 is rendered *sacrarium;* but the word commonly used in the Ignatian Epistles, where it occurs, is *altare* (*Ephes.* 5, *Trall.* 7, *Magn.* 7, *Rom.* 2)[1], though in the first two passages *sacrarium* would be the more appropriate word, the expression being ἐντὸς [τοῦ] θυσιαστηρίου. On the other hand in *Tars.* 9 χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ, which is the closest parallel to the passage in Polycarp, it is rendered *sacrarium.* But the expression in this connexion may have become common, before this translation was made. Again in Polyc. *Phil.* 8 ἀδιαλείπτως is translated *indeficienter*, and in Polyc. *Phil.* 4 *incessanter*, but in Ignat. *Ephes.* 10, *Polyc.* 1 (for in this latter passage the translator evidently read ἀδιαλείπτως for ἀδιαλείπτοις)

[1] In *Philad.* 4 the clause containing θυσιαστήριον is omitted in this version.

the rendering is *indesinenter*. On the whole the question must be left undetermined.

The translation is very loose at times, and the Greek text from which it was made was not free from errors. Moreover the text of the version itself has not been transmitted to us uncorrupted. The opening sentence exhibits all these three sources of depravation :

Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρέπεσι δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστι διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων.	Congratulatus sum vobis magnifice in Domino nostro Jesu Christo suscipiens imitabilia verba dilectionis quam ostendistis in illis qui praemissi sunt viris sanctis, decorosis vinculis connexis, quae sunt coronae electae Deo, illius veri regni per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

The corruption of the Greek text is illustrated by *suscipiens* (δεξάμενος for δεξαμένοις), and that of the Latin version by *verba* (for *verae* = ἀληθοῦς); while the looseness of the translation appears in the rendering of καὶ προπέμψασιν ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ. by *quam ostendistis in illis qui praemissi sunt*, which the boldness of despair alone could have suggested. This passage however is an unfavourable sample of the version, which here shows at its worst.

So far as I have observed, no traces appear of other versions. Unlike the Epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp's letter seems not to have been translated into Syriac. The few Syriac quotations which are found (see below, p. 547 sq.) appear in collections of extracts, and seem to have been translated in the first instance *in situ* with the Greek authors who first quoted them.

3.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES.

THE course followed here is substantially the same as in the case of Ignatius above, p. 127 sq.

1.

IGNATIUS [c. A.D. 110].

(i) *Epist. ad Ephes.* 21.

εἰς Σμύρναν, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς.

(ii) *Epist. ad Magnes.* 15.

κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσαν ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σμυρναίων.

(iii) *Epist. ad Smyrn.* 12.

ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον.

(iv) *Epist. ad Polyc.* passim (see II. p. 331 sq.).

2.

LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS [c. A.D. 156].

This document, giving an account of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, is printed below, II. p. 947 sq.

3.

LUCIAN [A.D. 165—170].

De Morte Peregrini 36 sq. : see above, p. 132 sq.

4.

IRENÆUS [C. A.D. 175—195].

(i) *Adv. Haereses* iii. 3. 4.

Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ. ἐπιπολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος, ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου, ταῦτα διδάξας ἀεί, ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἃ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ. μαρτυροῦσι τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον, πολλῷ ἀξιοπιστότερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἀληθείας μάρτυρα ὄντα Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογνωμόνων· ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἱρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην ταύτην ἀλήθειαν κηρύξας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειληφέναι, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην. καί εἰσιν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον, ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπών· Φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνί ποτε εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι, Ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, ἀπεκρίθη, Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ. τοσαύτην οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν ἔσχον εὐλάβειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ μέχρι λόγου κοινωνεῖν τινὶ τῶν παραχαρασσόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν· αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ

μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἁμαρτάνει ὢν αὐτοκατάκριτος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους γεγραμμένη ἱκανωτάτη, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ βουλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας δύνανται μαθεῖν.

The original Greek of this passage is preserved in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14: see above, pp. 434, 457.

(ii) *Adv. Haereses* v. 33. 4.

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστὴς Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς κ.τ.λ.

See above, p. 426.

(iii) *Epist. ad Florinum* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20).

Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρῖνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἴπω, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιοῦς γνώμης. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνά ἐστι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς τὴν μείζονα ἀσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἱρετικοὶ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφήνασθαί ποτε. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράσσοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἔναγχος γινομένων. αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ ἑνοῦνται αὐτῇ, ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακότων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἃ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ

λόγου παρειληφὼς ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν χάρτῃ ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρυκῶμαι· καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκεῖνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράξας ἂν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ εἰπών, Ὦ καλὲ Θεέ, εἰς οἵους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι, πεφεύγει ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἢ ἑστὼς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐπέστειλεν, ἤτοι ταῖς γειτνιώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτάς, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισί, νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι.

The passage is translated above, p. 429; see also p. 432.

(iv) *Epist. ad Victorem* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24).

Καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριψεν ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισε τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ᾽ ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ᾽ εἰρήνης ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν τηρούντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηρούντων.

See above, p. 433.

5.

Polycrates of Ephesus [c. a.d. 195].

Epist. ad Victorem (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24).

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών...οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς, καὶ Θρασέας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοίμηται. τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παπίριον τὸν μακάριον καὶ Μελίτωνα...ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσι...οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κ.τ.λ.

See above, p. 494.

6.

Tertullianus [c. a.d. 200].

De Praescr. Haeret. 32.

Hoc enim modo ecclesiae apostolicae census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnaeorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Ioanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem.

7.

Acts of Pionius [c. a.d. 250].

Ruinart *Acta Martyrum Sincera* pp. 188, 198 (Ratisbon, 1859).

2. Secundo itaque die sexti mensis, qui dies est quarto Idus Martias, die sabbati majore, natale Polycarpi martyris celebrantes genuinum, Pionium, Sabinam, Asclepiadem, Macedoniam quoque et Lemnum presbyterum Catholicae Ecclesiae vis persecutionis invenit. Sed quia bonae fidei totum Dominus ostendit, Pionius quae imminebant supplicia, quia non timebat advenientia, futura praevidit. Ergo ante diem quam natalis Polycarpi martyris adveniret, cum Sabina et Asclepiade dum jejuniis devotus insisteret, vidit in somnis sequenti die se esse capiendum...

23. Acta sunt haec sub proconsule Julio Proclo Quintiliano, consule Imperatore Gaio Messio Quinto Trajano Decio et Vitio Grato,

[et] ut Romani dicunt, IV Idus Martii, et ut Asiani dicunt, mense sexto, die sabbati, hora decima, etc.

The bearing of this document on the time of Polycarp's martyrdom will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. The year of Pionius' own martyrdom is fixed (A.D. 250) by the names of the consuls.

8.

Apostolical Constitutions [A.D. ?].

ii. 26. *αἵ τε χῆραι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ ὑμῶν εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λελογίσθωσαν ὑμῖν.*

iii. 6. *γνωριζέτω οὖν ἡ χήρα ὅτι θυσιαστήριόν ἐστι Θεοῦ.*

iii. 14. *ἡ χήρα προσευχέσθω...ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ ὑπάρχουσα.*

Taken from Polyc. *Phil.* 4.

9.

Eusebius of Cæsarea [c. A.D. 310—325].

(i) *Chronicon* II. pp. 162, 170 (ed. Schöne).

Ann. Abr.	Trajan.	
2114	1	

The passage is given above, p. 137.

Ann. Abr.	M. Aurel.	
2181	5	Pisis ignem ascendit Peregrinus, etc.
2182	6	Lucius Caesar Parthos subegit, triumphavitque cum fratre.
2183	7	Persecutione ecclesiam occupante Policarpus martirium subiit, cuiusque martyrium scriptis (traditum) memoratur. Multi etiam in Gallia fortiter martyrium passi sunt, quorum certamina hucusque sane ex ordine scripta extant.

Thus the notice of Polycarp's martyrdom is not placed opposite the 7th year of M. Aurelius, but after it, and is associated with the persecution at Vienne and Lyons. The bearing of this arrangement will be discussed below. On the other hand Jerome in his edition of the Chronicon places both persecutions opposite the 7th year of M. Aurelius, though the latter took place A.D. 177. See below, p. 545.

The corresponding words in Syncellus are, *Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἱερώτατος Σμύρνης ἐπίσκοπος τῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίῳ ἐτελειώθη διωγμοῦ κατὰ τὴν*

Ἀσίαν γεγονότος. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς Γαλλίας νομίμως ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἤθλησαν, ὧν τὰ μαρτύρια ἀναγέγραπται εἰς μνήμην τοῖς μετέπειτα (pp. 664, 665).

(ii) *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 36, 37, 38.

The passages are quoted above, p. 138 sq.

(iii) *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 14, 15.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δηλουμένων, Ἀνικήτου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, Πολύκαρπον ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ γενέσθαι τε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίαν τῷ Ἀνικήτῳ ἐλθεῖν διά τι ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας, Εἰρηναῖος ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἄλλην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου παραδίδωσι διήγησιν, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλουμένοις ἐπισυνάψαι, οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

Ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις Εἰρηναίου.

Καὶ Πολύκαρπος κ.τ.λ. [See above, p. 537.]

ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος. ὁ γέ τοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ, φερομένῃ εἰς δεῦρο, κέχρηταί τισι μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς.

15. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος μεγίστων τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναθορυβησάντων διωγμῶν μαρτυρίῳ τελειοῦται. ἀναγκαιότατον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος, ἐγγράφως ἤδη φερόμενον, ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν μνήμῃ τῆς ἱστορίας καταθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ἐκ προσώπου ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο, ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον παροικίαις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνουσα διὰ τούτων·

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. [Here follows the greater part of the Smyrnæan Letter; see II. p. 941 sq.]

τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν θαυμάσιον καὶ ἀποστολικὸν Πολύκαρπον τοιούτου κατηξίωτο τέλους, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίαν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ᾗ δεδηλώκαμεν αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῇ κατατεθειμένων. ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνῆπτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Μητρόδωρος τῆς κατὰ

Μαρκίωνα πλάνης πρεσβύτερος δὴ εἶναι δοκῶν πυρὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀνήρηται. τῶν γε μὴν τότε περιβόητος μάρτυς εἷς τις ἐγνωρίζετο Πιόνιος, οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ὁμολογίας, τήν τε τοῦ λόγου παρρησίαν, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπολογίας, διδασκαλικάς τε δημηγορίας, καὶ ἔτι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπεπτωκότας τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν πειρασμῷ δεξιώσεις, παραμυθίας τε ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσαφικνουμένοις ἀδελφοῖς παρετίθετο, ἅς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέμεινε βασάνους τε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀλγηδόνας καθηλώσεις τε, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς καρτερίαν, τήν τε ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς παραδόξοις αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν πληρέστατα τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς περιεχούσης, τοὺς οἷς φίλον ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀναπέμψομεν, τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων συναχθεῖσιν ἡμῖν μαρτυρίοις ἐντεταγμένην. ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐν Περγάμῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπομνήματα μεμαρτυρηκότων φέρεται, Κάρπου καὶ Παπύλου καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης, μετὰ πλείστας καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ὁμολογίας ἐπιδόξως τετελειωμένων.

With the quotation from Irenæus in c. 14 compare *H. E.* iii. 28 *ὁ δὲ Εἰρηναῖος... ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἀξίαν λήθης τῇ γραφῇ παρέδωκεν, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου φάσκων, Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπόστολον εἰσελθεῖν ποτε ἐν βαλανείῳ κ.τ.λ.*

(iv) *Hist. Eccles.* v. 5.

Ποθεινοῦ δὴ ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ζωῆς ἔτεσιν ἐνενήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας μαρτυρήσασι τελειωθέντος, Εἰρηναῖος τῆς κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἧς ὁ Ποθεινὸς ἡγεῖτο παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται. Πολυκάρπου δὲ τοῦτον ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἐμανθάνομεν ἡλικίαν. οὗτος [Εἰρηναῖος] τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κ.τ.λ.

(v) *Hist. Eccles.* v. 20.

ἐν ᾗ γε μὴν προειρήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν Φλωρῖνον ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐπιστολῇ αὖθις τῆς ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ συνουσίας αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λέγων· Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρῖνε, κ.τ.λ.

See above, p. 538.

10.

SYRIAC MARTYROLOGY [c. A.D. 350?].

'Shebat [Febr.] 23. In Asia, of the number of the ancient confessors, Polycarp the bishop, Aratus, Cosconius, Melanippus and Zeno.'

The name here given as *Aratus* is written in the Syriac MS ܐܪܛܘܣ 'Arutus', which may perhaps, as Wright suggests, be a mistake for ܐܪܣܛܘܣ *Aristus* or *Erastus*.

On this document see II. p. 417. It is worthy of notice that under 'The latter Kanun [January] 19' we have a similar entry, 'In the city of Nicæa, of the number of the ancient confessors, Cosconius, Zeno, and Melanippus'.

11.

LIFE OF POLYCARP [c. A.D. 350?].

This fictitious biography, which apparently professes to have been written by Pionius, is printed in full in my second volume, where also its date is discussed.

12.

PSEUDO-IGNATIUS [c. A.D. 370?].

(i) *Epist. ad Antioch.* 13.

Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἀξιοπρεπὴς ἐπίσκοπος, ᾧ καὶ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ.

(ii) *Epist. ad Heron.* 7.

Πολυκάρπῳ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

(iii) *Epist. ad Philipp.* 14.

Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Πολύκαρπον.

In addition to these are the passages taken by this forger from the genuine Ignatius (see above, p. 536).

13.

HIERONYMUS [c. A.D. 390—400].

(i) *De Viris Illustribus* 17 (*Op.* II. p. 843).

Polycarpus, Ioannis apostoli discipulus et ab eo Smyrnae episcopus ordinatus, totius Asiae princeps fuit, quippe qui nonnullos apostolorum et eorum qui viderant Dominum magistros habuerit et viderit. Hic propter quasdam super die paschae quaestiones sub imperatore Anto-

nino Pio, ecclesiam in urbe regente Aniceto, Romam venit, ubi plurimos credentium, Marcionis et Valentini persuasione deceptos, reduxit ad fidem. Cumque ei fortuito obviam fuisset Marcion et diceret 'Cognosce nos', respondit, 'Cognosco primogenitum diaboli'. Postea vero, regnante M. Antonino et L. Aurelio Commodo, quarta post Neronem persecutione, Smyrnae sedente proconsule et universo populo in amphitheatro adversus eum personante igni traditus est. Scripsit ad Philippenses valde utilem epistolam quae usque hodie in Asiae conventu legitur.

(ii) *Adv. Helvidium* 17 (*Op.* II. p. 225).

See above, p. 147.

(iii) *Epistula* 71 (*Op.* I. p. 434).

Porro Josephi libros et sanctorum Papiae et Polycarpi volumina falsus ad te rumor pertulit a me esse translata; quia nec otii mei nec virium est tantas res eadem in alteram linguam exprimere venustate.

(iv) *Chronicon* M. Aurel. 7 (II. p. 171, ed. Schöne).

Persecutione orta in Asia Polycarpus et Pionius fecere martyrium, quorum scribtae quoque passiones feruntur.

After this follows 'Plurimi in Gallia etc.'; see above, p. 541.

Of the four works of Jerome here quoted the first belongs to A.D. 392, the second to A.D. 382, the third to A.D. 398, and the fourth to A.D. 378.

14.

Rufinus [c. A.D. 402—406].

Historia Ecclesiastica iii. 36, 37, 38, iv. 14, 15.

These passages, translated from Eusebius, have supplied a large portion of the notices of Polycarp in later Latin writers; but they are too long to be given in full.

15.

Macarius Magnes [c. A.D. 400].

Apocritica iii. 24 (p. 109, ed. Blondel).

Αὖτι δ' οὖν τὴν Σμυρναίων ἐπισκοπὴν διέπων Πολύκαρπος, τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν λῃΐων μεγάλως νοσήσαντος, ὁπηνίκα μηδὲ μικρῷ νέφει κρυπτόμενος οὐρανὸς ἄσβεστον ἐξ ἀέρος τὴν φλόγωσιν ἔπεμπεν, εἰς ἄμετρον τὴν ἐπικειμένην διακαίων ἤπειρον μέχρι τοσούτου καὶ τῶν λιβάδων τὰς νοτίδας ἐξή-

ρανεν, ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ λυπηροῦ πιέζοντος, παρελθὼν ὁ θεσπέσιος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς οἰκήτορας οὕτω τετρυχωμένους, τὰς χεῖρας δι' εὐχῆς ἐπιβαλὼν τρόπον τινὰ κεκαυμένῳ καιρῷ, ἐξαίφνης τοῦ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐποίησε τὰ πάντα· ἀμέτρως δ' αὖθις ὑετῷ πνιγομένης τῆς χέρσου καὶ τῶν ἐνοίκων, οἰκτρῶς ὀδυρομένων, πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς εἰς ἀέρα τὰς χεῖρας πετάσας ἔλυσε τὸ δεινόν, τὸ στυγνὸν ἰασάμενος. καὶ δὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χήρας βίον οἰκονομῶν, ὅπου δ' ἂν πιστεύων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλε, καλῶς ἔσχεν ἅπαντα.

The editio princeps of this father was published by Blondel (Paris, 1876). He seems to have been the same Macarius Magnes whose name appears in connexion with the Oak Synod, A.D. 403. Duchesne, in a monograph which appeared almost simultaneously with the editio princeps (*De Macario Magnete* etc., Paris 1877), maintained a different opinion; but he has since (*Vita Polycarpi Auctore Pionio* p. 7 sq.) accepted this identification, which is now generally received.

In the last line but two χήρας is Zahn's correction for the reading of the MS χεῖρας (see II. p. 1017 sq.). Blondel reads [διὰ] χεῖρας. For these miracles see II. p. 1012.

16.

SOCRATES [C. A.D. 440].

Historia Ecclesiastica V. 22.

Καὶ ὅτι Πολύκαρπος ὁ τῆς Σμύρνης ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Γορδιανοῦ μαρτυρήσας, Ἀνικήτῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκοινώνει μηδὲν διακρινόμενος περὶ ἑορτῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐγχωρίου τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ συνηθείας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελῶν, ὡς ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσέβιος λέγει.

This strange statement that Polycarp was martyred under Gordian will be considered in the subsequent chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom.

17.

THEODORET [A.D. 446].

Epist. 145, *Op.* IV. p. 1026.

The passage is quoted above, p. 161 sq.

18.

Sozomen [c. A.D. 445].

Historia Ecclesiastica vii. 19.

Αἴδε μὲν περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἑορτῆς [τοῦ πάσχα] αἱ διαφοραί. σοφώτατα δέ πως οἶμαι καταλῦσαι τὴν συμβᾶσαν πάλαι περὶ ταύτης φιλονεικίαν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βίκτωρα τὸν τότε τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον καὶ Πολύκαρπον τὸν Σμυρναῖον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ πρὸς δύσιν ἱερεῖς οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου τὴν παράδοσιν ἀτιμάζειν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰωάννῃ τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ ἀκολουθεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο, τοῦτο κοινῇ δόξαν, ἕκαστοι ὡς εἰώθεσαν ἑορτάζοντες τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς κοινωνίας οὐκ ἐχωρίσθησαν.

Sozomen has here confused together the earlier communications between Polycarp and Anicetus on the Paschal question with the later communications between Polycrates and Victor on the same subject. The similarity of the names (Polycarpus, Polycrates), and the fact that Polycrates refers to Polycarp, would assist this confusion.

19.

Timotheus of Alexandria [A.D. 457].

Testimonia Patrum.

ܡ ܕܝܘܣܩܘܪ ܕܐܦܣܩܦܐ ܕܣܡܪܢܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡ
ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܪܟܝܘܬܐ.

Of Polycarp bishop of Smyrna and martyr, from the Epistle to the Philippians.

But God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Chief-priest of eternity Himself, God Jesus Christ, (shall) build you up in faith and in truth and in all meekness.

For the writer Timotheus, and for the work from which this extract is taken, see above, p. 168. It follows immediately after the extracts given above (p. 167) from Ignatius. It was first published by Cureton *C. I.* p. 212, from whom I have taken it.

20.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE [c. A.D. 500].

Epistula 7 ad Polycarpum.

§ 2. Σὺ δὲ φῂς λοιδορεῖσθαί μοι τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἀπολλοφάνη καὶ πατραλοίαν ἀποκαλεῖν, ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐχ ὁσίως χρωμένῳ κ.τ.λ.

The letter is a reply to this imaginary attack of Apollophanes; but it contains nothing which throws light on the history or traditions affecting Polycarp.

21.

PHILOXENUS OF HIERAPOLIS [A.D. 485—518].

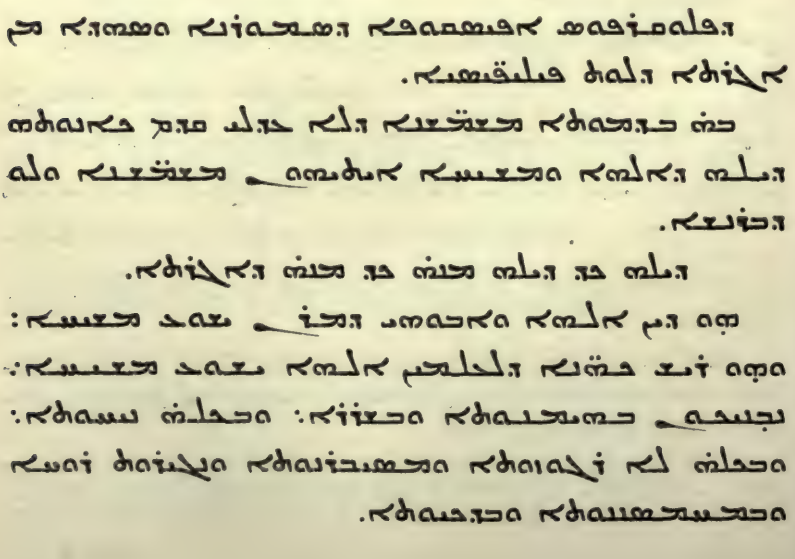
Epistula ad Patricium.

The passage is quoted above, p. 169.

22.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH [c. A.D. 513—518].

Adv. Joannem Grammaticum.



Of Polycarp bishop of Smyrna and martyr from the Epistle to the Philippians;

In the same manner deacons blameless before His righteousness are deacons of God and Christ and not of man.

Of the same from the same Epistle;

But God Himself and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and the eternal Chief-priest Himself, God Jesus Christ, (shall) build you in faith and in truth and in all gentleness and in all unwrathfulness and patience and endurance of spirit and in perseverance and in chastity.

On this writer, and on this particular work, see above, pp. 169, 174. These passages follow immediately after the extracts from Ignatius given above, pp. 170—174. I have taken them from Cureton *C. I.* p. 214 sq.

23.

Anonymous Syriac Writer.

Testimonia Sanctorum Patrum.

ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܦܘܠܝܩܪܦܘܣ.

ܟܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܠܒܪ ܒܦܓܪ̈ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܐܬܐ ܒܦܓܪ: ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܓܠܐ. ܘܐܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ
ܒܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܙܩܝܦܐ: ܡܢ ܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ ܗܘ̣. ܘܐܝܢܐ
ܕܡܥܩܡ ܠܡ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܠܘܬ ܪ̈ܓܝܓܬܗ: ܘܐܡܪ
ܕܠܝܬ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ: ܗܢܐ ܒܘܟܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܕܣܛܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܣܪܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ:
ܘܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܓܠܐ: ܘܢܬܦܢܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ
ܐܬܝܗܒܬ ܠܢ: ܟܕ ܥܝܪܝܢ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܘܐܡܝܢܝܢ[1] ܒܨܘܡܐ
ܘܒܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܟܫܦܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܙܐ ܕܟܠ: ܕܠܐ ܢܥܠܢ
ܠܢܣܝܘܢܐ[2].

[1] The MS reads incorrectly ܘܐܡܝܢܝܢ ܗܝ. [2] The MS reads (or at least Zingerle prints) ܢܣܝܘܢܐ.

ܘܬܘܒ.

ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܘܥܠ
ܡܠܟܐ ܘܫܠܝܛܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܪܫܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܣܢܝܢ ܠܢ
ܘܪܕܦܝܢ ܠܢ. ܘܥܠ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܘܗܝ ܕܨܠܝܒܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.

Of the holy Polycarp;

For every one that confesseth not our Lord Jesus Christ that He came in the flesh, is a false Christ; and if he confesseth not the testimony of the Cross, he is from the devil; and he that dealeth treacherously with the words of God in regard to his lusts and saith that there is no resurrection neither judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan. Therefore let us abandon the vanity of the many and the false doctrine, and let us turn to the word which from the beginning was delivered unto us, watching in prayer and continuing in fasting and in supplication and asking of God the Lord of all that He bring us not into temptation.

And again;

Be ye praying for all the saints and for kings and rulers and for princes, and for those that hate us and persecute us, and for the enemies of the Cross of Christ.

These extracts were first published by Zingerle (*Monumenta Syriaca* I. p. 1) from the MS *Vatic. Syr.* 135. It contains testimonies of the fathers, and this portion refers to the Second Advent. The scribe of the MS was one Barsumas whom we learn from another MS (*Vatic. Syr.* 94) to have been alive in A.D. 1010. Of the date of the work itself no information is given; but among the authors quoted is Jacob of Sarug who died A.D. 521 (see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 289 sq.).

24.

Antiochene Acts of Ignatius [5th or 6th cent.].

§ 3. Καὶ προσχὼν μετὰ πολὺν κάματον τῇ Σμυρναίων πόλει σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ καταβὰς τῆς νηὸς ἔσπευδε τὸν ἅγιον Πολύκαρπον τὸν Σμυρναίων ἐπίσκοπον τὸν συνακροατὴν θεάσασθαι· ἐγεγόνεισαν γὰρ πάλαι μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου. παρ' ᾧ καταχθεὶς κ.τ.λ. (The context will be found below, II. p. 480 sq.)

For the limits of date of this document see II. p. 382 sq.

25.

Roman Acts of Ignatius [5th or 6th cent.].

The writer copies out (§ 12) the extract from Polycarp relating to Ignatius, as given in Eusebius; see II. p. 535 sq.

For the limits of date of this document see II. p. 381 sq.

26.

Gregory of Tours [A.D. 576, 588].

(i) *Historia Francorum* i. 26 (p. 174 sq., Migne).

Nam sub Antonini imperio Marcionitana et Valentiniana haeresis insana surrexit; et Justinus philosophus post scriptos catholicae ecclesiae libros martyrio pro Christi nomine coronatur. In Asia autem orta persecutione beatissimus Polycarpus Ioannis apostoli et evangelistae discipulus octogesimo aetatis suae anno, velut holocaustum purissimum, per ignem Domino consecratur. Sed et in Galliis multi pro Christi nomine sunt per martyrium gemmis caelestibus coronati; quorum passionum historiae apud nos fideliter usque hodie retinentur. [27] Ex quibus et ille primus Lugdunensis ecclesiae Photinus episcopus fuit, qui plenus dierum, diversis afflictus suppliciis, pro Christi nomine passus est. Beatissimus vero Irenaeus hujus successor martyris, qui a beato Polycarpo ad hanc urbem directus est, admirabili virtute enituit; qui in modici temporis spatio praedicatione sua maxime in integro civitatem reddidit Christianam. Sed veniente persecutione...Beatum Irenaeum diversis in sua carnifex praesentia poenis affectum Christo Domino per martyrium dedicavit. Post hunc et quadraginta octo martyres passi sunt, ex quibus primum fuisse legimus Vettium Epagatum.

In the sentence 'qui a beato etc.', the tenour of the sentence requires 'Irenaeus', not 'Pothinus' (here written Photinus), as the antecedent to the relative; see above, p. 430. At the same time there is much confusion in the narrative. Vettius Epagathus was one of the sufferers in the same persecution at Vienne and Lyons (A.D. 177), which was fatal to Pothinus (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1), whereas Irenæus survived this persecution many years.

In his other work however (*De Glor. Mart.* 49, 50), in which he gives a fuller account of the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons, and which shows a knowledge of the original documents, the sequence of events is correctly given.

The composition of the *Historia* was begun A.D. 576, and occupied him till A.D. 592. The *Gloria Martyrum* was written A.D. 587, 588. See Ebers *Christ. Latein. Liter.* I. pp. 541, 546. It would seem that he had studied the documents more care-

fully meanwhile. Any revision which he made of the first book of the *Historia* must have been very carelessly done.

(ii) *De Gloria Martyrum* 86 (p. 781, Migne).

Nam recolo quod in adolescentia mea gestum audivi. Dies passionis erat Polycarpi martyris magni, et in Ricomagensi vico civitatis Arvernae ejus solemnia celebrabantur. Lecta igitur passione cum reliquis lectionibus quas canon sacerdotalis invexit, tempus ad sacrificium offerendum advenit, acceptaque turre diaconus, in qua mysterium dominici corporis habebatur, ferre coepit ad ostium, ingressusque templum ut eam altari superponeret, elapsa de manu ejus ferebatur in aera, et sic ad ipsam aram accedens nunquam eam manus diaconi potuit assequi: quod non alia credimus actum de causa, nisi quia pollutus erat in conscientia. Saepius enim ab eodem adulteria ferebantur admissa. Uni tantum presbytero et tribus mulieribus, ex quibus una mater mea erat, haec videre licitum fuit; caeteri non viderunt. Aderam fateor et ego tunc temporis festivitati, sed haec videre non merui.

See above, p. 455 sq.

27.

Chronicon Paschale [c. A.D. 630].

(i) p. 479 sq. (ed. Bonn.).

Ἰνδ. ι΄. κα΄. ὑπ. Τερτύλλου καὶ Σακερδότου.

Πολύκαρπος Σμύρνης ἐπίσκοπος, ἀνὴρ θαυμάσιος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐ μόνον ἀκουστὴς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοπος καταστάς, ἔτι περιὼν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπισκόπου διὰ ζήτημα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος αἱρετικῶν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑγιεῖ λόγῳ ἐπέστρεψεν. ὃς καὶ Μαρκίωνί ποτε εἰς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι Ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς; ἀπεκρίθη Ἐπιγινώσκω σε τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Εἰρηναῖος.

(ii) p. 480 sq.

Ἰνδ. α΄. δ΄. ὑπ. Αἰλιανοῦ καὶ Πάστωρος.

Ἔτους ρλγ΄ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Κυρίου, μεγίστων τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνασοβησάντων διωγμῶν, πολλοὶ ἐμαρ-

τύρησαν· ἐν οἷς Πολύκαρπος, Σμύρνης ἐπίσκοπος καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου μαθητὴς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος, συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Τατίου Κοδράτου ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου εἰρηνάρχου, υἱοῦ ὄντος Νικήτου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπομείνας διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, τῇ πρὸ ζ' καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων, τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ, ὥρᾳ η', τοῦ κεντυρίωνος τὴν τῶν ἐπισυναχθέντων Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνικῶν φιλονεικίαν θεασαμένου, τεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐκάη ζῶν, ὢν ἐτῶν πς'. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ τελειοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ζῶντα καιόμενον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ εἶπε τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ εἰπόντι αὐτῷ Βλασφήμησον τὸν Χριστόν, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Πς' ἔτη δουλεύω τῷ Χριστῷ, οὐδέν με ἠδίκησε· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν σώσαντά με βασιλέα; τούτῳ καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐδόθη ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ Σμυρναίων εἰσιόντι, Ἴσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἤκουσαν. σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ καὶ ἄλλοι θ' ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας μαρτυροῦσιν ἐν Σμύρνῃ· καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ δὲ ἕτεροι, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Παπίας καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, ὧν καὶ ἔγγραφα φέρονται τὰ μαρτύρια. πλεῖστοι καὶ αὐτῶν ἀνάγραπτοι εἰς ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἀγῶνες διαμένουσιν, ὧν πάντων ταῖς πρεσβείαις γένοιτο ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνούς τε καὶ μαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

The chronological notices in this passage will be fully discussed in the chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom. For the substitution of Παπίας for Πάπυλος (as given by Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15) see the *Contemporary Review*, August 1875, p. 381 sq.

28.

Earlier Roman Martyrologies [c. a. d. ?].

(i) *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (Hieron. *Op.* xi. pp. 549, 550, 551, 555, 598, 604).

xvi Kal. Febr. [Jan. 17] Lingonis, passio sanctorum germanorum martyrum, Speusippi, Helasippi, Melasippi, Leonellae, Meonis, Junellae.

xiv Kal. Febr. [Jan. 19]...Germanae.

vii Kal. Febr. [Jan. 26] In Nicaea Smyrnae, Passio sancti Polycarpi episcopi.

Kal. Febr. [Feb. 1] In Graecia sanctorum Polycarpi episcopi, Poenis, Dionysii; item Dionysii; item Poenis, et aliorum quindecim martyrum.

vii Kal. Mart. [Feb. 23] In Asia Polycarpi episcopi cum aliis duodecim martyribus. Smyrnae, SS. Erotis, Carpori, etc.

iv Id. Mart. [March 12] Smyrnae, Pionis, Metrodi.

Kal. Nov. [Nov. 1] Castro Divione, passio sancti Benigni presbyteri et martyris.

xiv Kal. Jan. [Dec. 19] In Nicaea civitate Bithyniae, Zosimi, Pauli, etc.

(ii) *Martyrologium Vetus Romanum* (*Patrol. Lat.* CXXIII. pp. 147, 149, 177, ed. Migne).

xiv Kal. Febr. [Jan. 19] In Smyrna Sancti Germanici martyris ad bestias damnati.

vii Kal. Febr. [Jan. 26] S. Polycarpi, discipuli S. Joannis Apostoli, apud Smyrnam passi.

Kal. Febr. [Feb. 1] Smyrnae Pionii martyris et aliorum quindecim.

vii Kal. Mart. [Feb. 23] Romae, Polycarpi presbyteri.

xv Kal. Jan. [Dec. 18] Rufi et Zosimi de primis discipulis Christi, per quos ecclesia de Judaeis et Graecis primitiva fundata est.

The *Hieronymian Martyrology* is a cento of divers martyrologies and calendars, some as early as the 4th century. It seems to have been compiled at the beginning of the 7th century, but has been interpolated in the eighth (see De Rossi *Rom. Sotterr.* II. p. x sq.). The *Old Roman Martyrology* seems to have been drawn up in the 8th century, and was the source of the later martyrologies, Ado and the rest. It is a much less important document than the *Hieronymian* (see De Rossi II. p. xxvii sq.).

29.

Warnaharius [c. A.D. 615].

Acta Tergeminorum § 3; Bolland. *Act. Sanct.* Jan. II. p. 77.

3. Denique S. Polycarpus Ephesi urbis episcopus, doctrina beatissimi Joannis apostoli et evangelistae perfecte instructus, Spiritu Sancto repletus, fidei ducatu cupiens Christi militiam ampliare, per diversas mundi partes suos dirigebat discipulos verbum Domini nostri Jesu Christi gentibus fiducialiter praedicare. Audiens itaque Aurelianum imperatorem, post discessum Severi impii persecutoris, crudelissimam

denuo resuscitasse persecutionem, et quod malo peior princeps principi successisset in regno, et Galliarum provincias coram se suisque praesidibus, ac generaliter in cuncto populo sibi subdito promulgasse edictum, et decrevisse ut diversis omnes omnino punirentur suppliciis Christiani, B. Polycarpus sanctos Dei sacerdotes, id est, Andochium et Benignum presbyteros, et Thyrsum diaconum, illuc praedicationis causa destinavit, viros scilicet virtutibus praestantissimos, in Dei amore diffusos, ad certaminis agonem festinos, pro Christi nomine itinerum labores assumere omnino devotos, pericula maris sustinere non tardos, peregrinationes ambientes expetere hilares, ac parentes pro religione Christi gratanter relinquere, poenarum supplicia vel beatae mortis passionem desiderare potius, non timere.

4. Qui viri tres obedientes sanctis monitis, naviculam ascendentes, sanctis sanctus valedicens Polycarpus ita tradidit in mandatis; Ite viri fortes, in fortitudine Christi fortiter dimicantes, per sanctam Christi confessionem plures commilitones acquirite; cum quibus de victoria triumphantes, nomen et dignitatis gloriam possitis adipisci sempiternam. Fructus laboris vestri multiplici opulentia cumulentur; justorum paradisi sedes per vos plurimum de sanctarum animarum adquisitione laetentur. His et aliis multis eos S. Polycarpus prosequebatur orationibus.

Illi vero navigantes feliciter gubernatione divina ad Massiliensium littora celerius pervenerunt etc.

These Acts were sent by Warnaharius to Ceraunius Archbishop of Paris, who held the see about A.D. 615 (*Gallia Christiana* VII. p. 25). It is not clear whether Warnaharius was himself the author of the work; but it cannot have been much older.

30.

Maximus the Confessor [† A.D. 662].

(*a*) *Prolog. in Op. S. Dionysii* p. 17 (ed. Migne).

Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ Ἀρειοπαγίτου καὶ Διονύσιος ἀρχαῖος Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστολῇ αὐτοῦ.

This statement would be true, if the words καὶ Πολύκαρπος were struck out, for the mention of the Areopagite by his namesake was contained in a Letter to the Athenians (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23). How Maximus (or his transcriber) stumbled thus, it is not easy to say.

(*b*) *Schol. in Epist. S. Dionysii* p. 536.

Ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος Πολύκαρπος Σμύρνης τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀκροατὴς γενόμενος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ὥς φησιν Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ βιβλίῳ τῶν κατὰ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως· καὶ μαρτυρίῳ δὲ ἐτελειώθη διὰ πυρός. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ὁ αὐτὸς θεῖος Πολύκαρπος πρὸς Φιλιππησίους.

31.

MICHAEL SYNCELLUS [c. A.D. 820].

Vita Dionysii Areopagitae p. 653 (ed. Migne).

Τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίων καὶ Σμυρναίων καὶ Κρητῶν παναγιωτάτους καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας θεμελίων, τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγω, προκεχειροτονημένους προέδρους, Τιμόθεον καὶ Πολύκαρπον καὶ Τίτον.

32.

NICEPHORUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE [† A.D. 828].

For the reference to Polycarp see above, p. 213.

33.

PHOTIUS [c. A.D. 850].

Bibliotheca c. 126 (p. 95).

Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον ἐν ᾧ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους β' ἐνεφέροντο...

Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ βιβλιδαρίῳ ἀνεγνώσθη καὶ Πολυκάρπου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, γέμουσα πολλῆς νουθεσίας μετὰ σαφηνείας καὶ ἁπλότητος κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν τῆς ἑρμηνείας τύπον. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς Ἰγνατίου τοῦ θεοφόρου ἀπεσταλκέναι, καὶ αἰτεῖται ἀναδιδαχθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν εἴ τι περὶ ἐκείνου διακούσαιεν.

Bibliotheca 120 (p. 94).

Τοῦτόν [Εἰρηναῖον] φασι γένεσθαι Πολυκάρπου μὲν τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος Σμύρνης ἐπισκόπου μαθητήν, πρεσβύτερον δὲ Ποθεινοῦ, οὗ καὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν Λουγδούνων διάδοχος κατέστη.

34.

Georgius Hamartolus [c. A.D. 850].

Chronicon iii. 137 (*Patrol. Graec.* cx. p. 528 sq., ed. Migne).

Βασιλεία Ἀντωνίνου.

Μετὰ Ἀδριανὸν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ Εὐσεβὴς ἔτη κβ', υἱοποιηθεὶς τῷ Ἀδριανῷ, καὶ πρῶτος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Εὐσεβὴς ἐπεκλήθη.

θνήσκει δὲ προβαλὼν εἰς βασιλέα Μάρκον Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν ἴδιον γαμβρόν.

ἐφ' οὗ Πολύκαρπος ὁ μαθητὴς Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Διονύσιος [ὁ] ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθου ἐμαρτύρησαν...

ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεντῖνος καὶ Κέρδων καὶ Μαρκίων ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης αἱρεσιάρχαι ἐγνωρίζοντο.

Πολύκαρπος δὲ [ὁ] ἐπίσκοπος Σμύρνης εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν Μαρκίωνι, πρὸς αὐτόν φησιν ὁ Μαρκίων, Ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς, ὦ καλὲ Πολύκαρπε; ὁ δέ, Ἐπιγινώσκω σέ, ἔφη, τὸν πρωτότοκον υἱὸν τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

This account is adopted according to his custom by Cedrenus, who therefore likewise places the martyrdom in the reign of Antoninus Pius. To one of these plagiarists of this Georgius we should probably refer the anonymous extract in Pearson *Minor Works* II. p. 526 'Certe apud chronographum veterem MS, quem mihi commodavit vir eruditissimus, Isaacus Vossius, haec legi; Μετὰ δὲ Ἀδριανὸν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀντωνῖνος ἔτη κβ', ἐφ' οὗ Πολύκαρπος ὁ μαθητὴς Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐμαρτύρησαν.' Renan (*L'Église Chrétienne* p. 453) notices this anonymous chronicler cited by Pearson, but does not trace the extract to its source.

It may be well to state that the arrangement of Georgius Hamartolus requires us to refer ἐφ' οὗ to Antoninus Pius, not to M. Aurelius.

35.

Florus-Beda [c. A. D. 870].

Martyrologium ed. Bolland. (see *Patrol. Lat.* xciv. p. 813, etc., ed. Migne).

xvi Kal. Febr. [Jan. 17] Et apud Lingones natale geminorum Pseusippi, Elasippi, et Melasippi, etc.

[The connexion with Benignus and through him with Polycarp is added in some MSS, but appears to have been no part of this Martyrology, as it left the hands of Florus.]

xiv Kal. Febr. [Jan. 19] Vacat.

[The martyrdom of Germanicus is added in some MSS.]

vii Kal. Febr. [Jan. 26] Natale S. Polycarpi, episcopi Smyrnae, qui sub Marco Antonino et Lucio Aurelio Commodo, sedente Smyrnae proconsule, conjurante in eum omni populo, igni traditus est.

[Some MSS add particulars from the Letter of the Smyrnæans, including the incident of the dove.]

Kal. Febr. [Feb. 1].

[No mention of Pionius in the original Florus-Bede, though added in some MSS.]

vii Kal. Mart. [Feb. 23] Vacat.

[Some MSS add 'in Asia Polycarpi episcopi cum aliis duodecim'; others 'S. Polycarpi presbyteri et confessoris', i.e. the Roman Polycarp.]

Kal. Nov. [Nov. 1] Et in castro Diveon natale S. Benigni presbyteri, qui cum Andochio compresbytero et Tyrso diacono missus est a S. episcopo Polycarpo ab Oriente Galliam tempore Aureliani... Collum ejus vecte ferreo tundi ac lancea forari jubetur. Quo facto columba nivea de carcere Christianis aspicientibus ad caelos ascendit, et odor suavissimus quasi paradisi secutus est etc.

xiv Kal. Jan. [Dec. 19] Vacat.

[But some MSS have 'In Nicaea civitate Bithyniae SS. Zosimi, Pauli, etc.']

The form of the Martyrology from which these extracts are taken is probably as it left the hands of Florus. In the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* it is given as Bede's original work, prior to the additions of Florus; but Sollier has shown that this cannot be the case.

36.

Ado of Vienne [† A.D. 874].

(i) *Libell. de Festiv.* (*Patrol. Lat.* CXXIII. p. 192 sq., ed. Migne).

(1) vii Kal. Febr. Natalis sancti Polycarpi, qui beati Joannis discipulus et ab eo Smyrnae episcopus ordinatus totius Asiae princeps fuit. Postea vero, regnante Marco Antonio et Lucio Aurelio Commodo, quarta post Neronem persecutione, Smyrnae sedente proconsule et universo populo in amphitheatro adversum eum personante igni traditus est. Cum quo etiam alii duodecim ex Philadelphia venientes apud praefatam urbem martyrio consummati sunt.

Tunc etiam Germanicus, athleta Christi insignis, glorioso martyrii agone translatus est. Nam cum a judice damnatus fuisset ad bestias ultro sibi praeparatam bestiam provocavit, despiciens videlicet temporalem mortem et coronam vitae aeternae veloci fine adipisci desiderans. Scripsit idem beatus Polycarpus ad Philippenses valde utilem epistolam quae usque hodie in Asiae conventu legitur.

The parts relating to Polycarp himself are taken from Jerome (see above, p. 544 sq.); the accounts of the Philadelphian martyrs and of Germanicus are derived from Rufinus.

(2) xv Kal. Jan. Natalis beatorum Rufi et Zosimi, de quorum agone sanctus Polycarpus in epistola ad Philippenses scribit; *Deprecor autem...mortuus est et resurrexit.*

The passage is taken from Rufinus' translation of Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36.

(ii) *Martyrologium* (ib. pp. 216, 217, 221, 223, 387, 416).

xvi Kal. Febr. Apud Linguonas natale sanctorum geminorum Speusippi, Eleusippi, et Meleusippi. Qui cum essent...Docuit autem et baptizavit hos Benignus presbyter quem misit ab oriente beatus Polycarpus, Joannis apostoli auditor, in Galliam cum Andochio presbytero et Thyrso diacono. Sepulti sunt autem iidem gemini in secundo milliario ab urbe Linguonum.

xiv Kal. Febr. In Smyrna natalis sancti Germanici martyris, qui cum primaevae aetatis venustate floreret per gratiam virtutis Dei, metum corporeae fragilitatis excludens, sponte praeparatam sibi bestiam damnatus a judice jam provocavit; cujus dentibus comminutus vero pani, id est Domino Jesu Christo, pro ipso moriens meruit incorporari.

vii Kal. Febr. Apud Smyrnam natalis sancti Polycarpi episcopi... martyrio consummati sunt.

[A long account of Polycarp's martyrdom, of which the opening and closing sentences are taken from Jerome (see above, p. 545), and the narrative of the martyrdom itself is derived from Rufinus somewhat abridged.]

Kal. Febr. Apud Smyrnam sancti Pionii martyris qui persecutione Antonini Veri post insuperabilem responsionum constantiam etc.

[Abridged from Rufinus.]

Kal. Nov. Et in castro Divione, natale S. Benigni presbyteri, qui cum Andochio compresbytero et Thyrso diacono missus est in Galliam ab Oriente a sancto episcopo Polycarpo, cujus praedicatione etc.

xv Kal. Jan. Natalis beatorum martyrum Rufi et Zosimi, qui de illis primis discipulis fuerunt per quos primitiva ecclesia in Judaeis et Graecis fundata est. Hi requiescunt apud civitatem Macedonum Philippis.

37.

Anthologia Palatina [c. A.D. ?].

(1) i. 87.

Οἰκτίρμων Πολύκαρπος, ὁ καὶ θρόνον ἀρχιερῆος
ἔσχε καὶ ἀτρεκέως μαρτυρίης στεφάνους.

(2) i. 89.

Νικόλεων Πολύκαρπος ἔχει σχεδόν, οὕνεκεν ἄμφω
εἰς ἔλεον παλάμας ἔσχον ἑτοιμοτάτας.

These epigrams seem to have been inscribed under two neighbouring pictures of Polycarp and Nicolas of Myra.

38.

Pseudoprochorus [c. A.D. ?].

Acta Joannis p. 188 (ed. Zahn).

εἶθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ Σμυρναίων πόλει ἀπελθόντων ἡμῶν πάντα τὰ εἴδωλα συνετρίβησαν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ καθιερώσας ναοὺς ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰωάννης]

καὶ κατηχήσας αὐτοὺς ἐβάπτισεν ἅπαντας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παράλιον ἐκείνην, καταλείπων ἐκεῖσε πρόεδρον Βούκολον καὶ Πολύκαρπον τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον.

This occurs in the later addition to Prochorus in *Paris.* 1468 fol. 80 sq. See Zahn *l. c.* p. cxxxv.

39.

MENÆA [c. A. D. ?].

Feb. xxiii.

Σοὶ Πολύκαρπος ὡλοκαυτώθη, Λόγε,
καρπὸν πολὺν δοὺς ἐκ πυρὸς ξενοτρόπως.
Εἰκάδι ἐν τριτάτῃ κατὰ φλὸξ Πολύκαρπον ἔκαυσεν.

Οὗτος ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ θεολόγῳ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ εὐαγγελιστῇ σὺν Ἰγνατίῳ τῷ θεοφόρῳ· καὶ μετὰ Βούκολον τὸν ἁγιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Σμύρνης χειροτονεῖται παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, προθεσπίσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ μακαρίου Βουκόλου. ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Δέκιον διωγμῷ συλληφθεὶς προσήχθη τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, καὶ διὰ πυρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα διήνυσε, καὶ θαυμάτων ἐξαισίων δημιουργὸς γέγονε. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τῆς θρεψαμένης αὐτὸν γυναικὸς τοὺς σιτῶνας ἐπλήρωσε δι' εὐχῆς, οὓς πρότερον εἰς τὴν δεομένων χρείαν ἐκένωσε. καὶ πυρὸς καταφλέγοντος ἐπέσχεν ὁρμὴν μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀνάρρησιν. καὶ δι' ἱκεσίας ὑετὸν αὐχμώσῃ τῇ γῇ κατήγαγε, καὶ πάλιν τούτου τὴν ἀμετρίαν ἀνέστειλε. τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

The martyrdom of Polycarp was connected with those of Pionius and his companions as having occurred at the same season of the year and in the same city, and was bound up in the same volume (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15). Pionius however suffered under Decius. Hence the Menæa assign the martyrdom of Polycarp to this same reign. This is the converse error to that of Eusebius, who apparently makes Pionius suffer under M. Aurelius because Polycarp was martyred under this emperor.

4.

GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

THE genuineness of Polycarp's Epistle—whether the whole or any part of it—was never questioned till the era of the Reformation. The Magdeburg Centuriators (II. p. 173 sq.) were the first to throw any doubt on it. At a later date (A.D. 1666) Daillé included it in his attack on the Ignatian Epistles (*de Script. Dionys. et Ignat. etc.* p. 427 sq.). He found himself in an awkward dilemma. The main ground of his opposition to the Ignatian letters was the support which they give to episcopacy. But the Epistle of Polycarp had a double edge. On the one hand it was, or it seemed to be, one of his principal evidences in favour of the presbyteral form of government in the early ages. He could therefore ill afford to dispense with it. On the other hand it was the chief witness to the genuineness of the Ignatian letters: and indeed, if its testimony were once allowed, the point was established beyond the reach of controversy. For this reason its evidence must be set aside. This perplexing problem he solved by accepting the document in the main as genuine, while he rejected as spurious the 13th chapter which contains the reference to the Ignatian letters. It was necessary however to allege some argument for the rejection; and this he found in the words 'qui cum eo *sunt*', which he assumed to imply that Ignatius was still living, and therefore to be irreconcilable with an earlier notice (§ 9) which spoke of him as already martyred. The answer to this objection is obvious. The present *sunt* is a blunder of the Latin translator who had before τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ or τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, where the tense is indeterminate. To this point however it will be necessary to return hereafter.

This arbitrary procedure of Daillé had nothing to recommend it; but it was forced upon him by the exigencies of his position. As regards external testimony, the 13th chapter stands in a more favourable position than the main part of the epistle, for it is quoted by Eusebius. Nevertheless this view has found some few advocates in later times. Thus Bunsen more especially (*Ign. v. Ant.* p. 107 sq.) adopted it, assigning the interpolations to the middle of the second century.

A more subtle and elaborate theory of interpolation was propounded by Ritschl (*Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche* p. 584 sq., ed. 2, 1857). He acknowledged the futility of the objection based on the expression 'qui cum eo sunt', and pronounced the opinion of Daillé and Bunsen to be 'unfortunate' (p. 587). His own method was different. The rejection of the testimony to the Ignatian letters was ostensibly not the starting point but the goal of his speculations; though this rejection was plainly the underlying influence which prompted his criticisms. He set himself to investigate the sequence of topics in the letter; and, as a result of this investigation, he rejected § 3 and § 9 as interpolations, because they interfered with this sequence. For the same reason he struck out part of § 11 'qui ignorant...nondum noveramus'. In these passages however, thus rejected on independent grounds, the connexion of the Philippians with S. Paul and with Ignatius is mentioned. Thus he imagined that he had arrived at the *motive* of the interpolator, whose object it was to establish this connexion. Consequently § 13, which contains the reference to the Ignatian letters, must likewise be rejected with the other passages which mention the martyr or the Apostle. He supposed the interpolator to have been the same person who expanded the three genuine Ignatian Letters of the Short Form into the seven of the Vossian Recension, and to have done his work between A.D. 140—168. Ritschl's theory will be more fully discussed hereafter. At present it is sufficient to remark that this principle, which demands a strictly logical order and refuses to admit any digression however germane and natural in itself, would be fatal to not a few confessedly genuine documents of early Christianity and that (to give an example) S. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians would be cut into shreds by the critical sheers so applied.

Ritschl's view found some favour, when it was first put forward. Being intimately bound up with the theory which accepted the Curetonian letters as the original form of the Ignatian Epistles, it was welcomed by the advocates of this theory. Hence its adoption by Lipsius (*Ueber das Verhältniss etc.* p. 14), Böhringer (*Kirchengeschichte in Biographien* I. p. 49 sq., ed. 2, 1873), and others. As the priority of the Curetonian Ignatius has now been generally abandoned, we

may confidently expect that Ritschl's theory of the Polycarpian interpolations will share its fate. The two however do not necessarily stand or fall together. It is possible to maintain the integrity of Polycarp's letter, while at the same time upholding the priority of the Curetonian Ignatius. This is the position of Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel* VII. p. 277 sq.).

By a few other recent critics the Epistle of Polycarp has been rejected altogether. Among the foremost names on this side are Schwegler (*Nachapostolisches Zeitalter* II. p. 154), Zeller (*Apostelgeschichte* p. 52), and Hilgenfeld (*Apostolische Väter* p. 272). This view again has been generally held in conjunction with the entire rejection of the Ignatian letters. It has been instinctively felt, that the testimony borne to these by the Epistle of Polycarp must be decisive, if this latter document is accepted as genuine.

In seeking an answer to these questions, the usual course will be adopted. We shall ask *first*, whether the external testimony is sufficient to warrant a presumption, strong or weak, that Polycarp is the author of the epistle which bears his name; and, supposing this first question to have been answered satisfactorily, we shall enquire *secondly*, whether the epistle itself bears out the conclusion provisionally arrived at, or whether on the other hand its character and contents are such as to oblige a reversal of this provisional decision.

(i) *External Evidence.*

Irenæus in an extract from his *Letter to Florinus*, which is preserved by Eusebius (see above, p. 539), speaks of 'the epistles which' Polycarp 'wrote either to the neighbouring churches, confirming them, or to certain of the brethren, admonishing and exhorting them'. His language implies that they were then in circulation when he penned these words. In another passage (see above, p. 537), in his extant work *On Heresies* (iii. 3. 4), he mentions this particular letter; 'There is', he writes, 'a very adequate (ἱκανωτάτη) epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those who desire it, and who care for their own salvation, can learn both the character of his faith and the message (τὸ κήρυγμα) of the truth'. It is probable that in the first passage Irenæus is thinking of the extant Epistle to the Philippians[1]; and it may be a question whether he himself was acquainted with any other extant letter of

[1] Hilgenfeld *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII (1874). p. 318 (comp. p. 342) maintains that Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians was as yet unknown to Irenæus, when he wrote to Florinus, and he uses this supposed ignorance as an argument against the genuineness of the letter. Lipsius however has pointed out (see above, p.

Polycarp (see I. p. 457, II. p. 1003). But at all events the second passage is quite explicit as regards the authorship of the epistle. As Irenæus had been at one time a pupil of Polycarp, and as the communication between Gaul and Asia Minor was close, such testimony would in other cases be regarded as decisive. Unless therefore early Christian writings are to be subjected to standards of criticism which would not be applied to other provinces of literature, we have here evidence so strong, that it can only be set aside by the clear and indisputable tokens of a later date in the document itself, such as proved anachronisms and the like.

After this very early testimony, later references cease to have any importance, except as assisting to identify the document mentioned by Irenæus. This is the case with Eusebius (see above, p. 140), whose quotations are especially valuable, inasmuch as he cites the very passage (§ 13) relating to the Ignatian Epistles, which is the great stumbling-block with modern critics and which all theories of interpolation alike have cast out from the text.

Soon after the age of Eusebius, this epistle was incorporated in the spurious *Life of Polycarp* (§ 12), bearing the name of Pionius. Again a little later, but a few years before the close of the fourth century, Jerome tells us (see above, p. 544) that it was read 'even to his own day' (usque hodie) 'in conventu Asiae', whatever may be the exact meaning of this phrase. This public reading was no new thing, as appears from Jerome's language. When it commenced, we cannot say; but the conjecture may be hazarded that its inauguration was connected with the interest taken in the commemoration of Polycarp by Pionius, a martyr in the Decian persecution A.D. 250 (see above, p. 540). At all events the public reading of the epistle, as well as its incorporation in the Life, would tend to insure the preservation of the document in its integrity.

At a later date it is only necessary to advert to the Syriac fragments (pp. 455, 540). These however do not imply the existence of a Syriac translation. The fathers there quoted, Timotheus (A.D. 457) and Severus (A.D. 513—518), wrote in Greek; and the individual passages which they cited would be translated into Syriac with their works (see above, pp. 168, 180, etc.). The same explanation also should probably be given of the extract in the anonymous Syriac writer (p. 549), which would be derived ultimately from some Greek father. These quota-

429) that the Letter to Florinus was written at a later date than the passage in the *Treatise on Heresies*. This is a good illustration of the fallacy of the argument from silence.

tions are important as preserving passages of which the Greek is lost and which are extant only in the Latin translation, thus testifying to the fact that the original Greek in the missing portion corresponded to the extant Latin version.

To the concurrent testimony of antiquity there is no dissentient voice. Nicephorus indeed places Polycarp, as well as Ignatius and Clement, among his 'apocrypha'; but it has been shown already (p. 336 sq.) that he did not intend to throw any doubt on the genuineness or authenticity of the writings so described. By so designating them, he wished merely to distinguish them from such books as had claims to be regarded as canonical Scripture.

(ii) *Internal Evidence.*

The external testimony in favour of the genuineness has been shown to be exceptionally good. We thus approach the study of the epistle with a strong guarantee of its authenticity, which can only be invalidated by solid and convincing proofs and against which mere hypothetical combinations and ingenious surmises are powerless. It remains now to enquire whether the internal evidence is such as to demand a reversal of the judgment to which in all ordinary cases the external testimony would irresistibly impel us.

Those objections must be first considered which have been raised on the ground of the character and contents of the letter. Here however we may pass over all arguments based on the incredibility of the Ignatian story in itself, as these have been considered already and set aside (p. 341 sq.). The objections which remain are as follows[1].

(1) It is urged that in this letter Polycarp assumes a position of influence, which can hardly be reconciled with the facts and which would only be intelligible at a later period of his life[2]. This objection could not have been regarded as formidable, even when Polycarp's martyrdom was dated according to the received chronology as late as A.D. 167. But recent investigation has placed it twelve years earlier, and accordingly the date of his birth must be moved backward through the same number of years. If the eighty-six years, of which he speaks

[1] The authenticity of this document was investigated by me at length some years ago in the *Contemporary Review* May 1875, p. 838 sq.; and I have ventured to transfer to the present work so much of my former paper as my purpose required. It has recently been the subject of an investigation by Funk (*Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe* p. 14 sq., 1883), who employs many of the same arguments.

[2] *Supernatural Religion* I. p. 277 sq.

at the time of his martyrdom, designate the whole duration of his life—and this is the explanation least favorable to our present purpose—he was born about A.D. 69 (see above, p. 421 sq.). Of the martyrdom of Ignatius, with which the writing of Polycarp's letter professes to be nearly coincident, we can only say that it was probably during Trajan's reign, and therefore not later than A.D. 118 (see II. p. 433 sq.). Polycarp might thus have been close upon fifty years old when he wrote. If we suppose the persecution at Antioch, in which Ignatius suffered, to be coincident with the persecution in Bithynia, which Pliny records (A.D. 112)—a hypothesis which in the absence of all direct evidence is not unfair—he would even in this case be close upon forty-five. He had been a disciple, apparently a favourite disciple, of the aged Apostle S. John. Thus he was the chief depositary of the primitive tradition. He was especially commended by Ignatius, who would naturally speak of him to the Philippians. History does not point to any person after the death of Ignatius, whose reputation stood nearly so high among his contemporaries. So far as any inference can be drawn from silence, he was now the one prominent man in the Church. We are expressly told that, even before his hairs were gray (*καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς*), he was treated with every honour by those about him (*Mart. Polyc.* 13). Is it any surprise that the Philippians should have asked him to write to them? The arrangements for the conveyance of their letter to Antioch in obedience to the directions of Ignatius (§ 13) had obliged them to communicate with Polycarp. What wonder then that they should, while writing, have invited such a man to address to them words of exhortation, telling him at the same time of the scandal which the avarice of Valens and his wife had created? On his own part Polycarp writes with singular modesty. He associates the presbyters with himself in the opening address. He says that he should not have ventured to write as he does, if he had not received a request from the Philippians (§ 3). He even deprecates any assumption of superiority.

(2) The manner in which the writer refers to S. Paul is thought to betray the hand of a forger. In more than one passage he alludes to the connexion of the Apostle with the Philippian Church. At an early stage (§ 3) he excuses himself for addressing them, saying that he cannot venture to compare himself with 'the blessed and glorious Paul', who taught them the truths of the Gospel in person, and 'when absent wrote letters' to them (*ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς*), from which, 'if they studied them, they would find edification' (*εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυνήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.*). In a second passage (§ 9) he refers them to S. Paul among others, as an example of patience which they them-

selves had witnessed. In a third passage (§ 11), towards the close of the letter, he again compliments them as those 'among whom the blessed Paul laboured', adding (if the passage be rightly read and interpreted) that in the primitive days of the Gospel they were 'his epistles', and that he 'boasts of them in all the churches' which had already received the knowledge of God.

Is there anything suspicious in all this? Was it not natural that, finding himself thus engaged in writing to the Philippian Church, he should remember that he was doing what a far greater man had done before, and should institute a comparison humiliating to himself? We have a sufficiently close parallel in Clement of Rome (§ 47), who in like manner found himself treading in the footsteps of S. Paul and rebuking in the Corinthian Church the feuds of his own time, as the Apostle had rebuked those of a previous generation. But, if there is nothing suspicious in the thing itself, no exception can be taken on the ground of the language in which it is expressed. The expressions indeed are not those which seem to us accurately to express the facts with regard to S. Paul's Epistles. It is a hyperbole—though a very natural hyperbole—to say that he boasts of the Philippians in all the churches. There is an ambiguity likewise in the plural ἐπιστολάς, if the writer intends only a single letter by it; whereas, if he means more than one, the statement is not explained by the extant canonical epistle. But, as I have had occasion to remark before in a similar case (see above, p. 389), such modes of expression are much more likely to have been used by the genuine Polycarp, in whose time the Epistles of S. Paul were not gathered into one volume and stamped with direct canonical authority, than by a later writer, with whom the Canon of the New Testament comprised a well-defined body of writings.

(3) Again the attack upon heretical opinions in § 7 has been assailed as an anachronism; 'Every one who confesseth not that Jesus Christ hath come in the flesh, is Antichrist; and whosoever confesseth not the testimony of the Cross, is of the devil; and whosoever perverteth the oracles of the Lord to (serve) his own lusts and saith that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan'. Now Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4) tells us that Polycarp on one occasion accosted Marcion as 'the first-born of Satan' (see above, p. 434)—the same expression which is here used. The passage in the epistle therefore, it is argued, must be an attack on the Docetism of Marcion. But if so, it is a gross anachronism. The epistle professes to have been written immediately after Ignatius' martyrdom, say A.D. 110, or A.D. 118 at the latest. But Marcion had not yet appeared above the horizon;

and the interview to which Irenæus alludes took place during the visit of Polycarp to Rome, during the pontificate of Anicetus, who succeeded in A.D. 154. Evidently the forger of the letter borrows his language from the story of Irenæus, not remembering that Irenæus refers to an event which occurred some forty years or more later.

This objection involves two considerations; (i) The character of the heresy attacked; (ii) The recurrence of the same phrase after a long interval.

(i) On the first point it is sufficient to reply that there is nothing specially Marcionite in the doctrines attacked. Marcion indeed was a Docetic and, as such, denied 'that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh'. But so was Simon Magus, so was Saturninus, so were many other heretical teachers before and after Marcion (see above, p. 365 sq.). Of the distinctive doctrines of Marcion there is not a word here, as there was not a word in the Ignatian Epistles, where likewise Docetic opinions are attacked (see p. 370). If Marcion was the object of attack, why is his dualism spared? The antagonisms of Marcion's creed were far greater scandals to the orthodox Christian than even his Docetism. Yet what hint is there here that the heretic in question postulated two Gods, the one just, the other good; that he maintained a direct opposition between the Old Testament and the New; that he assumed an internecine feud between the Apostles of the Circumcision and the Apostle of the Gentiles, whereas the writer of this letter himself quotes S. Peter and S. Paul with equal deference and equal frequency?

But we may go further than this. Not only is there nothing specially characteristic of Marcion in the heresy or heresies denounced by Polycarp, but some of the charges are quite inapplicable to him. The passage in question denounces three heads of heretical doctrine, which may or may not have been combined in the same teacher or sect. Of these the first, 'Whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh', is capable of several applications. It may refer, for instance, to the separationism of Cerinthus, who maintained that the spiritual being Christ descended on the man Jesus after the baptism and left him before the crucifixion, so that, while Jesus suffered, Christ remained impassible; or it may describe the pure Docetism which maintained that our Lord's body was a mere phantom body, so that His birth and life and death alike were only apparent, not real; or it may have some reference different from either. The various forms of Docetism have been fully discussed at an earlier stage (p. 364 sq.), and I need not revert to them again. Whether the epistle be genuine or not, the connexion with the Ignatian letters is obvious; and the type of Docetism

attacked in the two will be the same. Polycarp here is evidently quoting the words of 1 John iv. 2, 3; but, as I have said already (p. 368), the application is not necessarily the same as in the Apostle's context. Under any circumstances, though applicable to Marcion, it would apply equally well to almost every sect of Gnostics besides. The same may be said of the second position attacked, 'Whosoever confesseth not the testimony of the Cross', which might include not only divers Gnostic sects but many others besides. We have come across similar expressions in the Ignatian Epistles, and we can hardly doubt that the reference is the same in both writers (see above pp. 360, 363, and below II. pp. 74, 173 sq., 272, etc.). But, while the first two expressions are wide enough to include Marcion along with many others, the case is wholly different with the third, 'Whosoever perverteth the oracles of the Lord to (serve) his own lusts and saith that there is neither resurrection nor judgment'. To this type of error, and this only, the description 'first-born of Satan' is applied in Polycarp's letter; and it is altogether inapplicable to Marcion. No doubt Marcion, like every other heretical teacher of the second century, or indeed of any century, did 'pervert the oracles of the Lord' by his tortuous interpretations, but he did not pervert them 'to his own lusts'. The high moral character of Marcion is unimpeachable, and is recognized by the orthodox writers of the second century, who have no worse charge to bring against him than disappointed ambition. Tertullian finds no terms too strong to condemn Marcion; but even Tertullian bears decisive testimony to the exceptional purity of his life[1]. He was an ascetic of the most rigorous type. It is a significant fact that, when Scholten[2] wishes to fasten this denunciation on Marcion as an argument against the authenticity of Polycarp's Epistle, he stops short at 'pervert the oracles of the Lord' and takes no account of the concluding words 'to his own lusts', though these contain the very sting of the accusation. Obviously the allusion is to the antinomian license which many early Gnostic teachers extracted from the spiritual teaching of the Gospel. Germs of this immoral doctrine appear at least half a century before the professed date of Polycarp's Epistle in the incipient Gnosticism which S. Paul rebukes at Corinth (1 Cor. vii. 12—18, viii. 1 sq.). Still clearer indications meet us in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. i. 6 sq., ii. 1 sq., vi. 3 sq., 2 Tim. ii. 16 sq., iii. 2 sq., iv. 3 sq., Tit. i. 10 sq.); and when we reach the epoch of the

[1] In Ps. Tertull. *Haer.* 17, Epiphan. *Haer.* xlii. 1, there is a story discreditable to Marcion, but it is doubtless a libel. The genuine Tertullian *de Praescr. Haer.* 30, who speaks of the 'continentia Marcionensis', evidently knows nothing of it. See also *adv. Marc.* i. 1, 29, iv. 11.

[2] *Die Aeltesten Zeugnisse* p. 41.

Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15, 20, 24), the evil is nearly full blown. This interpretation becomes the more evident, when read in the light of the accompanying clause, where the same persons are described as saying that 'there is no resurrection or judgment'. This can only mean that they denied the doctrine of a future retribution, and so broke loose from the moral restraints imposed by the fear of consequences. Here again they had their forerunners in those licentious speculators at Corinth, who maintained that 'there is no resurrection of the dead' (1 Cor. xv. 12), and whose Epicurean lives were the logical consequence of their Epicurean doctrine. Here again the Pastoral Epistles supply a pertinent illustration. If we are perplexed to conceive how they could extract this doctrine out of 'the oracles of the Lord', our perplexity is unravelled by the case of Hymenæus and Philetus who taught 'that the resurrection is past already' (2 Tim. ii. 18), or in other words that all terms applying thereto must be understood metaphorically as describing the spiritual change, the new birth and resuscitation of the believers, in this present world[1]. Thus everything hangs together. But such teaching is altogether foreign to Marcion. He did indeed deny the resurrection of the flesh and the future body of the redeemed[2]. This was a necessary tenet of all Gnostics, who held the inherent malignity of matter. In this sense only he denied the resurrection; and he did not deny the judgment at all. Holding as firmly as the Catholic Christian, that men would be rewarded or punished hereafter according to their deeds in this life, he was obliged to recognize a judgment in some form or other. His Supreme God indeed, whom he represented as pure beneficence, could not be a judge or an avenger; but he got over the difficulty by assigning this task to the Demiurge[3].

(ii) The second point in the indictment is the recurrence of the same phrase 'first-born of Satan' after a long interval. The passage in the epistle, if genuine, must have been written, as we have seen, before A.D. 118. The expression, as applied to Marcion, cannot, it is urged, have been uttered before A.D. 154; for this will be the date of Polycarp's visit to Rome, supposing Waddington to have correctly assigned the martyrdom to the year 155. It is not indeed clear that the interview between Polycarp and Marcion took place during this visit.

[1] Iren. ii. 31. 2; Tertull. *de Resurr. Carn.* 19.

[2] Iren. i. 27. 3, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v. 10, *de Praescr. Haer.* 33.

[3] See Neander *Church History* II. p. 147, and to the references there given add Iren. iii. 25. 2, 3, 'Alterum quidem *judicare* et alterum quidem salvare dixerunt. ...Marcion igitur ipse dividens Deum in duo, alterum quidem bonum et alterum *judicialem* dicens', with the context.

Irenæus speaks of it as happening 'on a certain occasion' (καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνί ποτε εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι κ.τ.λ.). It stands immediately after the account of the corresponding interview between S. John and Cerinthus, as related by Polycarp himself, and has no necessary connexion with Polycarp's visit to Rome. It might therefore have happened in Asia Minor as early as (say) A.D. 130, when Marcion first began to promulgate his doctrines. But even if we assign it to the Roman visit and therefore to the year 154, the repetition of the same phrase at this long interval creates no real difficulty. Would not the coincidence, so far as it goes, appear to any ordinary judicial mind rather to point to Polycarp as the author of the epistle; for the two facts come to us on independent authority—the one from oral tradition through Irenæus, the other in a written document older than Irenæus? Or, if the one statement arose out of the other, the converse relation is much more probable. Irenæus, as he tells us in the context, was acquainted with the epistle, and it is quite possible that in repeating the story of Polycarp's interview with Marcion he inadvertently imported into it the expression which he had read in the epistle. But the independence of the two is far more probable. As a fact, men do repeat the same expressions again and again, and this throughout long periods of their lives. Such forms of speech arise out of their idiosyncrasies, and so become part of them. This is a matter of common observation, and in the case of Polycarp we happen to be informed incidentally that he had a habit of repeating favourite expressions. Irenæus in his Epistle to Florinus (see above, p. 429) mentions the exclamation 'O good God', as one of these phrases (τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ εἰπών), which were habitually on his lips.

(4) Exception has likewise been taken to the references which appear in §§ 9, 13, of this epistle to the doings of Ignatius. The objection is twofold; (i) The statements are irreconcilable one with another; and (ii) The manner of referring to Ignatius is suspicious in itself.

(i) On the first point I have already touched (p. 562). It is alleged that in § 9 Ignatius is represented as already martyred, whereas in § 13 the expression 'de his qui cum eo sunt' implies that he was still living. But we have only to retranslate the Latin into its original language περὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, and the discrepancy vanishes, for all reference to present time disappears. The following considerations justify this solution of the difficulty. (1) Unless Polycarp departed in this instance from his ordinary usage, he would employ the shortened expression οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ or οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, omitting the participle of the verb substantive. Thus in the opening paragraph of the letter he has οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, and in

§ 9 τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν, besides other instances more or less germane. (2) The translator, if he had the words τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ before him, would naturally supply the substantive verb, as he has done in the opening 'qui cum eo *sunt* presbyteri' (οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι); in § 3 'illis qui tunc *erant* hominibus' (τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων), and again 'quae *est* in Deo' (τῆς εἰς Θεόν); in § 9 'qui ex vobis *sunt*' (τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν); and probably also in § 12 'qui *sunt* sub caelo', presumably representing τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, though in this passage the Greek is wanting. (3) The translator, in supplying the verb, was as likely as not to give the wrong tense. In fact in the only other passage in the epistle where it was possible to make a mistake, he has gone wrong on this very point, translating (§ 9) ἣν καὶ εἴδετε...ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν mechanically by the present, 'quam et vidistis...in aliis qui ex vobis *sunt*', though the persons are mentioned in connexion with S. Ignatius and S. Paul, and though it is distinctly stated immediately afterwards that they *all* were dead, having, as we may infer from the context, consummated their life by martyrdom. In fact he has there made the very blunder which we must ascribe to him in the passage before us.

This objection therefore falls to the ground. But the notices which I have been considering suggest another reflexion. Is the historical position which the writer of this letter takes up at all like the invention of a forger? Would it have occurred to such a person to place himself at the moment of time when Ignatius is supposed to have been martyred, but when the report of the circumstances had not yet reached Smyrna? If he had chosen this moment, would he not have made it quite clear to his readers, instead of leaving them to infer it by piecing together notices which are scattered through the epistle—notices moreover, which, though entirely consistent with each other, are so far from obvious that his translator has been led astray by them, and that modern critics have woven out of them these entanglements which it has taken so much time to unravel? I will leave this question to answer itself.

(ii) But again; it seems to be thought that the mere occurrence of the references to the Ignatian letters is suspicious in itself, as betraying the motive of a supposititious writer. Why this should be so, we shall find it difficult to say. It cannot be pleaded that there is any improbability in the circumstances themselves. Ignatius, after leaving Polycarp, had stayed at Philippi on his way to martyrdom; the Philippians had been deeply impressed by their intercourse with him; writing to Polycarp afterwards, they had requested him to send them a copy of the martyr's letter or letters addressed to him; he complies with their request, and appends copies of other letters written by Ignatius, which

he happened to have in his possession. Is this at all unnatural? Suppose on the other hand that the letter of Polycarp had contained no such reference to Ignatius and his epistles, would it not have been regarded as a highly suspicious circumstance that, writing to the Philippians so soon after Ignatius had visited both churches, Polycarp should have said nothing about so remarkable a man? When we see how the argument from silence is worked in other cases, we cannot doubt that it would have been plied here as a formidable objection either to the truth of the Ignatian story or to the genuineness of Polycarp's Epistle or to both. The rational conclusion is that this notice proves nothing either way, when it stands alone. If the other contents of the Polycarpian letters are questionable, then it confirms our misgivings. If not, then this interpretation of the notice is only another illustration of the over-suspicious temperament of modern criticism, which must be as fatal to calm and reasonable judgment in matters of early Christian history, as it manifestly is in matters of common life.

But I venture to go further than this. A comparison of the references to the Ignatian letters in Polycarp's Epistle with the contents of these letters themselves brings out subtle relations between the two which forbid the supposition of a forgery. 'You wrote to me', says Polycarp, 'both you yourselves and Ignatius, that if any one goes to Syria, he should convey your letter *likewise*'. 'This I will do', he adds, 'if I find a convenient season—either myself or the person whom I shall send to act as delegate on your behalf *likewise*'. Nothing could be more natural than this language. If it be artifice at all, it is the most consummate artifice—far transcending the sagacity of any forger in Christian circles at this early age. What is the meaning of this journey to Syria? What is this delegate expected to do? What is the reference in the 'likewise'? A study of the Ignatian Epistles answers these questions. But no forger would have been contented with, even if he were capable of devising, the *allusiveness* of the references here. He would have made the meaning quite clear. The incidental 'likewise' more especially would have been quite beyond the range of his invention. Moreover such a forger, bent on fitting in the notices of Polycarp's Epistle with the notices in the Ignatian letters, would have made them fit exactly. But they do not so fit. We have, as it were, a mosaic pavement, with some of the pieces omitted. Polycarp here speaks of certain directions given to him in letters from the Philippians and from Ignatius. In the Ignatian letters there is no mention at all of Philippi. The nearest approach is the incidental reference to his setting sail for Neapolis (*Polyc.* 8), which we know to have lain on the road to Philippi.

The extant Ignatian letter to Polycarp again contains no such injunctions as Polycarp here states that Ignatius gave him. There are indeed general directions to him to commit to the messengers whom he sends to Syria the letters of other churches; but there is no mention of any particular church. The two accounts may be reconciled in more than one way (see II. p. 931); but no mode of reconciling them is intelligible on the supposition of a forgery. Again the notices relating to the delegate reveal still more subtle relations. Ignatius directs the Smyrnæan Church generally (*Smyrn.* 11) and Polycarp in particular (*Polyc.* 7) to appoint an exceptionally trustworthy delegate to Antioch. He does not hint at Polycarp's going himself. On the contrary the language of his salutation is such as indirectly to exclude this contingency and to show that it was not present to his mind (*Polyc.* 8 τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου). From Polycarp's own letter however it appears that he contemplated undertaking this mission in person. But this purpose is not directly stated. It is not put into any immediate relation with the notices in the Ignatian letters. He does not for instance say, 'Ignatius enjoined me to send a trustworthy delegate to Antioch, but I think it better to go myself'. The fact is communicated quite indirectly and incidentally; 'This I will do—either I myself or the person whom I shall send to act as delegate'. What more natural than all this? But what more impossible in the crude forgeries of the early Christian ages?

Moreover the mention of the companions of Ignatius here (§ 13) suggests further matter for consideration, as affecting the point at issue. These companions appear from a comparison with §§ 1, 9, to have been fellow-prisoners and fellow-martyrs. We can hardly be mistaken in identifying them with Zosimus and Rufus mentioned in the latter of these two passages. A hypothetical, but not improbable, account of the presence of these two persons is mentioned in the note on the passage (II. p. 921). They may have been prisoners condemned in the Bithynian persecution under Pliny and forwarded to Philippi, whence they would be conducted to Rome by the same military escort as Ignatius himself. But however this may be, is it not strange, if this letter were written or interpolated by the forger of the Ignatian Epistles with a view to gaining credit for them, that he should have avoided every name in the entourage of Ignatius, as it appears in the Ignatian letters, and have introduced entirely new persons? In the Ignatian letters we read of Burrhus and others accompanying him from Smyrna, of Agathopus and Philo joining him at Troas. But of Zosimus and Rufus not a word; of any fellow-prisoners at all not a word.

(5) Again adverse critics have found an anachronism in a passage towards the close of the epistle extant only in the Latin translation, § 12 'Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus'. The plural 'reges', it is said, stands in contrast with 1 Pet. ii. 17, 'Honour the king' (*τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε*), and indicates a time when more than one person was associated in the imperial dignity. Therefore it cannot have been written before A.D. 161, when M. Aurelius and L. Verus became joint emperors (Hilgenfeld *Apost. Väter* p. 273), or at all events before A.D. 147, when Antoninus Pius conferred on M. Aurelius the tribunician power and the dignity of Cæsar. This last mentioned event, it is thought, would justify the use of the plural, for Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius are called *βασιλεῖς* by Justin *Apol.* i. 14, 17. Here however we have only to ask why 'Orate pro regibus' should be translated 'Pray for the kings' rather than 'Pray for kings', and this ghost of an associated sovereignty vanishes at the spell. There is no reason whatever for supposing that the expression has anything more than a general reference. Even if the words had stood in the original *ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων* and not *ὑπὲρ βασιλέων*, the presence of the article would not, according to ordinary Greek usage, necessarily limit the reference to any particular sovereigns[1]. But we have very good ground for believing that the definite article had no place in the original. The writer of this letter elsewhere shows an acquaintance with the First Epistle to Timothy. In the beginning of § 4 he combines two passages which occur close together in that epistle (see II. p. 912). Hence it becomes highly probable that he has derived this injunction also from the same source, 'I exhort first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in authority' (1 Tim. ii. 2), where it is *ὑπὲρ βασιλέων*, and where any allusion to a joint sovereignty is altogether out of the question. The expression in Polycarp is part of a general injunction as to the direction which their prayers are to take and, as such, is combined with other passages of Scripture, Ephes. vi. 18, Matt. v. 44. We may therefore bid farewell to M. Aurelius and L. Verus[2].

[1] See *Apost. Const.* viii. 15 *τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατήρησον ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*, where it is shown to be general from the fact that shortly before (viii. 12. § 18) the singular has been used, *ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, Κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κ.τ.λ.*

[2] The expression in Polycarp is best illustrated by such passages as Tertull. *Apol.* 30 'Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus', *ib.* 31 'Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste orate, inquit, pro regibus et pro principibus et potestatibus', *ib.* 32 'Est et alia major necessitas orandi pro imperatoribus', *ib.* 39 'Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus', Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 73 *προτρέπεται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος ἀρήγειν τῷ*

It has thus appeared, if I mistake not, that the objections brought against this epistle are not strong enough even to raise a presumption against its genuineness, still less to counteract the direct testimony of Polycarp's own pupil Irenæus. But having disposed of the objections, we may go a step further. We are asked to believe that this letter was forged on the confines of the age of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. But how wholly unlike it is to the ecclesiastical literature of this later generation, whether we regard the use of the New Testament or the notices of ecclesiastical order or the statements of theological doctrine, a little consideration will show. The Evangelical quotations are still introduced, as in Clement of Rome, with the formula 'The Lord said' (§ 2); the passages from the Apostolic Epistles are still for the most part indirect and anonymous; not a single book of the New Testament is cited by name. Though two or three chapters are devoted to injunctions respecting the ministry of the Church, there is not an allusion to episcopacy from beginning to end. Though the writer's ideas of the Person of Christ may be practically orthodox according to the Catholic standard of orthodoxy, yet these ideas are still held in solution and have not yet crystallized into the dogmatic forms which characterize the later generation. Moreover in this epistle again, as we saw to be the case in the Ignatian letters (p. 368 sq.), there is silence from first to last upon all the questions which agitated the Church in the second half of the second century. Of Montanism, of the Paschal controversy, of the developed Gnostic heresies of this period, it says nothing. The supposed reference to Marcion has been discussed and dismissed already.

But this argument from internal evidence gains strength when considered from another point of view. The only intelligible theory—indeed, so far as I know, the only theory of any kind—offered to account for this epistle by those who deny its genuineness or its integrity connects it closely with the Ignatian letters. If forged, it was forged

βασιλεῖ...λεκτέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀρήγομεν κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι θείαν, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, ἄρηξιν ..καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦμεν πειθόμενοι ἀποστολικῇ φωνῇ λεγούσῃ Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις...ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων· καὶ ὅσῳ γέ τις εὐσεβέστερός ἐστιν, τοσούτῳ ἀντικώτερος ἐν τῷ ἀρήγειν τοῖς βασιλεύουσι...ἡμεῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμαχοῦμεν τοῦ βασιλέως, where the occurrence of the singular shows that there was only one reigning emperor at the time and where nevertheless the plural occurs in those statements which are general. See also above, p. 514. Such injunctions relating to the duty of prayer, founded on 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, and similar passages, are not uncommon in early Christian writers (e.g. Justin *Apol.* i. 14, 17, *Dial.* 133, with Otto's note 1. p. 177, ed. 3). The passage in Polycarp's Epistle obviously belongs to this class.

by the same hand which wrote the seven Vossian Epistles; if interpolated, it was interpolated by the same person who expanded the three Curetonian Epistles into the seven Vossian. In any case the object was to recommend the Ignatian forgery by the authority of a great name. This theory is at all events intelligible; and, so far as I can see, it is the only rational theory which the case admits.

I have already considered the passages, in which reference is made to Ignatius and his letters, and on which therefore this theory is based, and the result of the investigation was highly unfavourable to any such hypothesis. But the main question still remains to be answered; Does the Epistle of Polycarp bear evidence in its style and diction, or in its modes of thought, or in any other way, that it was written by the same hand which penned the Ignatian letters?

And here we may say boldly that, in whatever way we test the two documents, the contrast is very striking—more striking indeed than we should have expected to find between two Christian writers who lived at the same time and were personally acquainted with each other. Let us apply some of the tests.

1. The stress which Ignatius lays on episcopacy as the keystone of *ecclesiastical order* and the guarantee of theological orthodoxy is well known (see above, p. 375 sq.). Indeed it is often asserted that the Ignatian letters were written for this express purpose. In Polycarp's Epistle on the other hand there is from first to last no mention of the episcopate. There is every reason for believing that Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna at this time; yet in the heading of the letter, which would be the great opportunity for a forger, he does not assert his title but contents himself with writing, 'Polycarp and the presbyters with him'. Again, in the body of the letter he speaks at length about the duties of the presbyters, of the deacons, of the widows, and others (§§ 4—6); but the bishop is entirely ignored. More especially he directs the younger men to be obedient to 'the presbyters and deacons, as to God and Christ' (§ 5); but nothing is said about obedience to the bishop. At a later point he has occasion to speak of an offence committed by one Valens a presbyter (§§ 11, 12); but here again there is the same silence. All this is quite intelligible, if the letter is genuine, on the supposition either that there was a vacancy in the Philippian bishopric at this time or, as seems more probable, that the ecclesiastical organization there was not yet fully developed; but it is, so far as I can see, altogether inconceivable that a forger whose object it was to recommend episcopacy should have pictured a state of things so damaging to his main purpose.

2. If from ecclesiastical organization we turn to *doctrinal statement*, the contrast still holds. In Polycarp we meet with no emphatic declarations of the incarnation, of the true humanity, of the twofold nature of Christ, such as confront us again and again in Ignatius (*Ephes.* 7, 18, 19, *Magn.* 7, 8, 11, *Trall.* 9, *Rom.* 7, *Smyrn.* 1, 4, 5, *Polyc.* 3). He never speaks of 'the blood of God' (*Ephes.* 1) or 'the passion of my God' (*Rom.* 6), nor do we find in him any approach to those other strong modes of speaking, which in Ignatius seem to favour Monophysitism such as 'Our God was conceived by Mary' (*Ephes.* 18). This last designation, 'our God', 'my God', applied to Jesus Christ, occurs several times in Ignatius (see II. p. 26). It is not found once in Polycarp, though in one passage (§ 12), as quoted by Timotheus and Severus, he speaks of 'the Eternal High-priest, God Jesus Christ', where the Greek text is wanting and the Latin reads 'Dei filius', not 'Deus'. Even in the commonest ways of designating our Lord a difference is perceptible. Thus the favourite mode of expression in Ignatius is 'Jesus Christ' or 'Christ Jesus' simply, which occurs nearly a hundred times; whereas in Polycarp it is found twice only (§§ 1, 7), one passage being a quotation. On the other hand a frequent designation in Polycarp is 'The Lord Jesus Christ' or 'Our Lord Jesus Christ' occurring in six places, while in the Ignatian letters it is only found about the same number of times, and in nearly every instance (*Philad.* inscr., 1, 9, 11) with a various reading which has some claims to acceptance; though these Ignatian letters are between four and five times the length of Polycarp's Epistle. Again 'The Lord' or 'Our Lord' without the addition of Jesus Christ appears some sixteen times in Polycarp, whereas it does not occur as often in the whole body of the Ignatian letters. Again the combination 'God and Christ', occurring three times in Polycarp (§§ 3, 5 bis), is not found at all in Ignatius.

This contrast between the two writers extends to other domains of theology. Thus Ignatius dwells frequently and with great emphasis on 'the blood' of Christ, 'the passion' of Christ, 'the cross' of Christ, as an object of belief, a centre of unity, and a source of life (see II. pp. 25 sq., 29 sq., 75, 152, 177, 249, 250, 258, 291 sq., 297, 308), whereas in Polycarp the blood of Christ is only once mentioned (§ 2), where it is regarded as a crime demanding vengeance, and the cross of Christ only twice (§§ 7, 12), where it is a protest against doctrinal or practical opponents. Again there is in Polycarp an entire absence of that sacramental language which confronts us again and again in the most startling forms in Ignatius (II. pp. 45, 66, 87, 123, 171, 225 sq., 257 sq., 260, 306, 309). Moreover he has not a single word to say about the unity

of the Church, which occupies so large a space on the canvas of Ignatius. Indeed 'the Church' is not once named by him, and the only occurrence of the word ἐκκλησία itself is in the opening of the letter, where it is applied to the particular community.

3. The divergence of the two writers as regards *Scriptural quotations* is equally remarkable. Though the seven Ignatian letters are many times longer than Polycarp's Epistle, the quotations in the latter are incomparably more numerous as well as more precise than in the former. The obligations to the New Testament are wholly different in character in the two cases. The Ignatian letters do indeed show a considerable knowledge of the writings included in our Canon of the New Testament; but this knowledge betrays itself in casual words and phrases, stray metaphors, epigrammatic adaptations, and isolated coincidences of thought. Where there is an obligation, the borrowed figure or expression has passed through the mind of the writer, has been assimilated, and has undergone some modification in the process. Quotations from the New Testament strictly speaking there are none. The nearest approaches are such sentences as 'Be thou wise as the serpent in all things and innocent at all times as the dove' (*Polyc.* 2 from Matt. x. 16), or 'Through their wrong-doings I am advanced further in discipleship (μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι); but by reason of this am I not justified' (*Rom.* 5, from 1 Cor. iv. 4); and even such examples can be counted on the fingers. On the other hand in Polycarp's Epistle sentence after sentence is frequently made up of passages from the Evangelical or Apostolic writings[1]. There is nothing at all, for example, in Ignatius which can compare with the large and repeated use made by Polycarp of the First Epistle of S. Peter, which was sufficiently prominent to attract the notice of Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 15 κέχρηταί τισι μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς).

4. But this divergence forms only part of a broader and still more decisive contrast, affecting the whole *style and character* of the two writings. The profuseness of quotations in Polycarp's Epistle arises

[1] Funk (*Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe*, p. 34, 1883) calculates that in Polycarp's letter there are 35 quotations from the Scriptures, of which 22 are from the Apostolic Epistles, while in the Ignatian letters there are only 15 or 16 in all, of which three are from the Apostolic Epistles. Taking the length of the Ignatian letters to be roughly six times as long as Polycarp's Epistle (I calculate it at between four and five times), he concludes that 'we obtain as well for the whole Scripture as for the Apostolic Epistles the proportion 21 : 1'. It is difficult to say what amount of coincidence is required to constitute a quotation, and I am unable to follow his arithmetic in his calculations from his data; but the general contrast is not less striking than he represents it.

from a want of originality. The thoughts and words of others are reproduced with little or no modification, because the writer's mind is receptive and not creative. The Epistle of Polycarp is essentially common place, and therefore essentially intelligible. It has intrinsically no literary or theological interest. Its only value arises from the fact that it is a monument of a highly important epoch in the progress of the Church, of which very little is known, and about which every scrap of information is welcome. On the other hand the letters of Ignatius have a marked individuality. Of all early Christian writings they are preeminent in this respect. They are full of idiomatic expressions, quaint images, unexpected turns of thought and language. They exhibit their own characteristic ideas, which evidently have a high value for the writer, for he recurs to them again and again, but which the reader often finds extremely difficult to grasp owing to their singularity.

5. Turning from the broader characteristics of style to *individual expressions*, we find the two separated by the same wide gulf. The vocabulary is wholly different. Not a single one of the characteristic words or types of words or phrases or turns of expression, which strike us in the Ignatian letters, presents itself in the Epistle of Polycarp. Such for instance are the compounds of ἄξιος, as ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιόθεος, etc. (see II. pp. 27, 41, 191, 341), or of φέρειν (-φόρος), as θεοφόρος, ναοφόρος, etc. (II. pp. 21 sq., 55 sq.), or of Θεός, as θεοπρεπής, θεομακαριστός, etc. (II. p. 108). None of these compounds occur in Polycarp. Such again is the frequent use of the preposition κατὰ in several characteristic combinations (II. pp. 107, 256), as κατὰ Θεόν (II. p. 107), κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (II. pp. 125, 256), κατὰ ἀνθρώπους, etc. (II. pp. 57, 155, 228), κατ' ἄνδρα (in οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα II. p. 41), καθ' ἕνα (II. p. 179), κατὰ πάντα (especially in the phrase κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαύειν, II. p. 35), with other similar expressions such as κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν, κατὰ κυριακήν, etc. (II. pp. 125, 129). The only approaches to such expressions, indeed the only instances of the occurrence of this preposition with the accusative, in Polycarp's Epistle are the very obvious phrases § 3 κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, and § 5 κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου. Again there is the characteristic Ignatian use of τυχεῖν (ἐπιτυχεῖν), especially with Θεοῦ (II. pp. 30, 65, 109); there is the recurrence of such phrases as εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ (II. pp. 88, 139), or μὴ πλανᾶσθε, μηδεὶς πλανάσθω (II. pp. 43, 70, 256), or ἐν τῇ προσεύχῃ (αἰτήσει) ὑμῶν (II. pp. 85, 355), or γνώμη Θεοῦ (II. pp. 39, 228, 250); there is the favourite contrast and combination of 'flesh' and 'spirit' (II. pp. 48, 60); there is the often repeated idea of discipleship (μαθητής, μαθητεύεσθαι, etc.) as the goal of life's journey (II. pp. 31, 37, 58, 210, 215); there are the

favorite words ἀδιάκριτος, ἀδιακρίτως (II. pp. 39, 153, 193), ἀντίψυχον (II. p. 87), ἀξιοῦν (II. p. 110), ἀποδέχεσθαι (II. p. 332), ἑνοῦν, ἑνότης, ἕνωσις (especially in the phrase ἑνότης, ἕνωσις Θεοῦ, II. pp. 42, 109, 269, 322), εὑρίσκεσθαι (very frequently), ζῆν (as a substantive, II. pp. 61, 73), καταξιοῦν (II. pp. 85, 110), κλῆρος (II. pp. 180, 196), ὀναίμην (II. p. 35), περίψημα (II. p. 50), πρέπει, πρέπον ἐστί (II. p. 36), πρεσβυτέριον (II. p. 36), σύνδουλος (II. p. 33), φυσιοῦσθαι (II. p. 136), χριστιανός, χριστιανισμός, etc. (II. p. 134); there is the absolute use of ὄνομα and θέλημα, for the Divine Name, the Divine Will (II. pp. 37, 47, 85, 195); there is the peculiar construction of θέλειν, θέλεσθαι (II. pp. 115, 228); there is the recurrence of ἄξιος used absolutely or with Θεοῦ (II. pp. 33, 34, 36); there is the genitive Θεοῦ instead of a descriptive epithet in such phrases as χρῶμα Θεοῦ (*Ephes.* 4), ὁμόνοια Θεοῦ (II. p. 119), ἑνότης Θεοῦ (II. pp. 269, 322), ἕνωσις Θεοῦ (*Trall.* 11), ὁμοήθεια Θεοῦ (II. p. 120), ἐπιείκεια Θεοῦ (*Philad.* 1), ἀμεριμνία Θεοῦ (*Polyc.* 7), or in the expression εἶναι Θεοῦ (II. pp. 45, 133, 219, 356). Not a single example of any of these appears in Polycarp's Epistle. Again there is no instance of such phrases of reciprocation with God as are common in Ignatius, e.g. *Philad.* 10 δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα...καὶ ὑμεῖς δοξασθήσεσθε, *Rom.* 8 θελήσατε ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῆτε (see II. pp. 35, 36, 281, 301, 351). Again there is an entire absence of the metaphors and illustrations drawn from heathen religious processions, choruses, altars, and sacrifices (see II. pp. 17, 41, 54 sq., 123, 201), for § 4 θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ cannot be considered an exception; and indeed generally of the different images and figures in which Ignatius delights. Again the opening of Polycarp's Epistle exhibits a marked difference from the openings of the Ignatian letters. These latter are all framed on one type τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (Τράλλεσιν, etc.)...πλεῖστα χαίρειν, whereas Polycarp's salutation takes quite another form τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ...τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη...πληθυνθείη being modelled somewhat closely after the pattern of Clement's Epistle.

I venture to think that any one who will carefully consider these contrasts must be struck with the impossibility of a theory which assumes that the two writings proceeded from the same hand. This hypothesis requires us to believe that a highly uncritical circle in a highly uncritical age (for great stress is laid on the uncritical character of the early Christian centuries and the early Christian society) produced a literary fiction which for subtlety of execution leaves the most skilful forgeries of the nineteenth century far behind. But suppose for a moment that such a consummate artist could have been found. What

is the part assigned to him by this theory? What is supposed to be his motive in the production of this letter bearing Polycarp's name? He is eager to establish the authority of the episcopate. Therefore he writes a letter which has proved a stronghold of presbyterianism. He desires to put down a particular type of heresy. So he disposes of the subject of heresy in two or three lines (§ 7) of which the purport is far from obvious. He wishes to accredit certain previous forgeries of his own bearing the name of Ignatius. One of these was a letter from Ignatius to Polycarp. So in order to identify this letter he makes Polycarp mention in the letter of Ignatius, to which he alludes, an injunction which is not found in the document which he wishes to recommend.

But another hypothesis still remains. May not this Epistle of Polycarp have been written by a different hand from the Ignatian letters, and still be a forgery? This hypothesis has never, so far as I am aware, been seriously maintained, and it stands self-condemned. No instance has been produced in early Christian literature of a later forgery composed to support an earlier by another hand. The thing is hardly credible. Moreover both the earlier and the later forgery must have been composed between the ages of Ignatius and Irenæus. But what can have been the motive of the Polycarpian forger? What did he find in the previous Ignatian forgery which made him take so much pains to establish its credit? Was it the support of episcopacy? Why, he writes in such a way that he himself has been mistaken for a presbyterian.

But this Epistle of Polycarp, it will be said, exhibits resemblances to the Ignatian letters which are too close to be accidental. This is certainly true. Here and there we find passages which strike our ear as echoes of the Ignatian language and thought (see II. pp. 911, 913, 915, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 927). But is not this what we should have expected under the circumstances? I have already remarked on the unoriginal and receptive character of Polycarp's mind. It is probable that, if all the Jewish and Christian literature accessible to him were open to ourselves, we should be able to trace other obligations in his epistle besides those passages which we know to be borrowed. One instance I have pointed out in the notes (II. p. 907 sq.). He was fresh from the study of the Ignatian letters. Two of them were addressed to himself or to his church. Four others were written in his companionship. They had all recently been copied out under his eye. Could such a man under such conditions have refrained from embodying thoughts and expressions from these in his own epistle?

Though this epistle contains very few and slight references to external incidents which furnish materials for testing its authenticity, it satisfies the test wherever we are able to apply it. The allusions to the companions of Ignatius (§ 9) and to the letters of the martyr (§ 13) have been considered already (p. 572 sq.); and the verdict was favourable to its genuineness. The reference to the comparative antiquity of the Philippian and Smyrnæan Churches (§ 11) is at all events in strict accordance with historical truth (see I. p. 446, II. p. 927), and its incidental character precludes the suspicion of artifice. Only two persons are mentioned by name in direct connexion with this letter. They both bear Latin names, and in a Roman colony like Philippi this is not surprising. The one, Crescens, is the bearer of the letter, and seems to have been connected with Philippi as well as with Smyrna (§ 14). The name is found in a Philippian inscription (see II. p. 933). The other, Valens, was a presbyter of the Philippian Church, who had been guilty of avarice, and apparently of dishonesty (§ 11). The inscriptions show that Valens was a not uncommon name at Philippi (see II. p. 924). But the crime of Valens points to another subtle coincidence which we may fairly consider undesigned and which therefore may be taken as an indication of genuineness. In the earlier part of the letter (§§ 2, 4, 6) there are repeated warnings against covetousness, occurring abruptly and, as we might suppose, inopportunely (see II. p. 912). It is only towards the close of the letter, when the sin of Valens is denounced, that we learn at length what significance these warnings, which to us appear unseasonable, would have for the writer and for his readers.

It remains for me to examine Ritschl's theory of interpolation; and my task will be done. Like the view of the entire spuriousness which has just been considered, this theory, as I have already explained (p. 563), supposes a connexion with the forgery or interpolation of the Ignatian Epistles, and is open to all or nearly all the same objections. As these have been already considered, I need not revert to this part of the subject again. It will be sufficient to examine the difficulties inherent in the theory itself.

The passages which Ritschl condemns as interpolated are these; § 1 *δεξαμένοις...ἐκλελεγμένων καὶ*; § 3 *Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί...πάσης ἁμαρτίας* (the whole chapter); § 9 *Παρακαλῶ οὖν...* § 10 'Ergo state et'; § 10 'Sobrietatem ergo...conversamini'; § 11 'qui ignorant...nondum noveramus'; § 12 'confido enim...esse in vobis'; § 13 *Ἐγράψατέ μοι...* 'agnoveritis significate' (the whole).

Ritschl endeavours to show that the passages in question interrupt

the connexion of the thoughts; and he supposes the main purport of the letter to be the condemnation of the crime of Valens. From his own point of view he has been refuted by Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 499 sq.), who has taken the passages in detail; and this refutation leaves nothing to be desired. I would only urge one additional consideration. One of the chief passages which he omits is § 9. As it mentions the connexion of the Philippians with both S. Paul and S. Ignatius, its omission is vital to his theory. Yet no one can say that it is unconnected with its context. The writer has been speaking in § 8 of Christ as the pattern of patience. He then proceeds in § 9 to remind the Philippians of examples of patience in certain saints and martyrs of whom they had personal knowledge. Then in § 10 he continues, 'In his ergo state et Domini exemplar sequimini'. Ritschl himself is obliged to allow the connexion of subject, though he discerns some incongruity in the mode of introduction. But if we accept his omission, what is the result? The words will then run; *μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν· τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν·* Domini exemplar sequimini'. Here we have an intolerable tautology. The last clause is a mere repetition of the first—a repetition quite unintelligible when it stands in this close proximity, though natural enough as the resumption of the main subject after the digression of a whole chapter.

But, whatever may be thought of the loss or gain to the connexion by the omission of the passages supposed to be interpolated, the identity of style and character is a stubborn fact which testifies to the identity of authorship. To this point, which has been overlooked, I desire to call attention. Thus in § 3 there is a string of relative sentences *ὃς γενόμενος...ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν...εἰς ἃς ἐὰν...ἥτις ἐστὶ κ. τ. λ.*, quite after Polycarp's manner (e.g. § 1 *ὃς ὑπέμεινεν...ὃν ἤγειρεν...εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες... εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ κ. τ. λ.*: comp. §§ 2, 5, 8, 12); there is the word *οἰκοδομεῖσθαι*, which occurs more than once elsewhere in this letter (§§ 11, 12, 13); there is again a favourite Polycarpian expression *εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν* (comp. § 4 *ἐν τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐταῖς πίστει*, § 7 *τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον*, § 11 'locum qui datus est ei'); there is a quotation from the Epistle to the Galatians (iv. 26), which epistle is elsewhere quoted by Polycarp (vi. 7 in § 5); there is the Polycarpian formula *Θεὸν καὶ Χριστόν*, which occurs twice elsewhere in this epistle (§ 5) but not once in the Ignatian letters; there is the expression *ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης*, made up of two words common in themselves but occurring with more than common frequency in Polycarp's Epistle (*ἐντολή* §§ 2, 4,

5, comp. *ἐντείλασθαι* §§ 6, 13: *δικαιοσύνη*, §§ 2, 4, 5, 8, 9); there is lastly another favourite Polycarpian phrase *μακράν ἐστι πάσης ἁμαρτίας* (comp. § 4 *μακρὰν οὖσας πάσης ἁμαρτίας*, § 6 *μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας*). Thus the passage is thoroughly Polycarpian in character from beginning to end.

The same is true also of the other passages, though the tests applicable are not as full. Thus in § 9 we have *πεπεισμένος ὅτι* introducing a quotation, just as *εἰδότες ὅτι* introduces quotations elsewhere in Polycarp (§§ 1, 4, 5; see II. p. 908); we have a reminiscence of Clement of Rome, *εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον* (Clem. Rom. 5 *εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης*), as we have elsewhere; we have an awkward *καὶ ὅτι*, which is characteristic of Polycarp and of which I shall have to speak presently; we have at least one quotation from the Epistle to the Philippians (ii. 16) which is quoted elsewhere by Polycarp (Phil. iii. 18 in § 12), and another from the Epistles to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 10) which are likewise quoted elsewhere (1 Tim. vi. 10, 7, in § 4; 1 Tim. ii. 2 in § 12). Again in § 13 the phrase *καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε* is one which appears in another passage of this epistle (§ 6 *καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο*); the stress laid on *ὑπομονή* is in accordance with its language elsewhere (§§ 8, 12); and the position of *πᾶσαν* before the last of a string of substantives (*πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομήν*) has parallels in § 4 *ψευδομαρτυρίας, φιλαργυρίας, καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ*, § 6 *φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας*, § 12 'in fide et veritate et in omni mansuetudine'. Again in § 1 the omission of the supposed interpolation would obliterate a *καὶ ὅτι*, which is especially characteristic of Polycarp and which occurs elsewhere in equally awkward connexions (§ 2 *καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι κ.τ.λ.*, § 4 *καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται*, § 5 *καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα*, § 9 *καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον κ.τ.λ.*). Again in § 12 the expression 'nihil vos latet' has a parallel in § 4 *λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν* (which is rendered 'nihil eum latet' in the Latin Version); and in like manner 'quod ego credo esse in vobis' is matched by § 14 'credo quia et vobiscum similiter'.

Thus then the supposed interpolations of Polycarp resemble the rest of this epistle as closely as the supposed interpolations of and additions to the Ignatian letters were shown to resemble the other parts of those letters (see above, p. 282 sq.). On the other hand these assumed later additions to Ignatius and Polycarp respectively have no affinity of style and character the one with the other, which would suggest the pen of the same author.

The perplexities in which so able a writer as M. Renan is involved by his rejection of the Ignatian letters are an instructive lesson. He allows—he could not help allowing—the 'absolute connexion' between the Ignatian Epistles and the Polycarpian

Epistle (*L'Église Chrétienne* p. v; comp. *ib.* pp. 442 sq., 463, *Les Évangiles* pp. xxviii sq., 486 sq., 494 sq., *Marc-Aurèle* p. 417 sq.). But, having done this, he casts about helplessly for any theory which will explain the facts. These 'gemini angues' fasten upon him, and

'tela ferentem
Corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus'

till he is hopelessly enfolded in their coils. He is driven to make two statements, which are strangely at variance with the facts; (1) He speaks of the Epistles of Ignatius and the Epistle of Polycarp as 'perfectly homogeneous in style and colouring' ('parfaitement homogène de style et de couleur', *Les Év.* p. xxx), though hardly any two early Christian writings differ more (see above p. 578 sq.); (2) He considers that one of the main motives of the Epistle of Polycarp was to plead for episcopacy (*Les Év.* p. xxx, *L'Égl. Chrét.* pp. 443, 444). If this were so, I can only repeat what I have said before, that he could not have done his work worse. From Daillé downward, presbyterian writers of successive ages have put him forward as their champion. As regards his own views, Renan does not, so far as I have observed, commit himself to any definite theory, but he limits the possibilities thus; 'It appears then, either that the Epistle of Polycarp and those of Ignatius are the work of the same forger ('sont du même faussaire') or that the author of the letters of Ignatius had the design of finding a *point d'appui* in the Epistle of Polycarp and, while adding a postscript [i.e. c. 13], of creating a recommendation for his work' (*l.c.* p. xxx). And he seems to hover between these two solutions elsewhere without coming to any definite conclusion (comp. *Les Év.* pp. xxvii, 486, 487, 488, *L'Égl. Chrét.* pp. 316, 463, 498, *Marc-Aur.* p. 418). Both these theories I have already considered in the preceding pages. As regards the former the wholly diverse character of the two writings is a sufficient refutation. As regards the latter it has been shown, if I mistake not, (1) that the 13th chapter is better authenticated than the other parts of the epistle, and (2) that it is not at all what a forger would have invented to recommend the Ignatian letters, inasmuch as it fails for this purpose both in excess and in defect. All this perplexity Renan would have avoided by the frank acceptance of the Ignatian Epistles as genuine. This step he is not prepared to take. On the contrary he declares again and again that they (or at least six out of the seven) are certainly spurious. Yet at the same time he is ready to allow: (1) that they were known to Lucian (see above, p. 334); (2) that the journey to Rome and the martyrdom there are historical facts (see esp. *Les Év.* pp. xxxiv, 487); (3) that the Epistle to the Romans was known to Irenæus; (4) that the Epistle to the Romans is genuine in the main (see above, p. 301). After travelling so far on the road, it is difficult to see why he should refuse to take the final step.

Other critics, less scrupulous than Renan, adopt a more drastic treatment. Their starting-point is the assumption that the Epistle of Polycarp cannot be genuine, because it bears testimony to the Ignatian letters which are certainly spurious. Their other arguments are all secondary, to support this foregone conclusion. This is the position of Schwegler, Scholten, and others. The time has gone by, when such treatment could be received with deference.

5.

LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.

THE document which gives an account of Polycarp's martyrdom is not one and continuous. It consists of two parts, the main body of the letter ending with the twentieth chapter, and a number of supplementary paragraphs comprising the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters. In point of form these supplementary paragraphs are separable from the rest of the letter. As a question of external evidence again, they do not stand on the same ground. Eusebius, our chief witness to the genuineness of the document, ends his quotations and paraphrases before he reaches the close of the main body of the letter; and we are therefore unable to say confidently whether he had or had not the supplementary paragraphs. In discussing the genuineness therefore, the two parts must be considered separately.

1. *THE MAIN DOCUMENT.*

The genuineness of this letter has been universally acknowledged till the most recent times. The illustrious Scaliger expressed himself so moved by the simplicity and pathos of the narrative that 'he seemed to be no longer master of himself' ('ut non amplius meus esse videar'). Its transparent sincerity has also commended it to successive generations of critics and historians down to our own time. It has been reserved for the feverish and restless criticism of our day to impugn its genuineness. It has been attacked by Schürer (*Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1870, p. 203 sq.), by Lipsius (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 200 sq., 1874), and by Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum* 1878, p. 90 sq.;

comp. *Celsus' Wahres Wort* 1873, p. 145, *Rom u. d. Christenthum* p. 586 sq.) as either very largely interpolated or written at a much later date and therefore unauthentic[1]. Lipsius (p. 201) would assign it to the time of the Decian persecution (c. A.D. 250), and in this he is followed by Gebhardt (*Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1875, p. 366) and Holtzmann (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XX. p. 214, 1877). Keim (p. 130) would place it still later, under Gallienus (A.D. 260—268), or even under Claudius, Aurelian, or Probus (A.D. 268—282). These views however have not found much favour, even among critics of the extreme school. Renan accepts it without hesitation as genuine (*L'Église Chrétienne*, pp. vi, 452 sq.). 'This beautiful piece', he writes (*ib.* p. 462 sq.), 'constitutes the most ancient example known of Acts of Martyrdom. It was the model which was imitated and which furnished the procedure and the essential parts of this species of composition.' He is apparently so satisfied with its manifestly genuine character, that he does not think it necessary to allude to the attacks of objectors. The arguments of assailants have been met among others by Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXII. p. 145 sq., 1879 ; comp. also XVII. p. 303 sq., 1874), who however himself condemns c. 5 ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον...c. 7 ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες, as spurious (comp. *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XX. p. 143, 1877), from motives and on grounds which will be considered hereafter. When criticism has recovered its balance, and a healthier tone has been restored, we may confidently anticipate that such objections will vanish. But meanwhile it is necessary that they should not remain unanswered.

The external evidence, if not abundant, cannot be regarded as deficient. It is as full as we have a right to expect, and as we get in most similar cases. Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4), writing about a quarter of a century after the occurrence, speaks of Polycarp as 'departing this life at a very advanced age, by a glorious and signal martyrdom' (ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας). A few years later also (A.D. 189—199) Polycrates (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24) refers to him as 'both bishop and martyr in Smyrna' (ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς). Hitherto we have testimony only to the fact of the martyrdom. The next witness carries us a step further. The *Letter of the Gallican Churches* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1), giving an account of the sufferings at Vienne and Lyons,

[1] Joël (*Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte etc.* II. p. 152 sq., 1883), writing from a Jewish point of view, objects that it is unjust to the Jews. Possibly it may do them an injustice; but at no time were the relations between the Jews and Christians more embittered than in the middle of the second century.

presents coincidences with this *Letter of the Smyrnæans* which are too strong to be accidental. Compare *Ep. Sm.* 2 ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινά...ὅτι παρεστὼς ὁ Κύριος ὡμίλει αὐτοῖς with *Ep. Gall.* 51 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρύξαντός τι ὅλως ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὁμιλοῦντος τῷ Θεῷ (comp. also *Ep. Gall.* 56 ὁμιλίαν πρὸς Χριστόν): *Ep. Sm.* 2 διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι... πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον...πῦρ with *Ep. Gall.* 26 ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν: *Ep. Sm.* 3 πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος, ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὖν ἴσχυσεν with *Ep. Gall.* 5, 6, ὁ ἀντικείμενος ... διὰ πάντων διῆλθεν...ἀντεστρατήγει δὲ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ. So again in both documents we twice meet with τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον (*Ep. Sm.* 17, 19, *Ep. Gall.* 36, 42); see also below, p. 609.

But an earlier witness than any of these appears from an unexpected quarter, if only we could satisfy ourselves as to the applicability of his evidence. I have already considered the allusions in Lucian, which seem to show a knowledge, direct or indirect, of the letters and the career of Ignatius (see above, p. 331 sq.). A verdict has there been given in the affirmative. The question is less clear in the case of Polycarp[1]. The lighting of the fire with torches and faggots (ἀνῆψαν τὸ πῦρ μέγιστον ἄτε ἀπὸ δᾴδων καὶ φρυγάνων, comp. *Mart. Polyc.* § 13 ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα, *ib.* 15 ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός), the divesting of the garments (ἀποθέμενος τὴν πήραν καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον, comp. *ib.* 13 ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια), the prayer on the funeral pyre (δέξασθέ με εὐμενεῖς, comp. *ib.* 14 προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον), the flame blazing up (φλογὸς πολλῆς ἠρμένης; comp. *ib.* 15 τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς ἠρμένης), the comparison to a baking (ὠπτημένον γερόντιον, comp. *ib.* 15 ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος), the anxiety of the company to secure reliques (τι λείψανον καταλαμβάνειν τοῦ πυρός, comp. *ib.* 17 μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ λαμβάνειν), are among the points of resemblance. It might even be thought that the incident of Peregrinus' sprinkling incense on the fire (ᾔτει λιβανωτὸν ὡς ἐπιβάλοι ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἀναδόντος τινὸς ἐπέβαλε) was suggested by the statement of Polycarp's companions that a fragrance, as of incense, issued from the fire when the martyr's body was burnt (*ib.* 15 εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος κ.τ.λ.). Lastly; as a dove is seen issuing from the body of Polycarp (§ 16), so in like manner Lucian deludes the gobemouches (τοὺς βλᾶκας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν κεχηνότας) of the company with the fiction that at

[1] It is the subject of a recent article by E. Egli *Lucian u. Polykarp*, in *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXVI. p. 166 sq. (1883). He does not speak confidently as to any obligation on Lucian's part.

Peregrinus' self-immolation a vulture rose from the flames and flew up to heaven.

This last point in the parallelism is the most striking. Yet it must probably be abandoned. There is very good reason for believing that the dove is a later interpolation in the Smyrnæan Letter, as I shall endeavour to show presently. The possibility however still remains that the story may have appeared at least in germ in the decade or more which elapsed between the Smyrnæan Letter and Lucian's narrative, and that it may have reached this satirist's ears. But on the whole it seems more probable that in this particular Lucian aims his shaft elsewhere. The practice of letting an eagle fly from the funeral pyres of the Roman emperors (see II. p. 975) might have furnished him with his motive here. But, if this point be abandoned, the other resemblances are not so strong as to produce conviction, though they may suggest a presumption. Where two men—both religious leaders—are burnt alive on funeral pyres, the incidents must be the same to some extent, and the language describing those incidents will be similar. In the case before us the very strong probability that Lucian was acquainted with the career of Ignatius is (so far as it goes) a reason for supposing that he may not have been ignorant of the fate of Polycarp.

Our next witness is somewhat later. In the *Acts of Pionius*, who suffered likewise at Smyrna nearly a century after Polycarp in the Decian persecution (A.D. 250), we are told that Pionius 'on the eve of the birth-day of the martyr Polycarp' had a dream that he and his companions would be apprehended the next day. Accordingly the subsequent narrative states that while they were 'celebrating the genuine birth-day of the martyr Polycarp', 'the second day of the sixth month', which is further described as 'a great sabbath' (die sabbati majore), the persecution overtook them. The day of the month will be considered hereafter. It is sufficient to observe now, that the notice so far agrees with the postscript to the Smyrnæan Letter, as to place the martyrdom on the 2nd of Xanthicus (§ 21). The Acts of Pionius therefore bear testimony to the celebration of the day of Polycarp's martyrdom according to the intentions declared in the Smyrnæan Letter (§ 18). Thus we have evidence that the circumstances of Polycarp's death were a matter of interest to his fellow-citizens within two or three generations after its occurrence.

But this early testimony is all indirect and inferential. The first reference to the document, as a document, is in Eusebius. In his *Chronicon* after the 7th year of M. Aurelius he mentions the martyrdom of Polycarp and adds that it 'is recorded in writing', 'martyrium scriptis

memoratur' (I. p. 170, ed. Schöne; see above, p. 541). In his *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 15) again he describes the document and makes large use of it, either quoting or paraphrasing nearly the whole (see II. p. 941 sq.). Having concluded his account of Polycarp's death, he adds that other martyrdoms also are attached to it and formed part of the same work (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γραφῇ). Having briefly described these martyrdoms, more especially that of Pionius, he concludes by referring those readers who desire further information to the work containing the account of him (τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς), to which he says he has given a place in his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*. This collection was one of his earlier works (see Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s. v. Eusebius p. 321), and he refers to it elsewhere (*H. E.* v. procem., 4, 21). Though he mentions it here solely in reference to Pionius, and does not directly state that the martyrdom of Polycarp was included in it, yet we may safely infer that the latter also had a place. He found the two in the same volume, and there was no reason for separating them. The martyrdom of Polycarp moreover had a very special claim to be included in his collection. It was, as he intimates, the earliest written record of a martyrdom with which he was acquainted (ἐγγράφως ἤδη φερόμενον)[1]. If it be said that he quotes so largely from the document in his *History* as to render its insertion in the *Collection* superfluous, the answer is twofold. First, the *Collection* was made before the *History* was written and probably before it was planned; and secondly, the quotations from the similar *Letter of the Gallican Churches* (v. 1, 2) are nearly twice as long, and yet he expressly tells us that this latter document was included in his volume. The exact date of this collection we do not know, but it was probably suggested by the persecution of Diocletian, and, if so, it would be compiled in the very earliest years of the fourth century.

In the closing decades of the same century we have other important evidence. At this date the spurious Pionius, who writes the Life of Polycarp, inserts the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* in his work (see below, I. p. 622, II. p. 1007 sq.). All the MSS, which we possess (both Greek and Latin) of the entire text, have come to us through this source. At the close, this Pionius gives an account of the transmission of the document, in which he represents his transcript as the third in genealogical succession from the copy found among the papers of Irenæus. The MS, from which he immediately transcribed it, he describes as

[1] Not understanding the force of ἤδη (i.e. 'now first') several MSS have substituted the very obvious ἔτι. In this they are followed by not a few editors, and so I have myself inadvertently quoted the passage elsewhere (II. p. 385).

being blurred and worn by time. We cannot indeed regard this genealogy of the MSS as authentic history; but we may infer that the fiction was not altogether baseless, and that the document which he thus incorporated in his biography was no recent work.

When we turn from the external to the internal evidence, the question which we have first to ask and to answer is; What does this document profess to be? By what persons and under what circumstances does it purport to have been written?

Now it plainly and unmistakeably claims to have been written by eyewitnesses to the events. Not only do the writers profess to be contemporaries of Polycarp (§ 16); but they themselves—or at least some of them—saw the martyr in the midst of the flames (§ 15), endeavoured to recover the body (§ 17), and carried away and buried the calcined bones (§ 18).

But when we proceed to enquire further how soon after the event the letter was written, we are treading on less firm ground. It was sent in consequence of a request from the Philomelians that the Smyrnæans would give them a full account of the martyrdoms (§ 20). Such a request would more naturally come close upon the occurrences than after the lapse of a long interval. Yet circumstances might have occurred to prompt the desire on the part of the Philomelians even at some distance of time. Again the manner in which the writers declare their intention of observing the anniversary of the martyrdom suggests that no such celebration had yet taken place when they wrote (§ 18), and that therefore the letter was written within a year of the martyrdom. But this inference again is far from certain. Moreover, the manner in which the writers, as represented in the common text (§ 13), speak of the honour paid to Polycarp 'even before his martyrdom' (*καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας*) suggests that some long time had elapsed since that event. But there are excellent reasons for believing that Eusebius has preserved the correct text *καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς*, 'even before his hairs were gray' (see II. p. 970), so that this argument falls to the ground.

The document then professes to have been written by eyewitnesses within a reasonable length of time after the occurrences themselves. Is its internal character consonant with this profession? If it is not, then we can no longer trust it as a historical narrative. It may possibly contain a nucleus of fact, but we shall have no means of extricating this from its false surroundings. Keim who places its date as late as A.D. 260—282 (see p. 130) is prepared nevertheless to allow that it is in the

main historical[1]. But inasmuch as the professed testimony of the eye-witnesses lies at the very core of the narrative—the martyrdom itself and the disposal of the reliques—and he rejects this profession, it is difficult to see what ground there is for the confidence that any appreciable residuum of fact underlies the story. Lipsius (p. 202) is more consistent when he says that the only incident in the main body of the document 'warranted as historical' ('historisch versichert') is the death of the bishop Polycarp by fire. Seeing then that the credibility of the narrative stands or falls with the claim of the writers to be regarded as eyewitnesses, it is necessary to consider the features in the document which affect, or have been thought to affect, this claim.

1. One characteristic has attracted special attention from this point of view. The writers betray an eagerness to find parallels between the sufferings of their martyred bishop and the passion of Our Lord. 'Nearly all the incidents', they say at the outset, 'which preceded (his death), came to pass that the Lord might exhibit to us anew a martyrdom after the pattern of the Gospel' (§ 1). Accordingly the idea of literal conformity to the sufferings and death of Christ runs like a thread through the whole document. Some of the coincidences are fairly obvious; in other cases the parallelism is highly artificial. The name of the officer who apprehended him was Herod, and attention is especially directed to this fact (§ 2). His pursuers seize two slave lads, and one of them, put to torture, reveals his master's hiding-place. The poor boy is compared to the traitor Judas, and thus Polycarp, like Christ, was betrayed by those of his own household (§ 6). This triple parallelism—Herod, the traitor, the martyr—is brought into juxtaposition, so as to enforce the idea that he became Χριστοῦ κοινωνός. As Christ prophesies His betrayal 'after two days' (Matt. xxvi. 2), so Polycarp 'three days before he was apprehended' foretold the fate that awaited him (§ 5). Like the Lord also, he waited to be betrayed, when he might have escaped (§ 1; comp. § 7). He was in the country 'not far from the city', when he was apprehended (§§ 5, 6). The hour of his apprehension was at night (§ 7). His pursuers came to seek him with arms 'as against a robber' (§ 7; comp. Matt. xxvi. 55). While his apprehension was planning, he declared his resignation in the words 'God's will be done' (§ 7)—words which are an echo of Christ's language at a similar crisis (Matt. xxvi. 42, Luke xxii. 42). If a common interpretation of the 'great sabbath' were correct (though this may well be questioned), the martyrdom took place, like the Lord's passion, at the

[1] pp. 95, 97, 111, 133. See especially p. 131 'Der Inhalt des Schriftstückes bleibt grossentheils in seiner Glaubwürdigkeit stehen.'

passover tide[1]. At all events it was during some Jewish festival; and the days of the week which are especially named in the Gospels in connexion with the crucifixion, the Friday (*παρασκευή*, Matt. xxvii. 62, Mark xv. 42, Luke xxiii. 54, Joh. xix. 14, 31, 42) and the Saturday (*σάββατον*, Luke xxiii. 54, 56), are likewise mentioned in connexion with Polycarp's martyrdom (*παρασκευή* § 7, *σάββατον* §§ 8, 21). As Polycarp enters the stadium a voice from heaven is heard (*φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο*) addressing and encouraging him, but no man saw the speaker (§ 9). The parallel to Joh. xii. 28, where likewise a voice comes from heaven to Christ at the supreme crisis (*ἦλθεν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*), is manifest. Again, Polycarp did not die by wild beasts, as might have been anticipated, but by fire (§ 12). This was ordered in God's providence in fulfilment of a vision which he had had three days before his apprehension, when he dreamt that his pillow was on fire and foretold the manner of his death (§ 5). Just in the same way Christ was handed over from the Jews to the Romans that He might be put to death not by stoning but by crucifixion, thus fulfilling His own prediction signifying by what manner of death He should die (Joh. xviii. 32). At the time of Polycarp's death, a 'confector' pierces his body with a dagger, as Christ's side was pierced by the soldier with a spear (Joh. xix. 34); and in the one case, as in the other, we are especially told of the blood that gushed out (§ 16). Then again; the eyewitnesses who narrate the unusual occurrences at the martyrdom lay stress on their providential preservation that they might relate the incidents to others (§ 15), just as the evangelist emphasizes in similar language the fact of his presence as a witness of the miraculous incidents which attended the crucifixion (Joh. xix. 35). Once more; the interference of Jews in the disposal of the body (§ 17) with a view to averting consequences might seem to furnish a parallel to the Gospel narrative (Matt. xxviii. 62 sq.), though the character of the interference is different. Lastly; as stress is laid in the Gospel on the accomplishment of all predictions in the death of Jesus (Joh. xix. 28, 30), so likewise we are told here of Polycarp that 'every word which he uttered out of his mouth hath been and shall be accomplished' (§ 16). Thus this was essentially a martyrdom after the pattern of the Gospel (*κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* §§ 1, 19); Polycarp was truly an 'imitator of the Lord' (*μιμητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου* §§ 1, 17), a 'companion of Christ' (*κοινωνὸς Χριστοῦ*, § 6)[2].

[1] The discussion of this question is deferred till the chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom.

[2] So when the Gallican martyr Blandina (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) is attached to a cross, this is said to be done in order to

The cup, which he drank, was in a very literal sense 'the cup of Christ' (§ 14; see the references in the note, II. p. 971).

An overhasty criticism has found in this feature of the narrative an argument against its genuineness and veracity[1]. It is difficult to see the force of this argument. Throughout all ages of the Church, even from the earliest days, there has been a tendency to find in the lives of saints and martyrs a literal conformity to the sufferings of Christ. Biographers have emphasized every detail in the career of their heroes, which bore, or seemed to bear, a resemblance to the Lord's passion. This parallelism appears even in the martyrdom of James the Just, as recorded by Hegesippus (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23). His enemies are the Scribes and Pharisees. He is put to death at the passover. He prays for his murderers in the very language of the Gospel, 'O Lord God, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' In his death is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah (iii. 10, LXX), which foretels the death of 'the righteous one.' Vengeance falls immediately on Jerusalem in retribution for this unholy murder. Similarly also we are told of another martyr Symeon the son of Clopas (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32), apparently in the words or at least according to the sentiment of the same historian Hegesippus, that 'the end which he achieved closely resembled the passion of the Lord' (*τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον τὸ τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο*). In like manner, when in the persecution at Vienne and Lyons Blandina is suspended to a tree or stake, as a temporary punishment, we are told that thereby the Christian bystanders saw with their outward eyes in the person of their sister Him who was crucified for them (see above, p. 595, note 2). Pontius, the friend and biographer of Cyprian, treats his hero in the same way. The sentence of condemnation pronounces Cyprian to be 'the standard-bearer (signifer) of the sect and the enemy of the gods'; it even contains the declaration 'sanguine tuo sancietur disciplina.' This language, though uttered by a heathen and intended in a different sense, is taken as unconsciously inspired. So it resembles the prophecy which Caiaphas uttered respecting Christ. Again, when Cyprian is martyred, the people climb up into the trees that they may see 'the sublime spectacle.' This immediately recalls the action of Zacchæus in the Gospels. And S. Augustine carries

show believers *ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης παθὼν τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζῶντος Θεοῦ.*

[1] It is due to Keim however to say that he sees no difficulty in the incidents themselves, but has recourse to the very shadowy objection that the spirit which dictates the parallelism points to the third rather than the second century (p. 113). The examples given in the text are sufficient to refute this latter argument, if indeed it needs any refutation.

the comparison still further; 'Christus', he writes, 'inter duos latrones ligno suspensus ad exemplum patientiae praebebatur; Cyprianus autem inter duos apparitores ad passionem, curru portatus Christi vestigia sequebatur (*Serm.* 309, *Op.* v. p. 1248).'

Irenæus again (iii. 18. 5) speaks of the martyrs as 'conantes vestigia assequi passionis Domini,' and elsewhere (iii. 13. 1) he describes S. Stephen as 'per omnia martyrii Magistrum imitans.' In like manner Eusebius (*Mart. Palæst.* 7) relates how Agapius, one of the Palestinian martyrs, was led into the arena together with a criminal reported to be a parricide. The criminal was thrown to the wild beasts but rescued and pardoned at the last moment amidst the plaudits of the multitude, while the Christian saint was mangled by a savage bear, taken back to the prison, and drowned in the sea the next day. Eusebius sees a parallel to this incident in the release of Barabbas (*μονονουχὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Βαραββᾶν*). Nor does this craving cease with the age of the pagan persecutions. The lives of the medieval saints belonging to the mendicant orders are treated in the same way. The stigmata of S. Francis, when he 'received the last marks of his similitude to his Redeemer'[1], are only a more startling manifestation of this tendency which reappears in divers forms.

The tendency itself therefore casts no discredit on the genuineness of the narrative. If there be any ground for suspicion, it must lie in the character of the incidents themselves in which the parallelism is sought. But here we are forced to pronounce an acquittal. The violent wresting and the artificial treatment, which are necessary to discover the resemblances, afford sufficient evidence that the narrator was dealing with historical facts and not with arbitrary fictions which he might mould as he pleased. A writer for instance, who had *carte blanche* to invent and manipulate incidents at discretion, would never have placed himself in such straits as to compare the poor slave-lad—more sinned against than sinning—who under torture revealed his master's hiding-place, with the traitor disciple Judas who voluntarily and recklessly sold the life of lives for base gain. This is an extreme case; but there is more or less wresting throughout. The most striking coincidence is the name Herodes[2]; but this name was sufficiently frequent in Polycarp's time, and there is only a faint resemblance between the position of the

[1] Milman *Latin Christianity* IV. p. 180.

[2] Even Lipsius (p. 202) considers that this Herodes was probably a historical person, and that his name suggested the drawing out of the parallel with the sufferings of Christ.

Smyrnæan captain of police, who takes Polycarp into custody, and the Galilean king, whose part in the passion was confined to insolent mockery and who pronounced Jesus innocent of the charges brought against him (Luke xxiii. 15). Here again a fabricator would have secured a better parallel. We may say generally that *the violence of the parallelism is a guarantee of the accuracy of the facts.*

2. The miraculous element has also been urged in some quarters as an objection to the genuineness of the document. Yet, considering all the circumstances of the case, we have more occasion to be surprised at the comparative absence than at the special prominence of the supernatural in the narrative. Compared with records of early Christian martyrs or with biographies of medieval saints or with notices of religious heroes at any great crisis, even in the more recent history of the Church, as for instance the rise of Jesuitism or of Wesleyanism[1], this document contains nothing which ought to excite a suspicion of its authenticity.

The one miraculous incident, which creates a real difficulty is the dove issuing from the wounded side of the martyr. Yet even this might be accounted for by an illusion, and under any circumstances it would be quite inadequate to condemn the document as a forgery. But it will be shown hereafter (p. 627) that there are excellent reasons for regarding the incident as a later interpolation, which had no place in the original document. Beyond this we have the voice from heaven calling to Polycarp in the stadium to play the man (§ 9). But the very simplicity of the narrative here disarms criticism. The brethren present heard the voice, but no one saw the speaker. This was the sole ground for the belief that it was not a human utterance. Again there is the arching of the fire round the martyr like a sail swelled by the wind (§ 15). But this may be explained as a strictly natural occurrence, and similar phenomena have been witnessed more than once on like occasions[2],

[1] See for instance Southey's *Life of Wesley* p. 277 sq., II. pp. 153, 199. These are miracles attested by Wesley himself.

[2] See for instance *Acta Theodoti* 32 (Ruinart *Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 384) 'Tum vero, pyra ingenti constructa, cadaver sancti martyris in ipsam conjecere lectores, multam materiam circumponentes; sed quadam Dei hominibus consulentis providentia subito apparuit supra pyram lumen circumquaque refulgens, ita ut nemo eorum qui ignem succensuri erant accedere auderet; atque ita sacrum corpus intra pyram illaesum mansit'; comp. *ib.* 34 (p. 385) 'pyra incensa, circum ignem facta sunt miracula nullis verbis explicanda, vidimusque lumen in circuitu magnum, neque flamma Theodotum attigit.' This is apparently the account of an eyewitness.

notably at the martyrdoms of Savonarola[1] and of Hooper[2]. Again there is the sweet scent, as of incense, issuing from the burning pyre (§ 15); but this phenomenon also, however we may explain it, whether from the fragrance of the wood or in some other way, meets us constantly[3]. In another early record of martyrdoms, the history of the persecutions at Vienne and Lyons, a little more than twenty years later, we are told (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, § 35) that the heroic martyrs, as they stepped forward to meet their fate, were 'fragrant with the sweet odour of Christ, so that some persons even supposed that they had been anointed with material ointment' (ὥστε ἐνίους δύξαι καὶ μύρῳ κοσμικῷ κεχρίσθαι αὐτούς). Yet there was no pyre and no burning wood here, so that the imagination of the bystanders must have supplied the incident. Indeed this account of the Gallican martyrs, indisputably written by eyewitnesses, contains many more startling occurrences than the record of Polycarp's fate.

3. More or less closely connected with the miraculous element is the *prophetic insight* attributed to Polycarp. But what does this amount to? It is stated indeed that 'every word which he uttered was accomplished and will be accomplished' (§ 16). But the future tense, 'will be accomplished,' is itself the expression of a belief, not the statement of a fact. We may indeed accept this qualification as clear testimony that, when the narrative was written, many of his forebodings and predictions had not been fulfilled. The only example of a prediction actually given in the narrative is the dream of his burning pillow which suggested to him that he would undergo martyrdom by fire. But what more natural than this presentiment, when persecution was raging around him and fire was a common instrument of death? I need not stop here to discuss how far a prescience may be vouchsafed to God's saints. Even 'old experience' is found to be gifted with

[1] See Villari *Savonarola and his Times* (Eng. Trans.) II. p. 362 'A blast of wind diverted the fire for some time from the three bodies, upon which many fell back in terror, exclaiming *A miracle, a miracle.* But the wind soon ceased; the bodies of the three friars were enveloped in fire; and the people again closed around them. The flames had caught the cords by which the arms of Savonarola were pinioned, and the heat caused the hand to move; so that, in the eyes of the faithful he seemed to raise his right hand in the midst of the mass of flame to bless the people who were burning him.'

[2] Foxe *Acts and Monuments* VI. p. 658 (ed. Cattley) 'At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place (it was a cold and lowering morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire'. The fire was three times lighted before it took effect.

[3] See an article by A. Harnack in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* II. p. 291 sq.

'something like prophetic strain.' It is sufficient to say here again that it would be difficult to point to a single authentic biography of any Christian hero—certainly of any Christian hero of the early centuries—of whom some incident at least as remarkable as this prophecy, if prophecy it can be called, is not recorded. Pontius the disciple and biographer of Cyprian relates a similar intimation which preceded the martyrdom of his master and adds, 'Quid hac revelatione manifestius? quid hac dignatione felicius? ante illi praedicta sunt omnia quaecunque postmodum subsecuta sunt' (*Vit. et Pass. Cypr.* 12, 13, in Ruinart *Act. Mart. Sinc.* p. 258).

4. Again, Keim has laid great stress on what he calls the '*postmark*' of the letter. By this he means certain indications which unintentionally betray a later date, notwithstanding the ostensible profession of the author that he is writing while the occurrences are still recent.

But what are these? He points to the passage in which the occurrence of the arching fire is related (§ 15); 'We saw a wonder—we to whom it was given to see; and we were preserved that we might relate the occurrences to the rest (*οἳ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα*)'. This, he urges, implies a long period of time, during which their life had been spared. But why so? If this had been the meaning, would they not rather have written, 'we have been preserved' (*τετηρήμεθα*), than 'we were preserved' (*ἐτηρήθημεν*)? The aorist shows that the providence does not lie, as Keim supposes, in a continuous guardianship, but in a momentary deliverance. Persecution was raging, and they were at the time in the very focus of it. At any moment the popular cry might have been directed against any or all of them—the inner circle, it may be presumed, of Polycarp's disciples. Hence they inferred their rescue to be providential. So far therefore as this expression is concerned, the letter might have been written the following month or the following week after the event. But Keim again sees a similar indication of a late date in the language used of Polycarp's fame, where he is described as being 'celebrated by all more than the others'[1]

[1] Lipsius (p. 201) interprets the words *μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται* as meaning that he alone, of the martyrs who suffered at this time, was commemorated by a church festival ('dass sein Gedächtniss allein unter allen damaligen Märtyrern kirchlich gefeiert wurde'). This seems to me to be rendered impossible: (1) By *ὑπὸ πάντων*; for though a local commemoration would not be out of place, a festival generally celebrated throughout the Church would be as much an anachronism in the middle of the third century, as in the middle of the second; (2) By *μᾶλλον*, which implies different degrees of remembrance, and therefore cannot refer to any one definite act of commemoration. Though Lipsius si-

who suffered with him, 'so that he is spoken of even by the Gentiles in every place', and as having been 'not only a conspicuous teacher, but also a famous martyr (*οὐ μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἔξοχος*).' Now such eulogies were not unfrequently added at a later date, for purposes of public reading and edification, to the original narrative of a martyrdom; and we might have entertained suspicions that this eulogy was such an addition. In this case it would not have impaired to any extent the credibility of the facts related. But this very passage is quoted by Eusebius; and therefore, if a subsequent addition, it must have been interpolated before his time. So early an interpolation however is not probable. Nor is there anything in the words quoted which is inconsistent with a date (say) a year or more after the occurrences. But an interval as long, or even longer, might well have elapsed before the letter was written. What particular circumstances suggested the communications with the Philomelians, to which this letter is the sequel, we cannot say. But obviously they must have occupied some little time, and there is no ground for assuming that they commenced immediately after the martyrdom. Some exceptional crisis in the Philomelian Church itself (as for instance the outbreak of a persecution), or some incidental reference to this momentous chapter in the history of the Smyrnæan brotherhood in their mutual intercourse, may have suggested the request to which this letter is the answer, a considerable time after the event. Confessedly also the language is hyperbolical; but hyperbole is common in such cases. On this point I need add nothing here to what I have said already on this subject in reference to the Ignatian Epistles (p. 381). Modern newspapers and periodicals would supply abundant parallels in their panegyrics on the 'world-wide' reputation of persons recently deceased.

5. But difficulties have likewise been found in certain features of this document, affecting the *estimate of martyrs and martyrdom*, as anachronisms in the age in which it professes to have been written. The least shadowy of these is the objection based on the commemoration festival and the respect paid to the reliques. The Jews are alarmed, or profess to be alarmed, lest, if the martyr's body should be surrendered to the Christians, they should worship Polycarp in place of Christ (§ 17). The brethren gather up his remains, regarding them as more valuable than gold or precious stones; they deposit them in some safe place; and they express their intention of meeting there from time to time and

lently omits *μᾶλλον*, there is good reason for its insertion (see II. p. 981). The words mean simply that he was by far the most distinguished and best remembered of these martyrs.

celebrating the day of his heavenly birth (§ 18). But what is there anachronistic in all this? Half a century later Tertullian uses language which shows that the ceremonial commemoration of the dead was far more developed than as here represented (*de Coron.* 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annua die facimus'). There is no mention here, as in Tertullian, of oblations for the dead. The sole object of the commemoration is stated to be 'the remembrance of those athletes who have gone before and the training and preparation of those who shall come after'. What is there unnatural in this? What is there which might not have occurred in the very earliest ages of persecution? But, says Keim, nothing of the kind is mentioned in the kindred document containing the narrative of the martyrdoms in the Gallican Churches a few years later (A.D. 177). It would be more correct to say that nothing is mentioned in the extracts which Eusebius has preserved (*H. E.* v. 1). The grief of the Christians at not being allowed to bury the bodies is alone mentioned in these extracts. The actual gathering up of the reliques was prevented by the action of the heathen. What the Christians might have done otherwise, we cannot say. Moreover Eusebius, when speaking of the disposal of the bodies by the heathen, distinctly states that at this point the document before him contained much more than he quotes (§ 62 τούτοις ἑξῆς μεθ' ἕτερά φασι). It is by no means improbable therefore that it did refer to the frustration of the pious intention of the brethren to hold an annual commemoration over the graves of the martyrs. But even if the document, when entire, had said not a word about this desire, no inference could have been safely drawn from its silence. Long after the commemoration of the martyrs' 'birth-days' had become habitual, there is more commonly than not an absence of any reference to the subject in Acts of Martyrdom. Thus the test is fallacious. Nor can it be a surprise that the Jews should work upon the fears of the heathen by representing the danger of Polycarp's becoming an object of worship, if his body were restored to the Christians. Would this appear so very extravagant to the heathen feeling of that age? It is a heathen writer Lucian, who only a few years later (A.D. 165) tells us that the Christians held Peregrinus in his lifetime to be a god (see above, p. 129). We know also, that this same Peregrinus after his death received divine honours and that oracular shrines and temples were built in his name, not by the Christians, but by the heathen themselves. It must seem strange therefore that Keim, while himself referring to Lucian (p. 123), can regard this notice in the Smyrnæan letter as a formidable objection to its genuineness. The Christians indeed were much more likely to be misunderstood by the heathen in

such matters in the age of Polycarp, than in the middle of the next century, when they were much better known and many popular fallacies respecting them had been exploded.

A still more shadowy argument, which Keim advances with great confidence, is the discouragement of martyrdom as set forth in this document. We have seen that an undue thirst for martyrdom was the objection raised against the genuineness of the Ignatian letters (see above, p. 392 sq.). The very opposite spirit is now impugned in the Letter of the Smyrnæans. It is objected by Keim that the disparagement of persons offering themselves voluntarily for martyrdom is alien to the temper and convictions of the earlier ages, and betokens a date at least as late as the end of the second century, if not much later. Polycarp, he urges, is praised, because he did not deliver himself voluntarily to martyrdom, but waited till he was betrayed[1]. Quintus the Phrygian is held up as a warning, because, having thrust himself forward as a volunteer martyr, he turned coward and denied his faith at the supreme moment of trial (§ 4). The first passage, as will appear from the note, has been wrongly interpreted, and (so far as it goes) is an incentive to rather than a discouragement of martyrdom. The second, relating to

[1] § 1 *περιέμενεν γὰρ ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα, μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς πέλας· ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.* Keim (*Urchrist.* p. 109), and Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXII. p. 148 sq.), regard this passage as checking an excessive zeal for martyrdom. They apparently interpret the words *περιέμενεν ἵνα παραδοθῇ*, 'he waited till he was betrayed' and did not court death; and accordingly they explain the sentence *μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν σώζεσθαι κ.τ.λ.*, 'it is the province of true love not only to seek one's own preservation, but by living and working to promote the temporal and spiritual salvation of others'. This however seems to me to be quite impossible. Even if the force of *ἵνα παραδοθῇ* could be so watered down, the compound *περιέμενεν* would still resist this interpretation. It must mean not 'he put off the fatal hour', but 'he lingered *about* so as to be *in the way* of his captors.' The incident in the subsequent narrative to which it more especially refers is not § 5 *ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον*, but rather § 7 *κἀκεῖθεν δὲ ἠδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐβουλήθη, εἰπών, Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσθω.* The Gospel parallel therefore which was present to the mind of the writer, when penning the words *ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος*, was Christ's going up to Jerusalem in spite of the remonstrances of His disciples (Matt. xvi. 21 sq., Luke xviii. 31), His placing Himself in danger, and His lingering in the garden when He knew the fate that awaited Him (Joh. xiii. 27, xviii. 2). The prayer of Polycarp, when he refuses to seek a fresh hiding-place, *Τὸ θέλημα κ.τ.λ.*, is the echo of the prayer of Christ in the garden (Luke xxii. 42). The *ἑαυτὸν σώζεσθαι* therefore denotes that higher self-preservation whereby a man loses his soul (or his life) that he may save it (Mark viii. 35, Luke ix. 24).

Quintus, is altogether inadequate as a chronological note. This attempt to *stratify* temper and opinion in chronological order in matters of this kind must appear in the highest degree visionary to any one who listens to the lessons of experience. Enthusiasm has its ebb and flow, and does not rise continually or fall continually. Whensoever there was an extravagant zeal for self-immolation, accompanied, as it inevitably would be accompanied, by the scandals of relapses and apostasies, there would be the counteracting warnings from the steadier and wiser heads in the Christian community. It was certainly so in the age of Cyprian. It was not less so in still later persecutions. It must have been so in the age of Polycarp. The two tempers do not betoken different epochs. They live and they speak side by side[1]. While some Christians in the age of Polycarp courted death with a culpable recklessness, others purchased life by an unpardonable sacrifice of principle. This latter was the charge brought against Basilides and the Basilideans, the contemporaries of Polycarp[2]. Between these two extremes there must have been along the scale divers intermediate positions, whenever persecutions were raging. This is a matter, not of archæological investigation, but of practical experience. Even, if the scanty remains of early Christian literature which we possess had contained no indications of any protest against this extravagant thirst for martyrdom up to this time, the fact would have been valueless as a chronological mark. The protest would only then be made, when the occasion required it. The hasty impetuosity of Quintus, followed by his equally rapid apostasy, necessitated such a caution, to prevent the repetition of scandals. We read of no case resembling that of Quintus during the persecutions of Vienne and Lyons. No protest therefore was required on this latter occasion, and none is given[3].

[1] Clement of Alexandria for instance (*Strom.* iv. 16, 17, p. 571) condemns both extremes—the disparagement of martyrdom and the suicidal passion for martyrdom—as prevailing in his own day. Against the latter he speaks in the strongest terms elsewhere (*Strom.* iv. 10, p. 597 sq.).

[2] Agrippa Castor in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 7 ἐξομνυμένους ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διωγμῶν καιρούς, Iren. *Haer.* i. 24. 6 'Quapropter et parati sunt ad negationem, qui sunt tales, immo magis ne pati quidem propter nomen possunt,' Orig. *in Matth.* 25 *Comm.* (*Op.* III. p. 856) 'Basilidis quoque sermones detrahentes quidem iis qui usque ad mortem certant pro veritate, etc.' Irenæus elsewhere (iii. 18, 5) speaks of persons who disparage martyrdom.

[3] It would only be waste of time to consider at length other arguments which are urged by Keim, for they will probably fail to influence any one but their author. (1) Thus he holds the idea of martyrdom, as a sacrifice ('Todesopfer'), to betoken a later date (*Mart. Polyc.* 14). It occurs frequently in Ignatius, but the Ignatian letters he places as late as A.D. 180. Yet, as his own date for

6. Lastly; great stress is laid by Keim on the occurrence of the expression 'Catholic Church', which meets us more than once in the document, as betraying a much later date than A.D. 155. This is indeed his main argument[1]. I have already discussed this question, so far as relates to the Ignatian Epistles (p. 398 sq.); but a few words are necessary to explain its use in this *Letter of the Smyrnæans*.

It has been pointed out in this previous discussion that the epithet, used in this connexion, may have either of two senses: (1) It may signify merely 'universal', 'world-wide', as opposed to a particular Church; or (2) It may connote the ideas of sound doctrine and apostolic

Polycarp's martyrdom is A.D. 166, it is difficult to see on what ground he could maintain that the idea, which certainly existed at the end of this short period of 14 years, was an anachronism at the beginning. It is found likewise in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9, p. 597), a passage to which he himself refers but which fails nevertheless to influence his opinion. But we have the germ, and something more than the germ, of the idea as early as Phil. ii. 17 ἀλλ' *εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν*, 2 Tim. iv. 6 *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι*, Rom. xii. 1 *παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ*. If a Christian life be a sacrifice, then *a fortiori* a Christian death. If the shedding of one's blood be 'a libation', then the giving of one's body to be burned may well be regarded as a 'holocaust'. Was a whole century insufficient to develope this idea from the Apostle's image? Is it not so natural in itself that it might have sprung up spontaneously at any moment, even if there had not been this precedent to suggest it?

(2) He complains (p. 109 sq.) that only a 'compendium of the martyrs' is given, whereas 'the custom of the time' required, that the causes, occasions, and length of the persecution, the names, conflicts, victories, of the several martyrs, should be properly tabulated (see esp. p. 111). Is not this the despair of a drowning criticism, which grasps at any straw? By what induction has he learnt 'the custom of the time'? Have we not accounts of persecutions in the early ages varying as widely in character as (1) Pliny's letter to Trajan; (2) Justin Martyr's account (*Apol.* ii. 2) of Ptolemæus, Lucius, and others A.D. 155—160; (3) The Martyrdoms of Justin and his companions (c. A.D. 163) or of the Scillitan sufferers (A.D. 180); (4) The Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons relating to the persecution of A.D. 177; (5) The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas A.D. 202? These represent five wholly different types of narrative. On what grounds of reason or experience the Letter of the Smyrnæans should be required to conform to one rather than another of these, or indeed to any one of them, it is difficult to say. As a matter of fact it more closely resembles (4), than (4) resembles any of the rest. It must be remembered also that this Letter disclaims being a full account of all that had happened and represents itself as a first instalment (*κατὰ τὸ παρόν*) of the information which the Philomelians had desired to have (§ 20; see also above, p. 439).

[1] When Keim (p. 115) refers contemptuously to Zahn's remarks on this subject, which he does not attempt to answer, I can only infer that he has not taken the pains to understand Zahn's meaning (see below, II. p. 310).

order, as opposed to a heretical or schismatic community. In the latter sense only can it be any indication of date. Now in these Acts of Martyrdom it occurs (in the common texts) four times. In three of these passages it has the first sense; § 1 'to all the communities, in every place of the holy and universal Church' (*πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας* [*καὶ*] *καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις*), § 8 'all the universal Church throughout the world' (*πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*), § 19 'Jesus Christ the Shepherd of the universal Church throughout the world' (*ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*). Here the sole idea is extension in unity. This fact is in keeping with the general character of the document. There is no mention throughout of heretics or heretical communities; for it is quite gratuitous to assume that 'the Phrygian' (*Φρύξ*) in § 4 has anything to do with the Montanists. In this respect it presents a contrast to another similar document, the *Passion of Pionius*, which represents the same Smyrna a century later. In these Acts of Pionius mention is made of the sects more than once. The magistrate's interrogation is no longer confined, as at the trial of Polycarp, to the enquiry whether the prisoner is a Christian, but assumes a more complex form. The questions run as follows; 'Polemon...ait ad Pionium, *Quis vocaris?* Pionius ait, *Christianus.* Polemon, *Cujus ecclesiae?* Pionius ait, *Catholicae*' (§ 9). So again we read; 'Rursus proconsul, *Cujus sectae es?* Pionius respondit, *Catholicae.* Rursus proconsul, *Cujus Catholicae?* Respondit, *Catholicae ecclesiae presbyter*' (§ 19). The other prisoners likewise are interrogated in a similar form. If this Letter of the Smyrnæans had been written at or after the middle of the third century, we might expect to find it betraying its date by some of these later forms.

The fourth passage however (§ 16), in which the word occurs, is different. As commonly read, it speaks of Polycarp as 'bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna' (*ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*). If this reading be retained, the Catholic Church in Smyrna is tacitly contrasted with heretical communities in the same city; and thus the technical sense of 'Catholic' appears for the first time. But documentary evidence combines with internal probability in displacing *καθολικῆς* and substituting *ἁγίας* as the correct reading. The combination of authorities, mL, in favour of *ἁγίας* is too strong to be disregarded. Moreover there is always a tendency on the part of transcribers to substitute or insert a word like *καθολικῆς* in place of the simpler text before them. But if so, the only example where the word 'Catholic' appears in its later technical sense in this document has vanished, and

the one supposed anachronism, on which special stress is laid, has disappeared[1].

I should be very far however from admitting that, if the expression had occurred here in its later technical sense, this occurrence would condemn the document. There were already at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom sectarian communities, Basilideans, Marcionites, Valentinians, and others. What he himself thought of such sectarians is clear from the narrative of his encounter with Marcion. But the idea of the 'Catholic Church' is the correlative to the existence of the sects. It is therefore simply a question of evidence how soon the word itself appears in this technical sense; and the acknowledged examples of this use (in the Muratorian Fragment and in Clement of Alexandria) are sufficiently near to the date of Polycarp's martyrdom to remove any difficulty in its occurrence at this epoch. Every expression must appear for the first time somewhere; and there is no valid reason why the Smyrnæan Letter should be excluded from the competition for the earliest example.

All these characteristics therefore are insufficient to raise even a reasonable suspicion of spuriousness, if in other respects the account will bear scrutiny. And certainly whether we regard the straightforwardness of the narrative or the character of the incidents themselves, the document commends itself. Why should so insignificant a body as the Church of Philomelium have been chosen as the recipient, unless events had occurred which dictated the address? Why should the cowardice of a would-be martyr have been confessed, except that this cowardice had actually been manifested? Why should the officers and magistrates have been represented as showing so much consideration for the prisoner—the police allowing him several hours of respite—the irenarch taking him into his own chariot—even the proconsul

[1] I have not thought it necessary to discuss at length Keim's arguments founded on the *literary plagiarisms* which he discovers in this Letter of the Smyrnæans. Beyond the scriptural obligations, these are threefold—to the *Ignatian Letters*, to the *Epistle of the Gallican Churches*, and to the *Acts of Thekla*. The obligations to the Ignatian Letters will hardly be questioned, but reasons have been given for placing them some forty or fifty years before Polycarp's death (see above, p. 315 sq.) The resemblances to the *Letter of the Gallican Churches* again are striking; but they are equally well explained, if the Gallican brethren are the plagiarists. The miraculous deliverance of Thekla from death by burning is a widely different incident from the phenomenon of the arching flame on the pyre of Polycarp, and probably quite independent. But, if there be a plagiarism on either side, it may safely be charged to the *Acts of Thekla*, a known forgery of the later decades of the second century.

endeavouring at first to rescue him from himself; unless the facts had actually been so? We find no attempt here to pile up horror upon horror, as in later martyrologies, such for instance as the Acts of Ignatius. There is an air of truthfulness even in the slight incident of his being made to dismount from the chariot with such rude haste that his shin was bruised (§ 8). What forger would have been satisfied with so trivial an injury? So again, wherever we are able to apply the test of history or of probability to the persons of the story, the result is strongly confirmative of the veracity of the narrative. There is the Asiarch Philip (§§ 12, 21). Criticism has been highly sceptical about the description of this person both here and in the chronological appendix. But recent discoveries in divers quarters, so far from justifying this scepticism, have confirmed the account in every particular—his date, his nationality, his office with the twofold title of Asiarch and High-priest (see below, p. 612 sq.). Then again there is Nicetes. Here we know nothing as yet of the actual person. Yet the name at least was a notable one at Smyrna (see II. p. 958). But Nicetes has a sister Alce (§ 17). This name likewise is found at Smyrna, as I have shown, and rarely elsewhere (II. p. 325). From the mention of Alce in the account of the martyrdom without any descriptive comment, we should infer that she was some well-known Christian woman, probably belonging to Smyrna. Now a person of this name is greeted in affectionate terms by Ignatius, when writing to the Smyrnæans (*Smyrn.* 13 Ἄλκην τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα, comp. *Polyc.* 8). Keim alleges this coincidence to show that the narrator plagiarized from the Ignatian Epistles. But no forger would have invented this position. Herodes the son of Nicetes, as captain of the police, is a main instrument in the martyrdom of Polycarp, and his father abets him in this matter. What fabricator would have conceived the idea of representing the one as the brother, the other as the nephew, of this devout Christian? or, having conceived it, would have thrown it out incidentally in the words ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἄλκης, thus leaving the reader to supply the missing links for himself? On this subject I have already had occasion to remark in reference to the Ignatian Epistles (I. p. 353, II. p. 325); and its force, in its bearing on this Letter of the Smyrnæans, when once pointed out, can hardly be misapprehended. Again there is Marcianus, apparently the composer of the narrative (§ 20). This name was borne by one of the more prominent Christians in the circles in which Polycarp moved; for he is addressed by Irenæus (II. p. 982). Whether this was the same Marcianus or not, we cannot say; but the coincidence at least deserves notice. Lastly the amanuensis of the letter is one Euarestus. Of the individual we can say

nothing; but the name at least was common in these parts at this time (II. p. 983).

Hilgenfeld, while maintaining the genuineness of the document as a whole, condemns as a later interpolation the short passage § 6 *ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον*...§ 7 *ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες*. He has succeeded in convincing Keim (pp. 94, 165); though, as Keim places the rest of the document a century later than the events, such an interpolation from his point of view is wholly insignificant. The genuineness of these few lines is not a matter of much real moment in itself; but the arbitrary procedure, which deals with inconvenient passages in this way, deserves a passing notice.

Hilgenfeld makes two fundamental assumptions; (1) That this Letter of the Smyrnæans is a Quartodeciman document; (2) That the Quartodecimans kept the 14th Nisan, not as the anniversary of the Crucifixion, but as the anniversary of the Last Supper. As connected herewith, he maintains that the 'great sabbath' mentioned in the Smyrnæan Letter is not a sabbath at all in the usual acceptance of the word, but the First Day of Unleavened Bread, i.e. the 15th Nisan, as the great festival of the Jews, irrespectively of the day of the week. Thus he finds an exact coincidence between the day of Christ's passion and the day of Polycarp's martyrdom.

But neither according to his early view of the date (A.D. 166), nor according to his later view (A.D. 156), does the 15th Nisan fall on a Saturday. Hence the mention of the *παρασκευὴ* as the day of his apprehension is a difficulty. In his earliest treatment of this question Hilgenfeld met the difficulty by explaining *παρασκευὴ* as the Preparation for (the day before) the feast (*Paschastreit* p. 245 sq., 1860). After adopting the date A.D. 156, I find him translating it 'Friday' (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 336, 1874). This, I suppose, must be from inadvertence, for he still treats the passage as genuine. But later (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XX. p. 143, 1877; comp. XXII. p. 153, 1879) he discovers that it is spurious. His grounds are the following: (1) Eusebius does not recognize it. But Eusebius in this part is paraphrasing and sometimes abridging the document; and, though his paraphrase is for the most part very full, yet as this passage consists mainly of the writers' reflexions and comments on the event, and adds next to nothing in the way of incident (only the one sentence *τῇ παρασκευῇ*...*ὅπλων*), he might well have ignored it, as he has ignored considerable portions of §§ 1, 2. (2) He considers that some confusion is introduced into the narrative, and that the parallelisms with Christ's passion are illogical. But the words do not imply that Herodes himself came with the police, so that there is no inconsistency with the after narrative. His name is introduced here simply because the one parallelism, the betrayal by members of his own household, suggests the other, the identity of name in one of the persecutors. Any inexactness or wresting that there may be in the parallels is at least as natural in the original writer as in any subsequent forger.

Altogether we may say; (1) That this passage is conceived entirely in the spirit of the rest of the letter; (2) That, as a later insertion, it is motiveless and quite unaccountable; (3) That, as other parts of this document are imitated in the Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (see above, p. 590), so there appear to be reminiscences of this passage likewise in the same document. Thus the word *κλῆρος* applied to martyrdom is found there more than once (§§ 10, 26, 48), and the idea of the

κοινωνία Χριστοῦ (*Θεοῦ*) in the same connexion is likewise reproduced (§ 41); (4) That, though in so very few lines we could hardly expect any decisive indications of identity of style, yet there are resemblances which deserve notice. The opposition of persons *ἐκεῖνος μὲν...οἱ δὲ* reproduces an antithesis which appears with frequency in the other parts of the document (§ 7 *ἐκεῖνον μὲν κ.τ.λ.*, § 10 *σὲ μὲν...ἐκείνους δέ*, § 17 *τοῦτον μὲν...τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας*, § 20 *ὑμεῖς μὲν...ἡμεῖς δέ*; § 2 *τοὺς περιεστῶτας...τοὺς δέ*); the *καὶ* 'even,' which occurs twice here, is likewise exceptionally common and in some passages appears, as here (*ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον*), in somewhat strained connexions (§ 8 *ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων*, § 14 *διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σε αἰνῶ*, § 18 *ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν*); and the reference to wonted custom (*τῶν συνηθῶν αὐτοῖς*) has several parallels elsewhere (§ 9 *ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς λέγειν* [Euseb. *ἃ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς λέγειν ἐστίν*], § 13 *ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς*, § 18 *ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἔκαυσεν*).

2. *SUPPLEMENTARY PARAGRAPHS.*

The Supplementary Paragraphs fall into three parts, separate in form the one from the other and not improbably written by different hands; (1) *The Chronological Appendix*, giving particulars as to the time of the martyrdom and ending with a doxology (xxi); (2) *The Commendatory Postscript*, recommending Polycarp's example to the imitation of the readers (xxii. 1); (3) *The History of the Transmission*, purporting to give the pedigree of the existing copy traced down from the autograph manuscript through three or four stages (xxii. 2, 3). The three parts require to be considered separately.

(i) *The Chronological Appendix.*

This is generally treated as a later addition to the letter, and as coming from a different hand. The main ground for this view is the fact that Eusebius betrays no knowledge of it. His silence will be dealt with hereafter. But one point appears to have been overlooked, which seems to me of the highest importance in determining this question.

I refer to the relation which the close of this paragraph bears to the Epistle of Clement, as evidence that it formed part of the original document. Just as the opening of the Smyrnæan Letter is modelled on the opening of Clement's Epistle, so also the end of the same epistle is copied in the concluding words of this paragraph. The comparison of both passages in the two documents will show the character of the obligations.

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον...χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.	Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ...ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη [ἀπὸ] Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ [τοῦ] Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.
αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμή, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.	ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμή, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.

The obligations being the same in kind at the beginning and at the end of the letter, it is a reasonable and indeed an almost irresistible inference that they were penned by the same hand. The Epistle of Clement was known to Polycarp, whose extant letter shows an intimate acquaintance with its contents. It would naturally therefore be studied by the chief members of Polycarp's circle. But it is almost inconceivable that some chance person several generations later, taking up the letter and observing that its commencement was a close parallel to Clement's Epistle, should entertain the design, and take the trouble, of adding a termination copied from the same source, when his object was simply to append a precise, business-like, notice of the date. The extreme improbability of such a procedure obliges us to accept this chronological postscript as part of the original letter, unless indeed it contains demonstrably false statements and anachronisms which are inconsistent with the authorship of contemporaries and eyewitnesses to the events.

Now this postscript comprises within a small compass an exceptionally large number of historical references, so that the opportunities of testing its authenticity are unusually great. When we come to examine these, we find not only that they do not contradict history, but that fresh accessions to our knowledge of the archæology and chronology of the age have furnished and are furnishing fresh testimony to the veracity of the statements.

The following are the particular points in the statement, which I shall take in succession;

(1) The *time of the martyrdom* is very precisely given. It took place 'on the 2nd of Xanthicus, being the seventh before the Kalends of March, on a great sabbath, at eight o'clock.'

The 2nd Xanthicus is confirmed by the *Acts of Pionius* (Ruinart, *Act. Mart. Sanc.* p. 188), of whom we are told that he was apprehended while he was celebrating 'the birthday of Polycarp the martyr,' and

this is defined as 'the second day of the sixth month' (see above, p. 540)[1].

The day in the Roman Calendar corresponding to this Asiatic date of Polycarp's martyrdom is given as vii Kal. Mart., i.e. February 23. This is a correct statement, supposing that the solar months had already been introduced into Smyrna. I shall hereafter discuss the theory that this clause giving the Roman date was a later addition and formed no part of the original paragraph. It is sufficient here to observe that February 23 is Polycarp's day in the early Syriac Martyrology (see above, p. 544). We are thus carried back to the age of Eusebius, or even earlier (see II. p. 417). There is no indication of any other day ever having been observed in the East.

The mention of the 'great sabbath' accords with the statement in the document itself (§ 8); and, so far as it goes, is an indication of the same authorship. I shall have to discuss the meaning of this expression hereafter.

The hour of the day we have no means of testing[2]. 'The eighth hour' might mean either 8 A.M. or 2 P.M., as we reckon from midnight (according to the Roman civil computation) or from 6 A.M.[3] Either is consistent with the narrative; but the former is the more probable, as the catastrophe was hurried on in all its later stages after the martyr had left his hiding-place; and moreover these spectacles were usually held before mid-day (Philo *c. Flacc.* 10, II. p. 529 M).

(2) *The name of the Captain of Police.* Nothing is here added to the information given in the document itself, where also his name Herodes is given.

(3) *The name of the Chief-priest,* Philip the Trallian. In two respects this postscript supplements the information which we find in the narrative itself respecting this person; and on both points strong confirmatory evidence has appeared in recently discovered monuments. *First;* whereas in the Letter itself he is styled Asiarch, here he is described as Chief-priest. Independent reasons have been given elsewhere for believing that these were two different names of the same

[1] The corresponding Roman date which is given in the Latin copies of the Acts of Pionius (IV Id. Mart.) presents difficulties which I shall have to discuss hereafter.

[2] On Zahn's punctuation which makes *σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρᾳ ὀγδόῃ*, the time of the apprehension, not of the martyrdom, see II. p. 983. The reading of the Moscow MS, *ὥρᾳ ἐνάτῃ*, is a striving after conformity to the Gospel narrative (Matt. xxvii. 45 sq., Mark xv. 33 sq., Luke xxiii. 44).

[3] See the commentators on John xix. 14, especially M^{c}Clellan and Westcott.

office (II. p. 990 sq.). So far as it goes therefore, the fact that he is not designated by the same title in the two places is favourable to the credibility of this paragraph. *Secondly;* he is described as a native of Tralles. In illustration of this statement annotators and critics till recently could only appeal to the fact mentioned by Strabo (xiv. p. 649; see II. p. 967) that owing to the wealth of Tralles its citizens were frequently appointed Asiarchs. But a flood of new light has now been poured upon these and other points relating to Philip the Trallian by inscriptions, in most cases recently discovered and in others recently identified. These are as follows:

1.

Ἡ . ὀλγμπι[κὴ] . βογλὴ . Γ . ἰογλιο[ν] . φίλιππον . τραλλιανὸν . τὸν . ἀσιάρχην . ἠθῶν . ἕνεκα . ὀλγμπιάδι . ϲΛΒ.

Found at Olympia and published by Dittenberger *Archäologische Zeitung* XXXVIII (1880). p. 62.

2.

[ἀνατεθέντα . ὑπὸ . τ]οῦ . θ[ειοτάτογ] . αὐτοκράτορος . ἀντων[εἴν]ογ . ἐκ . τῶν . κλαυδ[ι]ανοῦ . δαμᾶ . κό . ἰογ . ἀρτεμιδωρίωνα . τραλλιανό[ν] . νεικήϲαντα . ἀνδρῶν . πανκράτιον . ὀλγμπι[ά]δα . ΝϹ′ . αρχιερατεύοντος . καὶ . ἀγωνοθετοῦντος . [το . Β′] . Γ. ἰογ . φιλίππογ . ὑ[ιοῦ] . βογλῆϲ . ἀρχιερέω[ϲ . ἀ]σίας . καὶ . ἀγωνοθέ[τογ] . διὰ . βίογ . ἀλγταρχοῦντος . πο . κλ . μελίτ[ωνος . καὶ . ἐ]πιμελητέντος . Γ . ἰογ . χργϲέρ[ωτος].

Found at Tralles, and published by Sterrett in *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, VIII. p. 321 (1883). For the number of the Olympiad Sterrett reads Ν[Γ], but Prof. Ramsay assures me in a private letter that it is distinctly ΝϹ. The insertion [το Β′] is likewise Ramsay's; for which the following inscription is the justification.

3.

ἀϲκληπιακὸν . διογένογϲ . περγαμηνὸν . νεικήϲαντα . ὅπλον . ὀλγμπιάδα . ΝϹ′ . ἀρχιερατεύοντος . καὶ . ἀγωνοθετοῦντος . τὸ . Β′ . Γ . ἰογλίογ . φιλίππογ . ὑοῦ . βογλῆϲ . ἀρχιερέωϲ . ἀσίας . καὶ . ἀγωνοθέτογ . διὰ . βίογ . ἀλγταρχοῦντος . [πο.] κλ . μελίτωνοϲ.

Found in the Jewish Cemetery amidst the ruins of Tralles, and com-

municated to me by Prof. Ramsay by letter dated Smyrna, May 8, 1884. The end of the inscription is lost.

4.

[ἀνατεθέντα] . ὑπὸ . τοῦ . θειοτάτου . αὐτοκράτορος . ἀντωνείνου . ἐκ . τ[ῶν] . κλαυδιανοῦ . δαμᾶ . πορῶν...ραιον . φιλάδελ[φον] . νεικήcαντα . ἀνδρῶ[ν] . πύγμην . ὀλυμπιάδα . ν[ϛ'] . ἀρχιερατεύον[τ]ος . καὶ . ἀγωνοθετοῦντος . τὸ . β' . Γ . ἰοῦ . φιλίππου . ὑοῦ . βο[γ]λᾶc . ἀρχιερέως . ἀcίας . καὶ . ἀγωνοθέτου . διὰ . βίου . ἀλυταρχοῦντος . ἢ . κλ . μελίτωνος . ἐπιμελητέντος . Γ . ἰοῦ . χρυc[έ]ρωτο[c].

Given in Lebas and Waddington III. 1652 c, where however it is incorrectly read. I have printed it here with the corrections suggested by Ramsay in a private letter. The number of the Olympiad is given ν in Lebas, but it comes at the end of the line. The addition of ϛ is required by the two previous inscriptions. Ramsay's correction **Μελίτωνος** for **Μαντίωνος** is justified on the same grounds.

5.

Γ . ἰούλιον . φίλιππον . ἐπίτροπον . τῶν . cεβαcτῶν . πατέρα . ἰουλίου . φιλίππου . cυνκλη[τικ]οῦ . cτρατ[η]γοῦ . ῥωμαίων . ἡ . cύνοδος...τῶν . ἀπὸ . ἰωνίας . κα[ὶ] . ἑλληcπόντο[υ] . τὸν . ἴδιον . ἀ[ω]νοθέτην . καὶ . λογιcτὴν . καὶ . εὐεργέτην . ἐπιμελητέντ[ω]ν . cεραπίωνος . τοῦ . cεραπίωνος . μάγνητος . ἀπὸ . cιπύλου . ὀλυμπιονίκου . καὶ . τιβ . κλαυδίου . cπερχειοῦ.

Found at Tralles and given in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2933.

6.

[...ἐτείμη]cαν . τρυφω[ν]ιανὸ[ν] . ἀ]ννίου . ἑλένου . γιὸν . ...ἀμφιθάλεα . τὸν . δεί[κτην] . καὶ . εἰcαγω[γ]ὸν . τῶν . [ἱερ]ῶν . εἰcελαcτικῶν . [εἰ]c . τὴν . οἰκουμένην . [πυγ]θίων . [....ἀγώνω]ν . πρῶτον . μετὰ . τὴν . ἀναν[ω]cιν . ἀγωνοθετοῦντος . [Γ.] . ἰουλίου . φι[λίππου . πα]τρὸc . cυνκλητ[ικοῦ] . ἀναcτηcάντων . κ.τ.λ.

Found at Tralles and given in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2392.

7.

κατὰ . τὰ . ἐψηφισμένα . ὑπὸ . τῆς . βουλῆς . καὶ . τοῦ . δήμου . Γ . Ἰο[ύ]λιον . φίλιππον . τὸν . κράτιστον . πατέρα . συνκλητικοῦ . καὶ . ἀπὸ . ἐπιτρόπων . λογιστε[ύ]σαντα . καὶ . τῆς . ἡμετέρας . πόλεως . μετ᾽ . εὐνοίας . γενομένον . ἐν . πᾶσιν . εὐεργέτην.

Found at Aphrodisias and given in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2790.

8.

[ἡ] . σορὸς . καὶ . ἡ . περὶ . αὐ[τ]ὴν . καμάρα . καὶ . ὁ . πα[ρα]κειμένος . βωμὸς . καὶ . ἡ . παρεστῶσα . στήλη . λευκόλιθος . ἀδούχου . Γ . Ἰού . φιλίππου . συγκλητικοῦ . δούλου . πραγμ[α]τευτοῦ . καὶ . γυν[αι]κὸς . καὶ . τέκν[ων] . καὶ . ἐκγόν[ων] . καὶ . θ[ρεμμάτων].

An inscription at Tralles, given in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 1881, p. 346, and described thus; 'A Aidin dans la cour de la maison de Ahmed Kouthemgou, stèle avec corniche.'

Of this Philip the Asiarch of Tralles nothing was known beyond the notices in the Letter of the Smyrnæans four or five years ago. The Olympian inscription (no. 1) first gave his full name Gaius Julius Philippus, and thus we are enabled to identify him with the Philippus mentioned in the already known inscriptions (nos. 5, 6, 7) published in Boeckh, who had wrongly assigned them to a much later age (see below, II. p. 968). The inscription (no. 4) given in Lebas and Waddington, though not correctly, ought to have done something towards clearing up the matter, but was strangely overlooked. The inscriptions (nos. 2, 3) have been quite recently discovered, the former being now published for the first time. They are highly valuable, as supplementing the evidence. The remaining inscription, no. 8, only refers to our Philip incidentally.

These inscriptions mention two persons, father and son, bearing the same name, Gaius Julius Philippus. The father, with whom we are concerned, is Asiarch or High-priest of Asia. He also bears certain other local offices in connexion with the religious ceremonials and games. This refers to the reign of Antoninus Pius. In the succeeding reign, under the joint sovereignty of the brothers M. Aurelius and L. Verus, he is procurator (*ἐπίτροπος*) of the Augusti. He seems to have been a man of great munificence, and the erection of a monument to

him at Olympia points to benefactions which deserved this recognition. His local influence and wealth would probably secure the elevation of his son to the senatorial dignity—an honour which began to be accorded more freely to provincials under the Antonines. This son was also prætor. His honours are evidently regarded as throwing back a reflected glory on the father. Sterrett (*Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst.* VIII (1883). p. 322 sq.) speaks of the last inscription given above (no. 8) as belonging to 'the tombstone of C. Julius Philippus,' apparently meaning the father, of whom alone he is speaking. But how is this reconcilable with the designation 'a slave'? If I read it rightly, it is the epitaph of one Daduchus (a proper name, which occurs occasionally elsewhere; see *C. I. G.* Index, p. 81, Devit *Lex. Forcell. Onomast.* s. v. Daduchus), who was the slave and factor (πραγματευτής)[1] of C. Julius Philippus the son of the Asiarch; and its chief value for our purpose is as showing that the son had the same prænomen (Gaius) with the father.

But what shall we say as to the date of the Asiarchate of this Philip the Trallian? We shall see in the next chapter that on entirely independent grounds the date of Polycarp's martyrdom has been fixed at A.D. 155. Is this reconcilable with the notices of Philip?

Now the Olympian inscription (no. 1) calls him Asiarch in the 232nd Olympiad; and the beginning of this Olympiad was A.D. 149. If therefore the martyrdom is correctly dated A.D. 155, we might suppose that Philip was Asiarch more than once. This is the view of Lipsius (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 575). Examples are found of persons holding the office twice and even three times (II. p. 997). This solution is unobjectionable in itself, but does not seem to be necessary.

In the three Trallian inscriptions (nos. 2, 3, 4), belonging to the reign of Antoninus Pius, he is styled High-priest of Asia. These are dated the 56th (Trallian) Olympiad. Unfortunately we do not know from what point of time these Trallian Olympiads were reckoned. Evidently they did not follow the computation usual in Asia Minor, which starts from the Sullan era B.C. 85; for the 56th Olympiad would not then fall within the reign of Antoninus Pius, but within that of his predecessor. A solution however is suggested by another Trallian inscription (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* 1881, p. 325 sq.):

ἀνατε]θέντα . ὑπὸ . θε[οῦ . ἀντων]είνου . ἐκ . τῶν . [...π]όρων . διονύσιον . λαοδικέα . νεική[σαντα . π]αίδων . πυγ-

[1] For δοῦλος πραγματευτὴς comp. *C. I. G.* 3101, and for πραγματευτὴς see the Index to *C. I. G.* pp. 38, 159.

ΜΗΝ . ΟΛΥΜ[ΠΙΑΔΑ] . Η' . ΜΕΤΑ . ΤΗΝ . ΑΝΑΝΕ[ΩCΙΝ . Α]ΡΧΙΕΡΑ-ΤΕΥΟΝΤΟC . [ΚΑΙ . ΑΓΩΝ]ΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΟC . ΤΟ . [Β' . ΑΥΡ .] ΑΠΟ-ΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ . ΙΕΡΟ[ΚΛΕΟΥC] . ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΥ . [Α]ΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟC . CΕΞΤΟΥ [Δ . Ε]ΥΑΡΕCΤΟΥ . [ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗ]ΘΕΝΤΟC . ΤΩΝ . ΑΝΔΡ[ΙΑΝ-ΤΩΝ . Τ]ΟΥ . ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩC.

This is the same inscription which is given less correctly in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2934, Lebas and Waddington no. 611 (comp. 1652 c).

Here Antoninus Pius is no longer *θειότατος* but *θεός*. He has therefore died and been deified meanwhile. But the monument was erected by him. Therefore his death must have occurred during its erection. This fixes it to A.D. 161, in the March of which year he died. But it is erected in commemoration of a victory obtained at 'the 8th Olympiad after the Restoration,' presumably in the earlier part of the same year, when the monument was erected. We have therefore to deduct $8 \times 4 = 32$ years from A.D. 161 for the era of the Restoration. This gives us A.D. 129; which year we know from other sources to have been the date of Hadrian's visit to these parts (see above, p. 432). During his progress through the provinces, he was everywhere greeted as Founder, Saviour, and Restorer. Medals celebrating his visits were struck to him commemorating his 'adventus' at the several cities, and designating him *Restitutor* (see Clinton *Fast. Rom.* s. a. 133). On coins of Tralles itself he is commemorated as 'founder' *κτίστης* (Mionnet IV. 1069, p. 184; see Dürr *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* p. 50)[1]. Moreover it was in this same year A.D. 129 that Hadrian visited Athens (for the second time), assisted at the dedication of the Olympieion, and restored the Athenian Olympia. This was celebrated as a general festival, at which delegates were present from all the Greek cities of Asia Minor (see Dürr, p. 44 sq.). The Athenian Olympiads were reckoned from this epoch (*C. I. A.* 483 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ . ΚΑΙCΑΡΑ . ΤΡΑΪΑΝΟΝ . CΕΒΑCΤΟΝ . ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ . CΕΒΑCΤΟ-

[1] The extraordinary honour paid apparently to Hadrian at Tralles appears from the following unpublished inscription which was copied by Mr Pappaconstantinos in a Turkish house at Aidin, and communicated to me by Prof. Ramsay; ΔΙΙ . ΛΑΡΑCΙΩ . CΕΒΑCΤΩ . ΕΤ-ΜΕΝΕΙ . ΚΑΑΤΔΙΩC . ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝ . Ο . ΙΕΡΕΤC . ΑΠΟΚΑΤΕCΤΗCΕΝ. Zeus Larasius was the patron god of Tralles (see below, II. p. 146), and the emperor is here identified with him. Similar identifications have been already noticed in the case of other cities (see above, p. 444). It should be observed also that we have here the same name, perhaps the same person, Claudius Melito, who is mentioned in the inscriptions already quoted (p. 613).

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ . ΤΩΝ . ἘΝ . ΤΩ̨ . ΠΟΝΤΩ̨ . Η̃ . ΒΟΥΛῊ . ΚΑῚ . Ο̃ . ΔΗ̃ΜΟϹ . ΤῸΝ . ἙΑΥΤΩ̃Ν . ΕὐΕΡΓΈΤΗΝ . ἘΝ . ΤΗ̨̃ . ΠΡΏΤΗ̨ . ὈΛΥΜΠΙΆΔΙ . ΔΙᾺ . ΠΡΕϹΒΕΥΤΩ̃Ν... ; comp. *C. I. G.* 1345). From this incident doubtless it was that Hadrian obtained the name 'Olympius.' Immediately after leaving Athens he visited proconsular Asia (Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. v. 1, p. 2; see Dürr, p. 124). The consequence was an institution (called frequently 'a restoration' by a fiction) of Olympian festivals in the Asiatic cities[1].

We seem thus to have arrived at the era of the 'Restoration,' and to have connected the reckoning of the Trallian Olympiads with this era. But how then shall we account for the 56th Olympiad, which, as we have seen, fell during the reign of Antoninus Pius? It would seem that in order to give an air of antiquity to the celebration, 50 Olympiads were added on at the beginning; so that the Olympiads might be reckoned indifferently the '1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. after the Restoration,' or the '51st, 52nd, 53rd, etc.' absolutely. This practice was not uncommon. Thus we read of the 517th commemoration of the quinquennial Ephesian festival (Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 8, 18, pp. 54, 68). If this solution be adopted, the 56th Olympiad, at which Philip is designated High-priest of Asia, would coincide with A.D. 153. But it has been shown, if I mistake not, that the office of High-priest or Asiarch was held for four years (II. p. 994 sq.); and, supposing Philip to have been in office from A.D. 151 to 155, or from A.D. 152 to 156, his tenure would cover both the notices in the Trallian inscriptions and the probable date of Polycarp's martyrdom. Moreover it is also reconcilable with the Olympian inscription (no. 1); for, though the 232nd Olympiad began A.D. 149, the inscription does not say that the monument was erected in the first year of the Olympiad. There are therefore the four years A.D. 149—153 to range over; and we are thus brought well within the limits which on other grounds we have assigned to Philip's tenure of office.

(4) The *name of the proconsul* is given in this postscript as Statius Quadratus. In the narrative itself he is not named. But it will be shown in the following chapter that Statius Quadratus held the Asiatic proconsulate somewhere about the time when Philip the Trallian was in office and when the martyrdom must have taken place.

Thus all the particulars affecting the date are confirmed in some way or other; and the credibility of the paragraph has been established by

[1] The Olympia at Cyzicus (*C. I. G.* 3674, 3675; comp. Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 544) and those at Smyrna (*C. I. G.* 3208) must have been established about the same time.

a mass of evidence gathered from various quarters and far exceeding what we had any right to expect.

But an anachronism has been discovered in the words which follow. It is objected that the contrast between the temporal and the eternal rulers—between the high-priesthood of Philip and proconsulate of Quadratus on the one hand, and the kingdom of Christ on the other—indicates a much later date than the middle of the second century; that such a formula is impossible before A.D. 525, when Dionysius Exiguus invented the mode of dating from the Christian era; and that it is still rare even in the 9th century[1].

But why impossible? What has it to do with the *dating* by the Christian era? The contrast between the earthly king and the heavenly king is as old as Pilate's days (Joh. xix. 15). In the ages of persecution the Christians were again and again brought face to face with it. The alternative between 'Cæsar is Lord' and 'Christ is Lord' was forced upon their consciences, as we see from this very Letter of the Smyrnæans (§ 8); and such a mode of expression was the natural, I might almost say, the necessary consequence.

As a matter of fact it occurs frequently in those Acts of Martyrdom which on internal grounds we should pronounce the earliest. In Ruinart's collection for instance, we find it in the Acts of Pionius p. 198, of Epipodius and Alexander p. 123, [of Symphorianus p. 128][2], of Maximus p. 204, of Peter, Andrew, Paul, and Dionysia p. 207, of Lucianus and Marcianus p. 214, of Cyprian p. 264, [of Cyrillus p. 290], [of Genesius p. 313], of Procopius p. 387, [of Vincentius p. 406], of Agape, Chroma, and others p. 427, of Irenæus p. 434, of Pollio p. 436, [of Euphus p. 439], of Crispina p. 479, [of Afra p. 484], of Serenus p. 518, [of Phileas p. 521], of Peter Balsamus p. 527, of Julius p. 570, of Marcianus and Nicander p. 573, of Firmus and Rusticus p. 642. Besides these Acts which have found a place in Ruinart, many other examples are collected by D. Blondel *De Formulae Regnante Christo in Veterum Monumentis Usu* p. 373 sq. (A.D. 1646). See also *Acta Timothei* p. 13 (ed. Usener). After every allowance made for a large

[1] Görres *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXI. p. 53 (1878), adopting the view of Basnage *Annal. Pol. Eccl.* II. p. 362, who condemns the *Acts of Maximus*, etc., on this ground (see above, p. 487). Görres inadvertently writes 'Dionysius Areopagita' for Dionysius Exiguus. He has subsequently withdrawn this objection, finding the form in question not only in the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* but also in the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXII. p. 97 sq., 1879; *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1884, p. 259). This objection is repeated by J. Reville *de Ann. Dieque Polyc. Mart.* p. 30.

[2] In those examples which I have included in square brackets the contrast is indirectly implied, but not directly stated.

percentage of spurious documents among these Acts, there must remain a considerable number of genuine writings; and even the spurious were probably in most cases composed before the date arbitrarily assigned to the introduction of this formula. But indeed this ghost of a difficulty may at length be regarded as laid for ever. In the recently discovered Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs, which are among the earliest documents of this class (A.D. 180), and whose authenticity is undisputed, this contrast between the earthly and the heavenly ruler appears in its most emphatic form. In the body of the document Speratus, the leader of the martyrs, is represented as saying, *Ἐγὼ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ νῦν αἰῶνος οὐ γινώσκω· αἰνῶ δὲ καὶ λατρεύω τῷ ἐμῷ Θεῷ...ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότην πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν.* At the close again the date is given; *ἐπὶ Πραισέντος τὸ β΄ καὶ Κονδιανοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ Σατουρνίνου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

A very strong case is thus made out for the credibility of the statements in this chronological postscript. On the other hand it has been commonly supposed that Eusebius was unacquainted with it; and his alleged ignorance is regarded as an evidence of a later date. But after the cogent argument for the unity of authorship offered above (p. 610 sq.), some other explanation must be sought for this ignorance if it really existed. Thus we might suppose that his copy of the document was mutilated at the end. This would be an easy solution. But, after all, what solid ground is there for believing him ignorant? The paragraph contains matter which may be highly interesting to us, but which would have no value for him. He abridges the document before him, and he ends naturally with the sentence which closes the account of the martyrdom. The rest of the main document, as well as these postscripts, is left untouched. But it may be urged that he shows himself ignorant of the true date of the martyrdom, and that this paragraph mentioning the proconsulate of Statius Quadratus would have put him in possession of the information required. My reply is, that judging from other cases, he was without the means, and would not have taken the trouble, to identify the year by the proconsul's name. In several other instances he mentions (always in quotations from other writers) the proconsulates during which certain events took place; but in every case he shows himself ignorant—both in the *Chronicon* and in the *History*—of the date of the incidents mentioned. Thus the letters of Hadrian relating to the Christians are connected with the proconsulates of Serenius [Licinius] Granianus and Minucius Fundanus (*H. E.* iv. 8); the martyrdom of Sagaris and the Paschal controversy at

Laodicea with the proconsulate of Servillius [Sergius] Paulus (*H. E.* iv. 26); incidents in the Montanist struggle with the proconsulate of Gratus (*H. E.* v. 16); certain others in the same struggle with the proconsulate of Æmilius Frontinus (*H. E.* v. 18). It is clear then that he had no list of the proconsuls before him which would settle the chronology; and that he grudged either the time or the labour which would have enabled him to supply the deficiency. He deals in the same way likewise with other provincial governors, as for instance Pliny the prætor of Bithynia during the Christian persecution there (*H. E.* iii. 33), and Atticus the legate of Syria when Symeon was martyred (*H. E.* iii. 32), though it was a matter of real interest in both cases to have ascertained the exact dates.

(ii) *Commendatory Postscript.*

The second postscript is omitted in the Moscow manuscript and in the Latin version. So far therefore as documentary evidence goes, it has less support than any other part of the letter, and we cannot with confidence maintain its genuineness. Yet on the whole, it appears more likely to be genuine than not. Its omission, if genuine, is easily accounted for on the ground of superfluity. Not so its insertion, on the supposition of its spuriousness. There is nothing in the words themselves which suggests a later date. The form of the doxology mentioning the three Persons of the Holy Trinity is due, as the authorities show, to a subsequent alteration. May not this postscript have been an appendix added by the Philomelian Church, when they forwarded copies of the letter, as they were charged to do (§ 20), to churches more distant from Smyrna than themselves? The tenour of the paragraph suggests such an origin for it.

(iii) *History of the Transmission.*

After the paragraph containing (as I have ventured to suggest) the Philomelian postscript, certain notes follow, professing to give the history of the transmission of the document. We are first told that Gaius transcribed the letter from a copy belonging to Polycarp's disciple Irenæus, and that Socrates (or Isocrates) again transcribed it in Corinth from Gaius' copy. This note professes to come from Socrates, or Isocrates, himself. He concludes with a salutation, 'Grace unto all men'. After this comes another note purporting to be written by Pionius. He tells us that he copied it from the transcript of the last-mentioned transcriber; that Polycarp revealed its locality to him in a vision, of which he pro-

mises to give an account in the sequel (καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς); and that the manuscript which was thus revealed to him had been much worn and blurred by time. Who then was this Pionius? Do we read of any other person or persons bearing the name and connected with the history of Polycarp?

The true and the false Pionius.

(1) Among the documents included in Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum Sincera* p. 188 sq. (Ratisbon, 1859) is a narrative of the martyrdom of one Pionius and others. We are told at the opening that on the 2nd day of the 6th month, being a great sabbath, on the birthday of Polycarp the martyr, the persecution overtook Pionius, Sabina, Asclepiades, Macedonia, and Lemnus. Lemnus was a presbyter of the Catholic Church, but Macedonia was (as we learn at a later point in the narrative) a Montanist (§ 11). Pionius with Sabina and Asclepiades employed the evening before 'Polycarp's birthday' in prayer and fasting; and in his sleep he saw a vision which foretold their impending fate. The sabbath came. After the wonted prayers, when they had tasted the holy bread, they were apprehended and taken into the forum. As it was the sabbath, crowds of Jewish women were assembled there, keeping holiday. The address of Pionius which follows is in large part addressed to the Jews. When after certain occurrences, which it is unnecessary to give in detail, they are taken to the prison, they find there Lemnus and Macedonia already in captivity. At length, after the usual examination and trial and condemnation, Pionius is put to death. Two stakes are erected, to which Pionius and Metrodorus a Marcionist are tied, Pionius on the right hand, Metrodorus on the left, 'their eyes and mind turned toward the east'. So he wins the crown of martyrdom.

A note is appended to the effect that these things happened in the proconsulate of Julius Proculus Quintilianus, and in the consulate of the Emperor Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius and Vitius Gratus [i.e. A.D. 250], on the fourth before the Ides of March.

These Acts bear every mark of genuineness. The writer is evidently acquainted with the topography of Smyrna (§§ 10, 11). Though the chief martyr and his companions are careful to declare themselves emphatically members of the Catholic Church as opposed to the sects (§§ 9, 19), yet one martyr is credited to the Marcionites (§ 21) and another to the Montanists (§ 11)—thus testifying to the veracity of the narrator. The progress through the streets and the gibes of the crowd are related with a life-like vigour, which bespeaks their truthfulness.

The incidents are frequently such as could hardly occur to a forger; as for instance when Sabina being asked her name says 'Theodota', and the explanation is given that Pionius had schooled her to say so ('praedixerat verba') lest she should fall into her cruel mistress' hands by giving her right name. (§ 9). Again a person out of the crowd says to her, 'Couldn't you die in your own country?' (§ 18). What this means we are not told and can only conjecture. But taking it in conjunction with the other allusion we may surmise that she was a runaway slave. At any rate the absence of any explanation is an indication of its truthfulness. Quite incidentally too we learn from her answer her relationship to Pionius, which is nowhere directly told us: 'What do you mean by my country? I am Pionius' sister' ('Quae est mea patria? ego Pionii soror sum'). So again on another occasion one says in derision: 'See the little fellow is going to offer sacrifice' ('Ecce ad sacrificandum homunculus pergit'). This, we are told, was said of Asclepiades, who was with Pionius (§ 10). But why it was said of him we are not told. Was he a mere lad, or was he short of stature? Nothing is related of the ultimate fate of either Sabina or Asclepiades, though from something which is said (§ 18) we infer of the latter that he was likely to be reserved for the gladiatorial combats in the arena.

Moreover there is an entire absence of the miraculous or preternatural in any form. The only approach to this throughout the narrative is the premonitory dream which foretold their coming fate. But what more natural than this? When persecution was raging around, when they had been celebrating the eve of a famous martyrdom with prayer and fasting, when probably Pionius himself was conscious of having committed overt acts which would attract the vengeance of the persecutor, what else could form the subject of his dreams but their own impending martyrdom?

Internal evidence therefore points decidedly to its genuineness. We may suspect indeed that the narrator has expanded the harangues which are placed in the mouth of Pionius; but this does not affect its veracity as a narrative of incidents. Did not Thucydides furnish his heroes likewise with even more elaborate speeches?

And external evidence confirms the result suggested by an examination of its contents. The document is only known to us in Latin; but there can be little doubt that it is substantially the same which was known to Eusebius in the original Greek. After giving an account of the Smyrnæan Letter on the death of Polycarp, he adds (*H.E.* iv. 15) that accounts of other martyrdoms were likewise attached in the same volume (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ)—martyrdoms which 'occurred in

the same Smyrna about the same period of time with Polycarp's martyrdom' (ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας). Among these he names Metrodorus 'of the Marcionite heresy' and especially Pionius, to whose doings he devotes several lines. The description of these doings corresponds with the account in this document. He mentions his several confessions (τὰς κατὰ μέρος ὁμολογίας), his 'boldness of speech', his 'defences of the faith before the people and the rulers', his 'didactic harangues', his 'kindliness (δεξιώσεις) towards those who had succumbed to the temptation in the persecution', his 'exhortations which he made to the brethren who came to see him in prison', the tortures which were inflicted upon him and 'his sufferings consequent thereupon (§§ 15, 20) and his nailings' (§ 21), his 'endurance on the pyre', and his death (§ 21). All these incidents appear in the extant Acts. The document was included by Eusebius, as he himself tells us, in his own *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms*, to which he refers his readers for fuller information. This work of Eusebius, as I have already stated, seems to have been compiled during the Diocletian persecution, and therefore about fifty years after the martyrdom occurred.

But Eusebius falls into a serious error with regard to its date. In the chronological notice appended to the document, as we have seen, the martyrdom is stated to have taken place under Decius (A.D. 250); and internal evidence points to this epoch. But Eusebius apparently makes it nearly synchronous with Polycarp's martyrdom, and therefore under the Antonines. There can, I think, be little question that this is his meaning. For, though the expression ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου might in itself mean 'at the same recurring season of the year' (and so interpreted it would be consistent with the facts), yet the sequence of his narrative will not admit this interpretation. Having thus mentioned consecutively the martyrdoms of Polycarp and Pionius, he goes on to speak of accounts of other martyrs as being given 'next in order' (ἑξῆς...φέρεται), obviously in the volume which he has mentioned previously. He gives the names of these other martyrs, 'Carpus and Papylus and a certain woman Agathonice' (Κάρπου καὶ Παπύλου καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης), and he says that they suffered in Pergamon dying 'gloriously after many magnificent (διαπρεπεῖς) confessions.' He then proceeds (iv. 16); 'Contemporary with these (κατὰ τούτους) Justin, of whom we spoke a little before...is crowned with a glorious martyrdom' (θείῳ κατακοσμεῖται μαρτυρίῳ). But Justin certainly perished under the Antonines.

In fact Eusebius seems to have been misled by the opening notice

of these Acts, in which it is stated that Pionius was celebrating 'the birth-day of Polycarp', and to have jumped at the conclusion that he was a contemporary of Polycarp's. He may, or may not, have had in his copy the chronological notice at the close, which we have. If he had, it is strange that he should have overlooked the name of the emperor Decius. If however the word 'imperator' was wanting and the name was given in his copy, as it is in some of ours, C. Messio Quinto Trajano Decio, this would be quite possible. I am disposed to think also, that in the heading of the Acts in his copy something was said about ἡ αὐτὴ περίοδος τοῦ χρόνου (for the expression is noticeable), and that he understood it to mean 'the same epoch' instead of 'the same recurring season of the year'.

But does his error extend likewise to the group of Pergamene martyrs whom he mentions just after? Until recently the martyrdoms of Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice, were represented only by the Acts in the Metaphrast (*Patrol. Graec.* CXV. p. 106 sq.). These are obviously spurious. But in the *Revue Archéologique* 1881, p. 348 sq., Aubé published for the first time a shorter form of the Acts from a Paris MS, *Graec.* 1468. There seems no reason for doubting that we have here the same Acts of which Eusebius speaks, and that they are authentic. Carpus and Papylus are brought before the proconsul at Pergamon. Papylus describes himself as belonging to Thyatira. When asked 'Hast thou children (τέκνα ἔχεις)?' he replies 'Yes, many by God's grace' (καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Θεόν). He would seem from this answer to have been a bishop of his church. The Acts of the Metaphrast assign these martyrdoms to the reign of Decius; and Aubé so places them along with those of Pionius and Metrodorus (p. 349). In the genuine Acts no date is directly given, but they suggest a divided sovereignty (τὰ προστάγματα τῶν Αὐγούστων p. 354, εἰς βλασφημίαν... τῶν Θεῶν καὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν p. 357); nor is this inconsistent with the fact that in one passage a single emperor is named (οὕτως γὰρ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, p. 355). These expressions would seem to point to the reign of M. Aurelius[1] (A.D. 161—169, 177—180), or to that of

[1] The day of these Pergamene martyrs is April 13th in the ancient Syriac Martyrology ('In the city of Pergamus of the number of the ancient confessors Cyrillus [l. Carpus] the bishop, Agathonice, and Paulus [l. Papylus]'); in the *Old Roman Martyrology* ('Apud Pergamum Asiae Carpi episcopi et Papyrii [l. Papyli], Agathonicae, et aliarum multarum'), and in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* (where however there is much confusion of the names between this and the preceding day). The Metaphrast (§ 18) assigns them to October 13, which is the day of Carpus, the companion of S. Paul, in the *Old Roman Martyrology*. The *Menæa* have the same day and the same story as the Metaphrast.

Severus (A.D. 198—211), with their respective colleagues[1]. The name of Agathonice is introduced in these genuine Acts (Ἀγαθονίκη δέ τις ἑστῶσα καὶ ἰδοῦσα κ.τ.λ.) in a way which explains the vague reference of Eusebius (γνναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης); whereas in the Metaphrast's account (§ 17) she is made a sister of Papylus.

(2) From the true Pionius we turn to the spurious. A *Life of Polycarp* is extant full of legendary matter and demonstrably false in its main incidents. It has been shown elsewhere (II. p. 1009 sq.) that, so far as we are able to test it, this biography is a pure fabrication. Wherever it crosses the path of authentic history, its falsity is betrayed. Elsewhere the author is free to exercise his invention without fear of detection, and he indulges this license freely. He may possibly have had a very slender thread of tradition on which he has strung his stories; but even this is questionable.

It has been shown likewise that the Letter of the Smyrnæans was incorporated in this life; that, when the Pionius of this postscript speaks of 'the sequel' in which he purposes to relate how he discovered the manuscript of the Letter, he refers to a subsequent portion of the Life no longer extant; that in this way he declares himself to be the author of this biography; and that thus his true character is revealed. He is a spurious Pionius, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century. The name is a pseudonyme used by the writer to cover his pious fraud. The real Pionius had shown a reverent devotion to the memory of Polycarp. What more suitable personage then could be found than this revered martyr, on whom to father the spurious biography of Polycarp?

These inferences have been drawn from the general relations between the *Life of Polycarp* and this *Letter of the Smyrnæans* with its postscript (II. p. 1006 sq.). But we may here notice especially two characteristic features in the spurious Life, which reappear in this postscript, and thus point to an identity of authorship. *First;* The writer avails himself largely of the supernatural. Inspired visions and miraculous occurrences form a very considerable part of his narrative. It is especially here that he gives the rein to his inventive faculty. *Secondly;* He does not scruple to appeal to documents, where these documents have no existence. Thus at the outset (§ 1) he relates how he 'found in ancient copies' (εὗρον ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις) an account of S. Paul's visit to Smyrna, and accordingly he represents the Apostle as saying things which he never said and never could have said (§ 2). Again

[1] Zahn (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, p. 279) holds that Eusebius is correct in assigning them to the reign of M. Aurelius.

(§ 12) he speaks of the *Epistle to the Philippians* as one among many other writings of Polycarp with which he was acquainted (ἐκ τῶν ἐφευρισκομένων), though it is morally certain that in his age no other work by this father was extant.

Now these two features are reproduced in the writer of this postscript. He has a supernatural revelation which discovers the lost manuscript of the Martyrdom. Too much stress however must not be laid on this; for the true Pionius also has a dream, though of a wholly different kind and easily explicable from natural causes. Indeed the dream of the true Pionius may have suggested the vision of the false. Again, like the spurious biographer, the writer of the postscript is ready with any number of pre-existent documents, to give colour to his narrative. We have the whole pedigree of the transmission. The first stage introduces the name of Polycarp's most famous scholar Irenæus. The second stage is marked by the name of the orthodox interlocutor in the famous *Dialogue with Proclus* directed against the Montanists (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25, iii. 28, 31, vi. 20), Gaius, who seems in the course of the work to have spoken of Irenæus as his master[1]. Of the third person in the pedigree of transmission—written in different copies Socrates or Isocrates—we have no knowledge; but we may surmise that his name was not unknown in the third and fourth centuries. Nay, have we not in this Pionian postscript the very echo of the language in the Pionian Life, where previous documents are referred to? Where the one writes ἐκ τῶν Γαΐου ἀντιγράφων, ἀναζητήσας αὐτὰ...καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς...ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα, the other has (§ 1) καθὼς εὗρον ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις, ποιήσομαι καθεξῆς τὸν λόγον.

If then the spurious Pionius be the author of this postscript, he is responsible for the edition of the Smyrnæan Epistle. Our Greek and Latin copies have the Pionian postscript and therefore represent the Pionian edition. Eusebius alone of all extant authorities is prior to the false Pionius and gives an independent text. Now our spurious Pionius was before all things a miracle-monger. Among other miracles he relates (§ 21) that on the eve of Polycarp's appointment to the episcopate a white dove was seen hovering about his head, and around it a circle of light. As a dove thus visited Polycarp preparatory to his

[1] I have given reasons elsewhere (*Journal of Philology* I. p. 98 sq., 1868) for attributing this *Dialogue* to Hippolytus—the prænomen Gaius being assigned to the orthodox interlocutor, whether himself or another, in this conversation. Hippolytus had attended the lectures of Irenæus (Photius *Bibl.* 121); and it seems probable that in this *Dialogue* (or in some other work ascribed to him) Gaius claimed Irenæus as his master.

consecration, so also a dove is found leaving him, or at least leaving his body, when his spirit is wafted to heaven (see II. p. 974 sq.). But this miracle appears only in the Pionian copies, not in Eusebius. Moreover by the abruptness of its appearance an interpolation is suggested[1]. Is it not the same dove which appears on the two occasions, and was it not uncaged and let fly by the same hand? We cannot resist the suspicion that our spurious Pionius was responsible for both these appearances.

[1] The words περιστερὰ καὶ are condemned, either as an interpolation or as a corruption, by critics as various as (see II. p. 976) Wordsworth, Lagarde, Zahn, Funk, Renan (*L'Église Chrétienne* p. 460), Keim (*Urchristenthum* pp. 94, 166), Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen* p. 39), and Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f Wiss. Theol.* XXII. p. 162).

6.

DATE OF THE MARTYRDOM.

THE question relating to the date of the Martyrdom involves two points, the year and the day. It will be seen presently that the two are not altogether unconnected, but for the purposes of investigation they may conveniently be taken separately.

1. *THE YEAR OF THE MARTYRDOM.*

The main source of opinion respecting the year of Polycarp's death, among ancient and modern writers alike, has been the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. It is necessary therefore to examine carefully what Eusebius says; and this investigation is the more needful, as his meaning seems to have been almost universally misunderstood.

After the seventh year of M. Aurelius he appends the notice 'A persecution overtaking the Church, Polycarp underwent martyrdom, and his martyrdom is handed down in writing. Many also in Gaul suffered martyrdom bravely and their struggles are recorded in order in a writing extant to the present day.' The passage is quoted above, p. 541. Eusebius is here assumed to date Polycarp's martyrdom in this 7th year of M. Aurelius, i.e. A.D. 167[1]. The following considerations however will show this inference to be unwarrantable.

(1) The notice is not placed opposite to, but after this year. More-

[1] According to others in the previous year A.D. 166. So for instance Noris (*de Anno Maced.* i. 2, p. 30), Masson (Aristid. *Op.* III. p. lxxxix, ed. Dindorf), Clinton (*Fast. Rom.* I. p. 157), Wieseler (*Christenverfolg.* p. 59), Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 101). This displacement however is not favoured by the text of the Chronicon. Still less can be said in favour of Ussher's year, A.D. 169.

over Polycarp's martyrdom is associated with the persecutions at Vienne and Lyons, which we know to have happened A.D. 177. The bearing of these facts seems to be obvious. Eusebius here connects together all the incidents relating to the persecution of the Christians, which he supposed to have taken place about this time. He had no knowledge of the precise year or years in which they occurred. As a matter of fact, the Gallican persecution took place some ten years later; and therefore, so far as this notice goes, the martyrdom of Polycarp might have taken place as many years earlier. We can only infer with safety that Eusebius supposed Polycarp's martyrdom to have happened during the reign of M. Aurelius. But there is no reason for assuming that this supposition rested on any definite historical grounds.

(2) This solution, suggested by the position and character of the notice itself, is confirmed by a comparison with other similar notices in this part of the *Chronicon*. Thus the persecutions in Trajan's reign are treated in precisely the same way, being collected together and placed in an unattached paragraph after the 10th year of this emperor. There, as here, the arrangement has been misunderstood; and the martyrdom of Ignatius, of which Eusebius left the date indefinite, has been assigned to that precise year (see below, II. p. 447 sq.). Intermediate between these two paragraphs, he has a similar unattached notice (after the 8th year of Hadrian) in which he gathers up the incidents relating to Hadrian's treatment of the Christians—the presentation of the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, the letter of Serenius Granianus, the emperor's rescript to Minucius Fundanus.

Nor is this treatment confined to incidents affecting the relation between the Church and the Empire. Again and again, events of which the exact date was unknown, or which spread over several years, are thus grouped together into an isolated paragraph. Thus after Hadrian 7 and after Commodus 9 respectively he gives lists of six and of nine successive bishops of Jerusalem, evidently because he did not know the years of their respective accessions, though possessing a continuous list of the occupants of this see. So again after Trajan 1, he mentions that S. John survived to the times of Trajan, and states that after him his scholars Papias and Polycarp were famous; after Hadrian 21 he gives an account of the heresiarchs who taught in Rome about that time; after Antoninus 11 he mentions certain philosophers who flourished at that epoch. All these notices are in the immediate neighbourhood of that with which we are concerned.

(3) A comparison of the *Chronicon* with the *History* still further confirms this view. After recording the visit of Polycarp to Rome in

the days of Anicetus, and then mentioning the death of Antoninus Pius and accession of M. Aurelius with his brother Verus (*H. E.* iv. 14), he at once relates the martyrdom of Polycarp, introducing it with the words ἐν τούτῳ, 'meanwhile' or 'at this time' (iv. 15). At the conclusion of this narrative he mentions other martyrdoms recorded in the same volume, describing them by an error which has been considered already (p. 624) as taking place at 'the same period of time' (ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου). He then turns to Justin Martyr, whose death he describes as contemporaneous with these persons (κατὰ τούτους). After disposing of Justin and his writings (iv. 16—18), he mentions Soter as succeeding Anicetus in the 8th year of the same reign (that of M. Aurelius), and follows up this statement with notices of the successions in the two other great sees, Alexandria and Antioch (iv. 19, 20). Then he gives an account of certain famous writers, beginning with Hegesippus and Dionysius of Corinth and ending with Tatian and Bardesanes (iv. 21—30). The fourth book closes with the death of Soter, and the fifth commences with the accession of Eleutherus. This accession he places in the 17th year of 'Antoninus Verus,' and he speaks of it as a season of fierce persecution in different parts of the empire. This he infers from the extant record of the martyrdoms in one particular locality, Gaul. Hereupon he gives an account of the persecutions at Vienne and Lyons, and of the delegacies sent by the sufferers to Eleutherus bishop of Rome (v. 1—4). This part of his narrative ends with the statement that these occurrences took place 'in the time of Antoninus' (v. 4 ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίνου). So far his chronology, though vague at times, is intelligible. But in the very next sentence (v. 5), setting himself to relate the incident of the Thundering Legion, he designates the hero of this incident 'Marcus Aurelius Cæsar,' and describes him as the brother of this Antoninus whom he had first mentioned (Τούτου δὴ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καίσαρα κ.τ.λ.). Now the accession of the joint emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus took place on the death of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 161), but L. Verus died A.D. 169; thus M. Aurelius was sole emperor from A.D. 169 to the end of A.D. 176 or the beginning of A.D. 177, when he associated his son Commodus with himself in the supreme power. Eusebius therefore is convicted of gross ignorance respecting the imperial annals at this time. He has prolonged the life of L. Verus for several years, and he has hopelessly confused the two imperial brothers. Moreover it is clear that when he wrote the *History*, at all events, he was not in possession of any information which enabled him to fix the exact year of Polycarp's martyrdom.

The relation of the *History* to the *Chronicle* in matters of chrono-

logy is obscure[1]. In the present instance however, the sources of information which Eusebius had before him in the two cases were plainly the same—the Letter of the Smyrnæans recounting the death of Polycarp and the Letter of the Gallican Churches containing an account of the persecutions at Vienna and Lyons—for these two documents are mentioned in both works. Nor is there any evidence that he drew different inferences from them in the two cases; though in the *History* he connects the persecution in Gaul with the accession of Eleutherus, whereas in the *Chronicle* he is silent about this connexion. In this respect only it seems probable that he had discovered a chronological link meanwhile.

The inference from this investigation therefore is that *Eusebius did not profess any knowledge of the exact year of Polycarp's martyrdom, but that he probably supposed it to have taken place under M. Aurelius.* There is no indication however that he had any historical grounds for this supposition.

Subsequent writers derive their knowledge from Eusebius. JEROME (see above, p. 541) in his edition of the *Chronicon* fixes the date, which Eusebius had left uncertain, definitely to the 7th year of M. Aurelius. It is his constant practice to treat these loose notices of Eusebius in this way. In his *Catalogus* again he says that it happened 'regnante Marco Antonino et Lucio Aurelio Commodo.' This ought to mean during the joint reign of M. Aurelius and his son Commodus (i.e. A.D. 177—180). But doubtless Jerome intended by the second name L. Aurelius Verus, who at an earlier date bore the name L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus, but dropped some of his names, when he became emperor[2].

The author of the CHRONICON PASCHALE, in his account of Polycarp's martyrdom, shows a knowledge, either direct or indirect, not only of the *History* of Eusebius, but also of the Letter of the Smyrnæans itself; for he gives information derived from the chronological postscript

[1] On this subject see below II. p. 465.

[2] If the Armenian Version of the *Chronicon* (p. 170 Schöne) be correct, the error was derived from Eusebius, for the reign is there designated 'M. Aurelianus (*sic*) qui et Berus, Lucius Aurelius Comodus', but Syncellus p. 664 has ἐβασίλευσε Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος ὁ καὶ Οὔηρος Λούκιός τε Αὐρήλιος καὶ Κόμοδος, which is inaccurate in another way, for Commodus was not associated in the empire till after the death of Lucius Verus. Probably (with the exception of the name 'Aurelianus') the Armenian truly represents Eusebius, in which case he may have written ὁ καὶ Κόμοδος. Yet in his *History*, though there is much confusion between the two imperial brothers Marcus and Lucius (*H. E.* iv. 13, v. 45), he never gives the name Commodus to either.

(§ 21), of which Eusebius says nothing. He places the martyrdom (see above, p. 552) in the consulship of Ælianus[1] and Pastor, i.e. A.D. 163, in which year the consuls were M. Pontius Lælianus and A. Junius Pastor. It is not obvious why he should have chosen this particular year. As he seems to have interpreted σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ according to the Christian language of his own day to mean the Saturday before Easter Day (inserting the definite article, τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ), and to have altered the name of the month accordingly from vii Kal Mart. to vii Kal. April. so that the martyrdom might fall within a possible Easter season, we might suspect that he selected the earliest year after the accession of M. Aurelius, when Easter Day fell on vi Kal. April. according to his reckoning. At all events it is difficult to resist the impression that the choice of this year was connected with his Paschal calculations.

On the other hand IDATIUS places the martyrdom in the 1st year of M. Aurelius. After the consuls of the year 161, he writes 'His conss. orta persecutione passi Polycarpus et Pionius' (*Chron. Pasch.* II. p. 162, ed. Bonn.). This is perfectly intelligible. Polycarp's martyrdom is the first incident mentioned by Eusebius in his *History* after the accession of M. Aurelius, and is introduced with the words ἐν τούτῳ, 'At this time'.

All the writers hitherto quoted have placed the martyrdom during the reign of M. Aurelius, following either the *Chronicle* or the *History* of Eusebius. On the other hand GEORGIUS HAMARTOLUS with his later plagiarists, and perhaps also some earlier chronicler whom he copied, assign it to the reign of his predecessor Antoninus Pius (see above, p. 557). Though cogent reasons will be given hereafter for adopting this as the correct view, it seems to me highly doubtful whether these writers based their opinion on any historical tradition or critical investigation. The name Antoninus was common not only to Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius, but likewise to Commodus and several later emperors. Hence confusions are frequent. Georgius might have derived his information ultimately from Eusebius through some intermediate writer who omitted to say which of the Antonines was meant. Eusebius several times calls M. Aurelius by the name 'Antoninus' alone (iv. 26, 30, v. 4, 9) and, as we have seen (p. 631), he describes the persecutions in Gaul as happening ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίνου.

SOCRATES stands alone in placing the martyrdom under Gordian, A.D. 238—244 (see above, p. 546). It is not easy to explain this gross

[1] 'Vetere, ut videtur, errore, quia in duobus titulis, Hispano (*C. I. L.* II. 2552) et Romano (*C. I. L.* VI. 1497), L. AELIANO exaratum esse diserte traditur'; Klein *Fast. Cons.* p. 76.

chronological blunder. Perhaps he confused the bishop of Smyrna with some other martyr bearing the same name. It has been already noticed that the early Syriac Martyrology mentions at least three others (p. 421). Perhaps he was misled by finding the name of Gordian as a persecuting emperor in his copy of the Acts of Pionius which were attached to Polycarp's Martyrdom (see below, p. 697). I may observe also that the name of Gordian was M. Antonius Gordianus, and this may possibly have assisted the confusion.

The MENÆA are even wider of the mark than Socrates, for they place Polycarp's martyrdom under Decius, A.D. 249—251 (see above, p. 561). This is an almost incredible blunder in a book possessing a sort of Church authority; but it is capable of explanation. The compilers learnt directly or indirectly from Eusebius, that he made it synchronous with the martyrdom of Pionius (see p. 624). Being however more familiar with the Acts of Pionius than with the circumstances of Polycarp's death, and knowing that Pionius suffered under Decius, they post-dated it accordingly. This is the converse to the error of Eusebius himself, who ante-dated the martyrdom of Pionius and placed both under M. Aurelius.

The earlier modern critics for the most part followed the authority of Eusebius, as they supposed, and placed the martyrdom in the 7th year of M. Aurelius, A.D. 167. To this general view however there were a few exceptions. Ægid. Bucherius (*Tract. de Pasch. Cycl. Jud.* 8) adopted A.D. 169, supposing that the Quadratus mentioned in the Acts of Polycarp was the colleague of L. Verus in the consulship (A.D. 167), and that he would therefore naturally be proconsul in the spring of the next year but one. The consul of A.D. 167 however was not Statius Quadratus, but M. Ummidius Quadratus[1]. Nevertheless Ussher adopted this same date with this same identification of the proconsul. But he considered that he had found a striking confirmation of it in other quarters. He believed himself to have shown that the Smyrnæan month Xanthicus commenced on March 25, so that the 2nd Xanthicus would be March 26; he accordingly adopted the Roman date for the martyrdom as given in the *Chronicon Paschale*, vii Kal. Apr.; and he found that in A.D. 169 March 26 would be the Saturday preceding the Paschal festival, and therefore it would be properly called the 'great sabbath', as the day of the martyrdom is

[1] It should be observed that, when these earlier critics wrote, the name of the consul of A.D. 167 was supposed to be Titus Numidius Quadratus; and a confusion between Titus and Tatius or Statius seemed not altogether impossible. For his correct name see the references in Klein *Fast. Cons.* p. 77.

designated in the Acts (see *Ignat. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 69 sq., and esp. *Dissert. de Maced. et Asian. Anno Solari* c. iii, *Works* VII. p. 367 sq.). Samuel Petit (A.D. 1633) was another exception to the general rule (*Var. Lect.* iv. 7, quoted by Pearson *Minor Works* II. pp. 527, 537). He boldly placed the date as late as A.D. 175. Like the former writers he identified the Quadratus of the martyrdom with the colleague of L. Verus; but he observed that an interval of full five years was required by law to elapse before entering upon the proconsulship (see below, p. 639).

More recent critics have discovered another chronological clue. Among the works of the rhetorician Ælius Aristides, a younger contemporary of Polycarp, are certain orations entitled *Sacred Discourses*, written in praise of the god Æsculapius, wherein he describes the course of a long illness which extended over many years, interspersing from time to time valuable chronological notices. In these mention is twice made of a Quadratus, proconsul of Asia. It is natural to assume that this is the same person who held the office at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom. Thus the chronology of Polycarp is closely linked with that of Aristides.

Valois (A.D. 1672) in his notes on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15 was the first, so far as I have observed, to pay attention to this fact (though it had been noticed before by Ussher); but he was not very happy in the use which he made of it. He argues as follows;

Aristides says in the Fourth Sacred Discourse, that Severus was proconsul shortly after the plague which raged in Asia; but Eusebius [*Chronicon* II. p. 170, Schöne] places the plague in the 8th year of M. Aurelius. Therefore Severus was proconsul in the 9th year. Pollio immediately preceded Severus in this office [Aristides *Op.* I. p. 529], and therefore his proconsulate fell in the 8th year of this reign. Again, the immediate predecessor of Pollio was Quadratus, for he must be meant by ὁ σοφιστής [*Op.* I. p. 531]. Therefore Quadratus was proconsul in the 7th year; and this is exactly the date assigned by Eusebius to Polycarp's martyrdom.

This calculation is based on manifest errors and doubtful assumptions. So far from saying that Severus was proconsul immediately after the plague, Aristides states distinctly that the plague occurred many years after the proconsulate of Severus (*Op.* I. p. 504 καὶ χρόνοις δὴ ὕστερον ἡ λοιμώδης ἐκείνη συνέβη νόσος: comp. p. 475). Nor again does Eusebius assert that the plague broke out in the 8th year, but that it reached Rome then (λοιμώδης νόσος ἐπικρατήσασα μέχρι Ῥώμης ἔφθασε, as reported by Syncellus). It raged in Asia Minor for some years previously. Lastly the identification of 'the sophist' with Quadratus

seems to be a mistake. The person intended is probably Glabrio, who had been mentioned just before (p. 530).

Pearson in his posthumous work *Dissert. de Serie Prim. Romae Episc.* ii. c. 17 (*Minor Theological Works*, II. p. 538 sq.) controverts the position of Valesius, but on grounds not altogether satisfactory. He takes the Quadratus of Aristides to be not Statius Quadratus, but T. Numidius [more correctly M. Ummidius] Quadratus, who was consul A.D. 167, and (as he supposes) proconsul of Asia A.D. 170. As Statius Quadratus held the consulate A.D. 142, and the general rule imposed an interval of five years[1] before a person succeeded to the proconsulate of Asia, he would hold this latter office A.D. 147 (pp. 536, 541). Pearson finds a confirmation of this view in the statement of the chronographer already quoted (see above, p. 633), that Polycarp suffered under Antoninus Pius. Pearson's date is adopted also by Dodwell (*Diss. Cypr.* iv. § 4), and others.

Card. Noris (*De Anno Maced.* i. 2, p. 30) refutes Valesius, but does not mention Pearson, of whose investigations he is apparently ignorant. He himself decides in favour of A.D. 166, rather than 167, because in the former year Feb. 23 fell on a Saturday.

It was reserved for Masson to treat the chronology of Aristides with thoroughness, and thereby to establish an authority, which was deferentially followed by nearly all succeeding writers till quite recently. This work he accomplished in his *Collectanea Historica ad Vitam Aristidis*, first published with Jebb's edition of Aristides (Oxon. 1722) and reprinted a century later in Dindorf's edition of this same author (Lips. 1829). From this latter edition my references are taken, both for the text of Aristides and for Masson's dissertation.

The following are the main points in his construction of the Aristidean chronology.

(i) As Polycarp was martyred under Quadratus, and as Eusebius places the martyrdom in A.D. 166, it follows that Quadratus must have held the proconsulship from the summer of A.D. 165 to the summer of A.D. 166.

(ii) He considers that the mention of 'the emperor in Syria', which in the narrative of Aristides (*Op.* I. p. 453) is connected with the proconsulship of Quadratus, must refer to the sojourn of L. Verus in that province from A.D. 162—166.

(iii) In *Op.* I. p. 460, after giving a diary of the two months Poseideon and Lenæon during the proconsulship of Quadratus, Aristides

[1] A *minimum* interval of five years was fixed by Augustus (see below, p. 639); but it was largely exceeded at this time, the average interval being twelve or thirteen years.

continues, *τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀλουσιῶν τί τις ἂν λέγοι; ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν συνεχῶς ἐγένοντο καὶ προσέτι μηνῶν.* Masson makes two assumptions respecting these five years and some months; (1) That they refer to what took place *before* the two months; (2) That they cover the whole time from the beginning of the illness. Thus the proconsulship of Quadratus synchronizes with the sixth year of the malady.

This then—the proconsulate of Quadratus—is the fixed date by which the other incidents in the malady are regulated. Thus Severus was proconsul in the tenth year. His proconsulship therefore fell in A.D. 168, 169. The malady lasted, as Masson reckons, thirteen years. Consequently it must have begun at the end of A.D. 159 (p. lii) and ended A.D. 172 (p. cxxxii).

The erroneousness of the assumption with regard to Eusebius has been shown already. Yet this is really the central pillar of his edifice. His explanation of 'the emperor in Syria', in which he finds an additional support for his system, will be examined hereafter. At present it will be sufficient to consider the third point, the interpretation of the passage in Aristides *Op.* I. p. 460.

Here again it seems impossible to accept his explanation. After the close of the two months' diary relating to the malady in the abdomen (*ἦτρον*), Aristides says that the god told him he would experience no difficulty (*μηδὲν ἔσεσθαι δυσχερές*). He then relates that, though these *ἀλουσίαι* continued five years and some months, though there were vomitings for two years and two months, though there were frequent bleedings, frequent abstinences from food, and so forth, yet he was able to continue his rhetorical exercises uninterrupted, and this consoled him. Obviously then he is here relating the fulfilment of the god's promise; so that these incidents, at all events for the most part, must have occurred *after* this prediction[1]. But even if they had all taken place before, there is nothing to show that these *ἀλουσίαι* began with the beginning of the malady[2].

Moreover this interpretation is at variance with the words which follow immediately after; 'So much for the consequences of the malady in the abdomen (*τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἤτρου*); and similar to the course of the complaint in the abdomen was that of the tumour which happened

[1] In other words *ἤδη* means 'at the time when they ceased', and not 'at the time when the god foretold the issue'.

[2] Waddington places the *ἀλουσίαι* altogether after the god's prediction. This view may be doubtful; but it is at least confirmed by the fact that the close of the *ἀλουσίαι* thus brings us to the close, or nearly so, of the whole malady. It will be seen hereafter that Waddington's chronology is comparatively unaffected by his interpretation of this passage; whereas Masson's explanation is of cardinal importance to his own system.

many years previously' (ὅμοιον δὲ τῷ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον συνέβη καὶ τὸ τοῦ φύματος πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον).' Plainly he had gone forward in his narrative up to this point; and he only now, when he begins his account of the tumour, traces his steps backward to an earlier epoch.

The revolt against Masson's chronology was led by Letronne *Recherches sur l'Égypte* p. 253 (A.D. 1823). Aristides relates (*Op.* I. p. 519 sq.) that he was born when Jupiter was in Leo. This would be the case in A.D. 117 and A.D. 129, the periodic time of Jupiter being about 12 years. Masson (p. xxiii sq.) adopted the later date; but Letronne has shown from the chronology of Heliodorus, the prefect of Egypt, with whom Aristides had relations (*Op.* I. p. 524), that the earlier date is imperatively demanded. Now Aristides elsewhere, writing of a time when several years of his malady had already passed (*Op.* I. p. 548), speaks of himself as being then in middle age (ἡλικίας ἤδη μέσως ἔχοιμι). Hence the chronology of his malady is dependent on the date of his birth and will require to be pushed back accordingly. Borghesi (*Iscrizioni di Sepino*, 1852, reprinted *Œuvres* V. p. 345 sq.) accepted this position of Letronne, and carried the argument some steps farther. Having made a special study of the sequence of Roman offices, and having observed the average intervals between the consulship and the Asiatic or African proconsulship at different epochs (*Œuvres* III. p. 185, 191 sq., IV. p. 145 sq., 535 sq., V. p. 142 sq., 469 sq.), he pointed out the strong improbability that in the age of the Antonines Statius Quadratus, who was consul A.D. 142, should have waited till A.D. 165, before he obtained the proconsulship of Asia. Accordingly, while still retaining Masson's arrangement of the sequence of events, he pushed the chronology twelve years farther back in accordance with Letronne's view. This gave A.D. 153, instead of A.D. 165, as the year when Quadratus entered upon his office. But he supposed him to have held office for two years and to have condemned Polycarp in February 155 (*Œuvres* V. p. 373 sq.). Why he should have postulated the unusual extension of the proconsulship to a second year, it is difficult to explain. At the same time he showed that the presence of the emperor in Syria and the peace with Vologesus, to which Aristides refers as synchronous with the proconsulate of Quadratus, and which seemed to Masson to point decisively to the reign of M. Aurelius, may be explained by notices of events which occurred under his predecessor Antoninus Pius[1].

[1] Aristides (*Op.* I. p. 467), describing the first year of his malady, mentions Σαλβίου τοῦ νῦν ὑπάτου. The νῦν evidently refers to the time when Aristides is writing; but Masson explained τοῦ νῦν as if it were τοῦ τότε, thus referring it to the time of the incidents recorded. Borghesi is misled by this error and identifies the person with P. Salvius Julianus who was consul A.D. 148. The person intended is

The way had thus been prepared by Letronne and Borghesi. But to Waddington belongs the credit of a thorough reconstruction of the chronology of Aristides on the lines thus indicated, and of the final overthrow of Masson's system. His investigations appeared in a paper entitled *Vie du Rhéteur Ælius Aristide* in the *Mémoires de l' Institut* etc., *Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* XXVI. p. 203 sq. (A.D. 1867); and he has since supplemented them in his *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*. This latter work forms part of Lebas and Waddington's *Asie Mineure*; but it has likewise been reprinted privately in an octavo form (Paris, 1872). To M. Waddington's kindness I am indebted for a copy of this reprint, and to it my references will be made.

As the question depends partly on the succession to the Asiatic proconsulate, a few words of explanation will be useful by way of preface to the review of Waddington's investigations.

By an ordinance of Pompeius, revived by Augustus (A.U.C. 727), the government of the senatorial provinces could not be undertaken until five years after the tenure of the city magistracy (Dion Cass. liii. 14; comp. Sueton. *Oct.* 36). The two proconsular provinces Asia and Africa, the blue ribbands of the profession, would accordingly have fallen regularly to the two consuls who had held office five years before—the lot being employed to apportion them between the two. But several causes tended to lengthen the interval. In the first place the practice of appointing *consules suffecti* gained ground. Thus there might be four or six or even more consuls in a single year. Again, though the proconsulate was commonly an annual office, yet the tenure might be extended at the pleasure of the emperor, where the emergency seemed to require the continuance of the same ruler (see esp. Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. p. 404 sq.). We are told that Augustus (Dion Cass. lv. 28) in the latter part of his life frequently prolonged the term of office to a second year. So too of Tiberius (Dion Cass. lviii. 23) it is related that in his later years he continued proconsuls in office for as long a period as six years. These statements are borne out by examples. A recently discovered inscription (*Bull. de Corresp. Hellénique* 1884, p. 469) speaks of C. Vibius Postumus as holding the proconsulate for three years (τὸ τρὶς ἀνθυπάτῳ). This must have been somewhere between A.D. 12—19. M. Silanus again was proconsul of Africa A.D. 32—37, and P. Petronius proconsul of Asia A.D. 29—35. Both these causes tended to create a block. On the other hand death

doubtless his namesake, who held the consulship A.D. 175, as Waddington has pointed out.

Borghesi also follows Masson (p. lxxxix) in regarding the year in which Quadratus entered upon his office as the sixth of the malady of Aristides.

would thin the ranks of the expectants; while others again were set aside at the discretion or by the caprice of the emperor, or would be passed over by their own desire. Then again; though, as a rule, the two senior men of consular rank would draw lots for the two provinces, yet an exceptionally able man would occasionally at some great crisis be elected without regard to his seniority as a consular. We meet with two of these irregularities combined in the person of Galba, the future emperor. He was appointed to the proconsulate of Africa out of due course (*extra ordinem*); and he held the office for two years (Sueton. *Galb.* 7).

As so much depended on the will of the emperor or the requirements of the times, the intervals were different at different epochs. Thus Commodus seems to have been prodigal in the creation of *consules suffecti*. Hence the block increased, and we find an interval of nineteen years—the longest on record—between the consulate (A.D. 198) and the Asiatic proconsulate (A.D. 217) of Q. Anicius Faustus (see Borghesi *Œuvres* v. p. 468). In the age of the two Antonines the average interval was apparently about thirteen years, whereas both before and after that age it was somewhat longer.

The following list relating to the two proconsulates in the second century is drawn up with the aid of Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques*

Name	Consul		Province	Proconsul
		A. D.		A. D.
A. Caecilius Faustinus	S	99	Africa	116
Ti. Julius Ferox	S	99	Asia	116
Cornelius Priscus	S	before 105	Asia	120
C. Minicius Fundanus	S	107	Asia	124
T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus	O	120	Asia	some time before 138
L. Venuleius Apronianus	O	123	Asia	138
M. Peducaeus Priscinus	O	141	Asia	not later than 160
L. Statius Quadratus	O	142	Asia	[154]
M. Cornelius Fronto[1]	S	143	[Africa]	before 161
L. Lollianus Avitus	O	144	Africa	not later than 159
C. Popilius Pedo	S	about 148	Asia	not later than 160
Ser. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus	O	149	Africa	163
C. Serius Augurinus	O	156	Africa	169
P. Julius Geminius Marcianus	O	170	Asia	182 or 185
Pedo Apronianus	O	191	Asia	204 or 205
Q. Anicius Faustus	S	198	Asia	217
M. Aufidius Fronto[1]	O	199	[Africa]	218

[1] The two Frontos, though appointed, never actually entered upon their office.

passim (comp. *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* 1882, p. 285), Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* I. p. 406, and Borghesi ll. cc. As the governors of the senatorial provinces, by an order of Claudius still in force, were directed to start for their provinces before the middle of April (Dion Cass. lx. 17), the proconsuls would not enter upon their office till May. Thus the proconsular and calendar years nearly bisect each other. The years here given for the proconsulates are the years in which they entered upon their office. The second column distinguishes the consuls as *ordinarii* or *suffecti.*

Masson had taken the supposed Eusebian date of the proconsulship of Quadratus as his starting point, and arranged the chronology of Aristides accordingly. Waddington adopts a different principle. He investigates the chronology of Aristides independently. In this way he arrives at a date for the proconsulship of Quadratus; and, as this does not agree with the date supposed to be given by Eusebius, he discards the authority of the latter altogether. His chronological structure (so far as we are concerned with it) is built up as follows.

(1) The fixed point of the chronology on which everything else depends is the *Proconsulship of Julianus* (*V. du R. A.* p. 208 sq., *F. A.* 210 sq.). Aristides (I. p. 532 sq.) relates how Julianus the proconsul assisted him in the recovery of some property. This was during his residence at Pergamon. But it appears from another passage (I. p. 483) that his residence in Pergamon falls during the second year of his malady—a year and some months after its commencement (*παρελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ μηνῶν*).

The date of Julianus however may be accurately determined. In an Ephesian inscription recently discovered (Wood's *Ephesus*, Inscr. v. 3, p. 6) we have mention of [ΙΟ]ΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ . Ο . ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ . ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ, where it is dated the 8th tribunician year of Antoninus Pius, i.e. A.D. 145. But the proconsuls came into office in May. Was the year of Julianus then A.D. 144, 145, or A.D. 145, 146? The answer to this question is supplied from another quarter. On an Ephesian medal commemorating the marriage of M. Aurelius and Faustina his name again appears as proconsul, ἐπὶ . [Κ]Λ . ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ, and from other notices (*C. I. G.* 3176, Capitol. *Marcus* 6) we ascertain that this marriage took place A.D. 146[1]. Julianus therefore was proconsul from May 145 to May 146.

[1] If however our authorities are strictly accurate, it seems necessary with Mommsen (*Hermes* VIII. p. 205) to place the marriage a year earlier. There is a Smyrnæan inscription dated March 29, A.D. 147 (T. Atilius Maximus being proconsul), in which M. Aurelius thanks the persons addressed for their congratulations on the

(2) The next step is the *Proconsulship of Severus* (*V. du R. A.* p. 214 sq., *F. A.* 217 sq.). Aristides relates some dealings with Severus, then proconsul of Asia, in the tenth year of his illness soon after the winter solstice (*Op.* I. pp. 502, 505). As his malady had begun in midwinter (I. p. 481), the years of his illness corresponded roughly with the calendar years. Severus therefore must have been proconsul from May 153 to May 154. According to Masson this proconsulship would fall in A.D. 168, 169. The following tests may be applied to the two systems.

(i) During the proconsulship of Severus (*Op.* I. p. 524) letters arrived from Italy 'from the princes, from the emperor himself and his son' (παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδός). This language is intelligible as applied to Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius in A.D. 154. On the other hand, if Masson were correct, the reference would be to M. Aurelius and Commodus. But why is Commodus, a child of seven years, mentioned, while L. Verus who was joint emperor with M. Aurelius, and to whom the affairs of the East were especially committed, is ignored? The reign of the *fratres Augusti* marked an epoch in the history of imperial Rome[2]. The uniqueness of the event was recognized on all hands; and the language which on Masson's hypothesis Aristides here employs respecting it is hardly conceivable.

(ii) The great plague is placed by Aristides (I. p. 504) 'long after' (χρόνοις δὴ ὕστερον) this epoch. But the plague was brought to Rome by the soldiers of L. Verus on their return A.D. 166; and in Asia Minor, of which Aristides is here speaking, it had raged much earlier. Thus Masson's chronology produces a hopeless anachronism.

(iii) Simultaneously with the letter from the princes comes another from Heliodorus, 'who had been viceroy of Egypt' (τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου

birth of a son (*C.I.G.* 3176). This is the first year of his tribunician power, so that he must have received it not earlier than Jan. 1, A.D. 147. But Capitolinus (*Marcus* 6) says that he had the tribunician power conferred upon him after the birth of a daughter, *suscepta filia*. Unless therefore this is an error of Capitolinus or his transcribers for *suscepto filio*, the son born in A.D. 147 must have been his second child, and the marriage must be dated as early as A.D. 145. In this case we have the alternative of A.D. 144, 145 or A.D. 145, 146 for the proconsulship of Julianus. The bearing of this alternative will be considered hereafter. Waddington paraphrases *suscepta filia* by 'après la naissance de son premier enfant' (*F. A.* p. 211).

[2] Spartian. *Hadr.* 24 'Hi sunt, qui postea duo pariter Augusti primi rempublicam gubernaverunt', *Ælius* 5 'Ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur, ut dicantur non duo Antonini sed duo Augusti; tantumque hujus rei et novitas et dignitas valuit ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum, Capitolin. *Marcus* 7 'tuncque primum Romanum imperium duos Augustos habere coepit', Eutrop. viii. 9.

ὑπάρχου γενομένου). But it appears from *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 4955, that Heliodorus was governor of Egypt on Aug. 12, A.D. 140 (Letronne *Recherches sur l'Egypte* p. 253 sq.). This is too far removed from Masson's date.

(iv) The sequence of honours bestowed upon Severus, as learnt from the inscriptions (*C. I. G.* 4033, 4034), points to about the year 140 or 141 as the date of his consulship (Waddington *F. A.* p. 218 sq.). If we allow the average interval of twelve years or thereabouts, before the proconsulship falls to him, we shall be brought to Waddington's date. But Masson's is far beyond the mark.

(3) The next stage brings us to the object of our search, the *Proconsulship of Quadratus.* It is twice mentioned by Aristides.

(i) In the Fourth Sacred Discourse he relates certain incidents as having taken place in the proconsulship of Severus (I. p. 505). At a later point (p. 521) he speaks of 'the arrival of Quadratus the rhetorician to assume the government of Asia' (ἀφικομένου γὰρ Κοδράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχήν). After continuing his narrative for a short space further, he says; 'But I will go back to the point where I said a little while ago that I would stop and leave off my narrative' (ἐπάνειμι δέ, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔφην στήσας καταλείψειν τὸν λόγον). He then continues, 'Severus the governor of Asia held office, I think, a year before my comrade' (p. 523 ὁ Σεβῆρος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμὼν ἦρξεν, οἶμαι, ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἑταίρου)[1]. The comrade here mentioned, argues Waddington, can be none other than his brother rhetorician Quadratus, with whom he was evidently on intimate terms. If so, the proconsulate of Quadratus must be assigned to the year A.D. 154, 155. The martyrdom of Polycarp therefore, as it happened in February, must have taken place in A.D. 155. This year the 23rd of February fell on a Saturday, and thus the notice of the 'great sabbath' (*Mart. Polyc.* 8, 21) is so far satisfied. Moreover L. Statius Quadratus was consul in A.D. 142, so that the usual interval had elapsed before he entered upon the proconsulship of Asia. An interval of 23 years, which Masson's date requires, is without a parallel. Waddington further adds that in the inscription *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3410, bearing his name as proconsul (στατίῳ . κωδράτῳ . ἀνθυπάτῳ), a fine is ordered to be paid

[1] We must regard οἶμαι as a rhetorical affectation, as it is used elsewhere in Aristides. It does not, as some have supposed, throw any doubt on the statement which it accompanies. See *Op.* I. pp. 467, 476, 480, 493, and esp. p. 511 ἐπέρανα τὸ ᾆσμα ἐν δυοῖν στροφαῖν, καὶ τρίτην, οἶμαι, τινὰ ἐπήγαγον, ἣν καλοῦσιν οἱ γραμματικοί μοι δοκεῖν ἐπῳδόν, where the οἶμαι does not express any more hesitation than the μοι δοκεῖν.

'into the exchequer of Cæsar' (εἰc . τὸN . καίcαροc . φίcκoN), whence he infers that there could only have been one emperor at the time, and that therefore this proconsulate could not have fallen during the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. The last argument however is abandoned in his later work (*F. A.* p. 221), Mommsen having meanwhile pointed out that this was a recognized expression for the 'imperial exchequer', whether the sovereignty was divided or not at the time.

It will be seen from this account that the keystone of Waddington's structure is the identification of the ἑταῖρος with Quadratus. Nor does there seem to be any one else in the previous narrative with whom the person so described can be identified. The expression ἑταῖρος indeed is used of several others (pp. 509, 519, 527); but there is no reason to think that any of these were proconsuls. Masson (p. cxxxi) says, 'Quis iste fuerit [ἑταῖρος], vaticinari non datur'. But, as Aristides was writing for the general public, we cannot suppose that he would use an expression which was unexplained by the previous part of his narrative.

(ii) In the First Sacred Discourse (p. 446) he gives an elaborate diary of the events, more especially dreams, which happened in the months Poseideon and Lenæon (roughly corresponding with January and February) of a particular year when he was suffering from a complaint in the abdomen (ἦτρον). Among other incidents he records how in a dream he saw certain things and 'fancied that he related them afterwards, as a dream, to Quadratus the governor'. Plainly Quadratus was proconsul at this time. On this point Masson and Waddington are agreed.

During these same two months however he had other dreams which bear upon the chronology. In one of these he fancied that he saw Antoninus the elder emperor (Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν πρεσβύτερον) and the hostile king, whom he afterwards names Vologesus, making peace with one another. In another he had 'an audience with the emperor, having been sent to the emperor who was then in Syria' (ἐγίγνετο ἡ πρόσοδος ἡ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐπεπόμφειν δὲ ὡς τὸν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τότε αὐτοκράτορα). Elsewhere, there is mention sometimes of 'the emperor' (ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ) in the singular (p. 451), sometimes of the emperors (οἱ αὐτοκράτορες) in the plural (pp. 456, 457, 458). In one place (p. 457) he records how he dreamt that he stood between the two emperors, 'the older' and 'the younger'. 'The younger', he says, 'seemed to him to have the age (or stature) of a boy' (ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ παιδὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχειν).

If Waddington's date be correct, the older emperor will be Antoni-

nus Pius, and the younger M. Aurelius. On the other hand Masson's computation requires that the elder should be M. Aurelius and the younger Commodus, while the emperor in Syria is neither the one nor the other, but L. Verus, who is known to have been in Syria in the years from A.D. 162 to A.D. 165. The Parthian war was carried on meanwhile by his generals, while the emperor gave himself over to luxury and self-indulgence, spending his winters at Laodicea and his summers at Daphne of Antioch. It was brought to a successful issue in A.D. 166; peace was made; and the two emperors celebrated a triumph (Capitolin. *Marcus* 8, 9, *Verus* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, Dion Cass. lxxi. 1, 2, Galen *Op.* XIV. pp. 613, 647, Eutrop. viii. 10, Victor *Cæs.* 16, Orosius *Hist.* viii. 15, Polyaen. *Strateg.* i. 1, Lucian *Quom. Conscrib. Hist.* 14 sq., *Pseudomantis* 27, Fronto pp. 120 sq., 132, 204, 208 sq., 217 sq.). This known fact is the main point in Masson's favour.

As a negative argument on the same side, it is further urged that there was no incident during the reign of Antoninus Pius to which the dream of Aristides could refer. Indeed the notices in Capitolinus seem to exclude it altogether. He says expressly in one place (*Pius* 7), that this emperor 'never undertook any expeditions' (nec ullas expeditiones obiit) except to his country house in Campania, lest the provincials should be burdened with the expenses of his retinue. But this statement must not be too literally interpreted. He has plainly in view here not military campaigns but imperial progresses. Again this same historian states elsewhere (*Pius* 9), that Antoninus 'deterred the king of the Parthians from the invasion of Armenia by his letters alone (Parthorum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis literis repulit).' But, as Borghesi truly says (*Œuvres* v. p. 377), Capitolinus speaks 'too emphatically' here. An inscription is extant at Sæpinum (*C. I. L.* IX. 2457) commemorating one L. Neratius Proculus, of whom it speaks as MISSO . AB . IMP . ANTONINO . AVG . PIO . AD . D[E]DVCEN[D]AS . VEX[I]LLATIONES . IN . SYRIAM . OB . [B]ELLVM . [PAR]THICVM. This emperor, by whom he was despatched to Syria in command of the troops, can be none other than Antoninus Pius. Some critics indeed have persuaded themselves that the sovereign meant is M. Aurelius. But M. Aurelius never called himself, or was called in his lifetime, Pius. His son and successor Commodus adopted this name, and thenceforward it generally forms one of the imperial designations. At the same time Commodus seems to have imposed it upon his deceased father, so as to preserve its genealogy unbroken from its first holder to himself. Thus we read of DIVVS . M . AVRELIVS . ANTONINVS . PIVS . GERMANICVS . SARMATICVS (*C. I. L.* II. 1340). Yet even after his decease he is never called Anto-

ninus Pius alone, but some other name is added to distinguish him from his predecessor, the true Antoninus Pius. So far as I have observed, the prænomen Marcus is never absent[1]. Moreover, as the Parthian war under M. Aurelius was especially entrusted to his co-emperor L. Verus, it is difficult to explain the omission of the name of the latter, if this were the occasion to which the inscription refers. From this inscription Borghesi inferred a conflict with the Parthians under Antoninus Pius, and applied it to explain the reference in Aristides. The silence of the historians is only a trifling difficulty in a reign for which the extant accounts are so meagre and fragmentary. But this view has confirmatory evidence which Borghesi overlooked. John Malalas, a writer whose gross errors elsewhere I have had occasion to expose (II. p. 437 sq.), and whose statements always require sifting and confirmation, but who sometimes (especially in relation to Antioch) supplies important facts, states (*Chronogr.* xi. p. 280 sq., ed. Bonn) that Antoninus Pius went to quell an uprising of the Egyptians who had murdered Dinarchus, and after suppressing it proceeded to Alexandria. Immediately after this incident, and apparently in connexion with it, this chronographer states that he visited Antioch and erected certain buildings there. The suppression of a rebellion in Egypt is mentioned likewise by Capitolinus (*Pius* 5)[2]. As the emperor had not left Rome A.D. 153 and is found again in Rome in November A.D. 157 (see Schiller l. c. p. 632), this visit or these visits to the East must be placed during the interval. The *cursus honorum* of Neratius Proculus also, as gathered from the monument at Sæpinum, requires that the Syrian expedition should take place some four years at least before the death of Antoninus Pius (Borghesi *Œuvres* v. p. 376).

Nor is it difficult to trace the probable course of this Parthian embroglio from the meagre information which we possess. Trajan had read the Parthians a severe lesson which they did not soon forget. But a new generation arose, and with it a new king. The Vologesus with whom we are concerned, the fourth or according to some the third of that name, ascended the throne in A.D. 148 (Waddington in Borghesi

[1] *C.I.L.* II. 1725 [IMP. CAES. DIVI.]ANTONINI . PII . SARMATICI . GERMANICI . FILIVS . DIVI . PII . NEPOS, belonging to A.D. 182 and referring to Commodus, is an apparent exception; but the words in brackets are filled in from conjecture and doubtless incorrectly. Yet even here the person meant is identified by the context.

[2] These Eastern expeditions of Antoninus Pius are recognized by most recent writers on this period of Roman history; e.g. Sievers *Studien zur Gesch. d. Römischen Kaiser* p. 204 sq., Schiller's *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* I. p. 631 sq., 639 (1883).

l.c. p. 374). Immediately the peaceful policy of his namesake and predecessor was reversed. The interference of the Parthian king in the affairs of Armenia brought him into collision with the Romans. Armenia was invaded by Vologesus. This could not be overlooked by the Roman emperor. A strong letter of remonstrance was sent by Antoninus. But he was shrewd enough to know that stout words were unavailing, unless backed by stout deeds. Aristides elsewhere (*Op.* I. p. 108) describes him in the Homeric phrase as 'a good sovereign and a warrior strong' (*βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής*). So he prepared war, that he might preserve peace. Troops were massed in Syria, as the inscription of Sæpinum shows. Like the coronation stone of Scone in later ages, the royal throne of Parthia played an important part in the dispute. There is indeed a curious parallelism between the fate of the two. Like its Scottish counterpart, the Parthian chair of state was carried off as the spoil of victory, was demanded back as the condition of peace, and was ultimately withheld. Trajan had captured it; and Antoninus now refused to give it back (Capitol. *Pius* 9). The danger of war was at one time so great that the Roman emperor went in person to Syria so as to be near the scene of action. A peace however was patched up—the peace of which Aristides dreams. But even during the lifetime of Pius the restlessness of Vologesus caused alarm[1]. We are told that in the delirious fever which ended his life the Roman emperor talked repeatedly of the kings who had aroused his anger (Capitol. *Pius* 12). No sooner did the news of Antoninus' death reach the ears of Vologesus, than he broke out into overt acts of hostility. Syria was invaded. Elegia, an Armenian fortress, the scene of more than one previous conflict, was beleaguered and taken. The Roman army which garrisoned it was cut in pieces and the generals slain (Dion Cass. lxxi. 2). Hence arose the more famous Parthian war under Marcus and Lucius, which was conducted by the latter.

The superior claims of Waddington's chronology over Masson's will appear, when tested in several ways.

(i) The proconsulship of Quadratus then falls into its proper place *in relation to other proconsulships*. Its relationship to that of Severus has appeared already. But it satisfies this test in the case of other proconsuls also. Fronto was consul suffectus in July A.D. 143 (Klein's *Fasti Consulares* p. 69); yet he was appointed to the proconsulate of Asia during the reign of Pius who died A.D. 161 (Fronto pp. 86, 169, ed. Naber). Lollianus Avitus was consul in A.D. 144;

[1] Capitol. *Marcus* 8 'Fuit eo tempore etiam Parthicum bellum quod Vologesus, *paratum sub Pio*, Marci et Veri tempore indixit.'

yet not only he, but his successor Claudius Maximus, were proconsuls of Africa during the reign of the same emperor Pius (Apuleius *de Magia* 85, 94). These examples are given by Waddington (*V. du R. A.* p. 240 sq.). A recent discovery enables us to add also the case of Peducæus Priscinus. He was consul in A.D. 141; and he too appears as proconsul of Asia under Pius (Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 7, p. 52)[1]. Thus we find the consuls of the years immediately preceding and immediately following Quadratus appointed to one or other of the two great proconsulships under Pius; and as the rule of seniority generally prevailed, we must suppose that Quadratus held the office of proconsul during the same reign.

(ii) It harmonizes better with *the circumstances of Aristides' life*, and more especially of his illness. The sickness lasted for seventeen years. This is clear from the dream related I. p. 469 sq. The god appeared to him and 'putting out his fingers and reckoning certain periods of time (χρόνους τινάς) said *Thou hast ten years from me and three from Sarapis*, and at the same time the three and ten appeared as seventeen owing to the position of his fingers.' This, he adds, was not a dream but a true vision (οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ). Stress is laid afterwards on the complete fulfilment of this prediction (pp. 471, 474, 475, 477). Masson infers from the passage that the sickness only lasted thirteen years in all. But the 'seventeen' must have some meaning; and Waddington rightly interprets it as signifying that four years of the malady had already passed when the vision was seen, so that thirteen had still to run. Now, if the sickness began, as Masson supposes, in A.D. 159, so that the proconsulship of Quadratus (A.D. 165, 166) was in the sixth year, it would still have eleven years to run, and would not be ended till A.D. 176. Even on Masson's own showing it only terminated A.D. 172. But Aristides elsewhere (I. p. 474 sq.) speaks of the plague as breaking out at the close of the period which the god had predicted for the duration of his malady. Now we know that it was spread through the East and ultimately brought to Rome by Verus' army. In A.D. 166 it raged in the West so virulently that the Marcomannic expedition was very nearly prevented by its ravages. Its outbreak in Smyrna therefore must be placed during A.D. 162—165. But this is many years too early according to Masson's chronology. On the other hand in Waddington's scheme the seventeen years would have elapsed at the

[1] His name was M. Peducæus Stloga Priscinus. In the note on Wood's *Ephesus* he is confused with an earlier M. Peducæus Priscinus (mentioned *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2966), who was consul in A.D. 110 and proconsul under Hadrian; see Waddington *Fastes* p. 201.

end of A.D. 161, and therefore immediately before the time when the first outbreak of the plague is possible. The notices of the plague therefore present a second insuperable difficulty in the way of Masson's view, not less great than the one which has been pointed out previously (p. 642).

(iii) Our third test of the two schemes is the harmony with *the traditions of Polycarp's life*.

Now the only probable interpretation of Polycarp's words at the time of his martyrdom (§ 9; see II. p. 963) is that he was then eighty six years of age. If therefore Masson's date of the martyrdom be adopted, he was born about A.D. 80. But it is not possible to place the death of S. John later than about A.D. 100. Yet Irenæus says that he was not only a disciple of S. John, but that he was appointed bishop of Smyrna by Apostles (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4). On the other hand Waddington's chronology would make him 31 years old in A.D. 100, so that the tradition of his relations to S. John and the Apostles becomes credible.

Again; Irenæus speaks of the true tradition as being handed down by 'the successors of Polycarp to the present time' (οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον), meaning, as the context shows, his successors in the episcopate of Smyrna. This sentence was certainly written during the Roman episcopate of Eleutherus (i.e. between A.D. 177—190), for the fact is mentioned in the context; and it may have been written somewhat early in this period. But, if we take the latest possible date, A.D. 190, Masson's chronology only leaves an interval of twenty four years—a period hardly sufficient to justify such an expression. The additional eleven years allowed by Waddington's date are a clear gain and render the language intelligible.

(iv) Lastly; it accords better with other chronological data in *the account of the martyrdom* itself. A certain Philip of Tralles is mentioned in connexion with the martyrdom, in the body of the document as Asiarch (§ 12) and in the chronological postscript (§ 21) as High-priest. Now it has been shown; (1) that these two titles are different designations of the same office (II. p. 990 sq.); (2) that in an Olympian inscription Philip the Trallian is styled Asiarch in the 232nd Olympiad which began A.D. 149 (above, p. 613); (3) that in three Trallian inscriptions belonging to the reign of Antoninus Pius and dated the 56th (Trallian) Olympiad he is called High-priest (above, p. 613 sq.); and (4) that, granting the office to have been held for four years (as I have endeavoured to prove, II. p. 994 sq.), a probable explanation of the dating by Trallian Olympiads can be given which would make Philip High-priest or Asiarch in this very year, A.D. 155, which Waddington

assigns to the martyrdom. Anyhow his tenure of this office—designated by either name—is connected in the inscriptions with the reign of Antoninus Pius. He lived into the succeeding reign, but he is no longer distinguished by either of these titles.

It should be added also that throughout the Smyrnæan Letter the singular is used of the emperor. Polycarp is urged to declare 'Cæsar is Lord' (§ 8 Κύριος Καῖσαρ); he is bidden, and he refuses, to swear by 'the genius of Cæsar' (§§ 9, 10, τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην). It is at least a matter of surprise that these forms should be persistently used, if the event had happened during a divided sovereignty.

Waddington's reconstruction of the Aristidean chronology has been accepted in the main by Renan *L'Antéchrist* p. 566, *L'Église Chrétienne* p. 452 sq.; Lipsius *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 188 sq. (1874), *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* IV. p. 751 sq. (1878), VII. p. 574 sq. (1881), IX. p. 525 sq. (1883); Hilgenfeld *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 324 sq. (1874), XXII. p. 154 sq. (1879); Volkmar *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1874, no. 274, p. 291; Gebhardt *Zeitschr. f. Histor. Theol.* 1875, p. 377 sq.; Zahn *Patr. Apost.* II. p. 165, 1876; Funk *Patr. Apost.* I. pp. lxxxiii, xciv sq., 1878; Aubé *Histoire des Persécutions* p. 319 sq., *La Polémique Païenne* p. 184 sq., 1878; Doulcet *Rapports de l'Église Chrétienne* etc. p. 103, 1883; Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. p. 375, 1873; Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* III. pp. 440, 442, 654; H. Schiller *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* I. ii. p. 684, 1883; E. Egli *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXV. p. 227 sq. (1882), XXVII. p. 216 (1884). On the other hand Uhlhorn (Herzog *Real-Encyklopädie*, ed. 2, s. v. Polykarp) and Wordsworth (*Church History* I. p. 161 sq.) incline to the older view; while J. Réville *De Anno Dieque quibus Polycarpus Smyrnae martyrium tulit* p. 51 (Genevae 1880) states the grounds for the different views and declines to pronounce an opinion.

This favourable reception of Waddington's essay was not undeserved. Altogether it is a masterly piece of critical work. Objection may be taken to particular points; but its great recommendation is that it hangs together and satisfies so many tests. Future discoveries may refute some of the special criticisms; but it is not likely that they will vitally affect the broad conclusions. But, while it appears to be perfectly sound in its main lines, and his date of the martyrdom may be accepted as approximately correct, yet the possibility remains that (so far as regards the notices in Aristides) the date of Quadratus' proconsulship ought to be placed a year or two before or after A.D. 155. Thus for instance the years of the proconsulates and the years of the sickness nearly bisect

each other, and careful adjustment is necessary in dealing with occurrences near the point of bisection. Waddington has not treated this source of divergence with precision; and, though he may have discerned, he has not stated, the possibilities which are opened out by different adjustments.

There are two points more especially in the chronology of Aristides, at which the ultimate dates are dependent on the mode of adjustment; (1) The business with Julianus, which occurred near the transition from one proconsular year to another; and (2) The business with Severus, which occurred near the transition from one sickness year to another.

(i) Aristides was first taken ill about midwinter (*Op.* I. p. 481; comp. p. 502 sq.), so that the successive years of the sickness correspond roughly to our Julian Calendar years. But the proconsuls came into office about May. If therefore an event took place at some indeterminate time towards the middle of the sickness year, it might fall either at the end of one proconsulate or at the beginning of another. This consideration applies to the transactions of Aristides with the proconsul Julianus (*Op.* I. p. 532 sq.). He arrived at Pergamon in the second year of Aristides' illness, 'a year and some months' after its commencement; and probably no long interval elapsed before these transactions[1]. If they happened before May, Julianus' term of office was drawing to a close; if after May, it was just commencing. Thus, while accepting Waddington's date for Julianus (A.D. 145, 146), and likewise his relative chronology which places the proconsulate of Severus in the 10th year of the sickness and makes Quadratus the immediate successor of Severus, we have still an alternative as to the martyrdom. If we place the business with Julianus at the commencement of his proconsulate (say July, A.D. 145), then the second year of the illness was A.D. 145, and the martyrdom occurred A.D. 154. If on the other hand we place it at the close (say April A.D. 146), then the second year of the illness was A.D. 146, and the martyrdom A.D. 155.

The question is one of historical probability; but it seems indeterminable in itself. His business with Julianus was the obtaining redress for the plunder of certain property which had occurred apparently during his absence, though this is not certain. He could hardly have

[1] Masson places them in the *third* year of the malady, thus making a great part of a year or more elapse after the arrival of Aristides at Pergamon. This does not seem probable, but it cannot be pronounced impossible. If this position were accepted, it would be possible to throw the martyrdom as far back as A.D. 153.

returned before March. But the matter might have been taken in hand at once after his return. We are told that the proconsul was holding an assize at Pergamon (p. 532 *ἀγορὰ δ' ἦν δικῶν*); and in this particular business he appears to have acted with great promptness. There is nothing therefore to prevent our placing these transactions (say) in April. But considerations might also be urged on the other side, such as the pressure of business which would render it impossible for the proconsul to attend to such matters when he was giving up office, and the like. The point therefore cannot be settled on its own merits. In order to decide we have to call an extraneous consideration to our aid. The 23rd of February was a Saturday in A.D. 155, but not in A.D. 154. This fact decides in favour of A.D. 155.

(ii) The second incident, where different adjustments are possible, occurs at a later point in the chronology. Aristides speaks of certain transactions with Severus then proconsul, as taking place in the 10th year of his illness (I. pp. 502, 505). It was then midwinter (*χειμὼν δ' ἦν ὀλίγον μετὰ τροπάς*). His illness, as we have seen (p. 642), likewise commenced about midwinter. Did these transactions with Severus fall at the beginning or at the close of his tenth year? If we accept the former view with Waddington, then we get A.D. 155 or A.D. 154 as the alternative dates of the martyrdom, according as we have adopted the later or the earlier date in the previous case (the transaction with Julianus). If the latter view be adopted with Lipsius, then the alternative dates of the martyrdom are pushed a year forward, A.D. 156 or A.D. 155.

Unlike the former, this question is one not of historical probability but of grammatical interpretation. Aristides says (p. 502) that when the tenth year of his sickness 'was come round' (*ἔτει δεκάτῳ περιήκοντι*), he had a certain apparition. A person appeared to him, telling him that he himself, when sick with the same sickness, as the tenth year came round (*τὴν αὐτὴν νόσον νοσήσας περιόντι τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει*), had been ordered by Æsculapius to go to the place where his sickness began (*ἤρξατο συλλέγεσθαι*), and that doing so he was cured. This occurred in winter soon after the solstice (*ὀλίγον μετὰ τροπάς*). Taking this as a divine counsel, Aristides went accordingly to the Æsepus, where he had had the first symptoms of his illness. He then relates how his sickness had begun, and how at its commencement he had gone to Italy. These events, he adds, had taken place the tenth year before (*ταῦτα...προεγεγόνει πρότερον ἔτει δεκάτῳ*). Later on, he informs us that this second visit to the Æsepus was made when Severus was governor of Asia (p. 505).

This language must, I think, describe the beginning, not the end, of the tenth year. For though περιϊόντι might designate any time during the course of the year[1], on the other hand περιήκοντι denotes the arrival of the year in due round, and therefore points to its commencement[2]. Moreover Aristides afterwards uses the expression πρότερον δεκάτῳ ἔτει, 'previously in the tenth year', but this is not suitable language if he had meant that ten whole years had elapsed.

By combining these two alternatives of adjustment in different ways, we get four possible arrangements of the chronology as exhibited in the following table. A is the solution of Waddington; C that of Lipsius, and of Hilgenfeld, who thus place the martyrdom a year later

Events	A	B	C	D
Aristides' illness commences at midwinter	144, 145	143, 144	144, 145	143, 144
1st year of illness	145	144	145	144
Julianus becomes proconsul	145 May	145 May	145 May	145 May
Business with Julianus	146 (April)	145 (July)	146 (April)	145 (July)
Severus becomes proconsul	153 May	152 May	154 May	153 May
10th year of illness	154	153	154	153
Business with Severus	154 (Jan. Feb.)	153 (Jan. Feb.)	154 (Dec.)	153 (Dec.)
Quadratus becomes proconsul	154 May	153 May	155 May	154 May
Martyrdom	155 Feb.	154 Feb.	156 Feb.	155 Feb.

[1] Comp. p. 537 περιϊόντι δὲ τῷ ἔτει καὶ μηνὶ μάλιστα, p. 544 πέμπτῳ μὲν ἔτει περιόντι [l. περιϊόντι] μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμέραις μάλιστα ταῖς αὐταῖς.

[2] Gebhardt (p. 388) argues that, as περιήκοντι is evidently a synonyme for περιϊόντι, it can only signify *circumacto*. Wieseler (*Christenverfolg.* p. 98) rightly objects to this. The word περιϊόντι might have more than one meaning, but it could not possibly have the past sense *circumacto*, so as to signify that the revolution was completed. In Thucyd. i. 30 Κορίνθιοι περιϊόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς κ.τ.λ. the Scholiast explains it ἐνισταμένῳ, 'when the summer came round' (see Arnold's note)—a sense which it certainly could bear and which is not improbably correct in that passage. Compare also Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 25, Aristot. *Hist. An.* vi. 14 (p. 568), in which passages, as in most others where this participle occurs, there is a false v. l. περιόντι, περιόντος.

As regards the other word, the simple verb ἥκω denotes 'I am come', 'I arrive', so that περιήκειν is 'to arrive in the circuit of the seasons'; and if so, it can hardly by any possibility denote the completion of the year.

than Waddington. Gebhardt (p. 379 sq.) follows the principles of D; but he gets wrong in his calculations[1], and coincides with Lipsius and Hilgenfeld in dating the martyrdom A.D. 156. I do not know that B has been advocated by any one.

The motive of Lipsius in preferring the later date is as follows. In his *Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe* (Kiel 1869) he fixes the year of the death of Pius, and therefore of the accession of Anicetus, in the Roman episcopate, as A.D. 154 at the earliest, and A.D. 156 at the latest (see p. 263). But it is recorded on the best authority (Iren. iii. 3. 4) that Polycarp paid a visit to Rome when Anicetus was bishop. If the martyrdom took place in February 155, this would still be possible; but (if Lipsius' papal chronology be accepted) it demands the earliest possible date for Anicetus and even then it allows very little time. The gain of a year therefore is important.

Hilgenfeld is influenced by a different motive to adopt the same date, A.D. 156. He regards the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* as a Quartodeciman document; and as part of this theory he supposes the 'great sabbath' (§§ 8, 21) to be the 15th Nisan (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 330 sq.). Before Waddington's investigations appeared, while still adhering to Masson's date A.D. 166, he had maintained this view (*Paschastreit* 241 sq., 1860; *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* IV. p. 288 sq., 1861). But, by making certain assumptions with respect to the calendar used by the writers of the Smyrnæan Letter, he finds himself still able to make the 2nd of Xanthicus, the day of Polycarp's martyrdom, correspond with the 15th Nisan, the supposed day of the Crucifixion, even after adopting Waddington's general results. This correspondence of the days however will only suit A.D. 156, and not A.D. 155.

It has been shown that the language of Aristides is unfavourable to the substitution of this later date (A.D. 156). And, when we turn from the orations of Aristides to the notices of Polycarp, the evidence is still more strong against this substitution. The martyrdom is stated to have taken place on the 2nd of Xanthicus and on a 'great sabbath.' Now the 2nd of Xanthicus (February 23) fell on a Saturday in 155, but not in 156. Hilgenfeld, as I have already mentioned, disposes of this difficulty in his own way.

Lipsius cuts the knot without attempting to untie it. He condemns the mention of the 'great sabbath' outright as a spurious and legendary addition. It is difficult to see on what grounds he can do this, while accepting the proconsulship of Quadratus as a historical fact. The latter is mentioned in the chronological postscript to the Martyrdom

[1] See the criticisms of Lipsius *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1878, p. 763 sq.

alone. The notice of the great sabbath has a far higher title to respect; for it occurs not only in this postscript (§ 21), but in the body of the document itself (§ 8). It is indeed the best authenticated of any of the chronological data relating to the martyrdom.

I mentioned incidentally at an earlier point (p. 641) one possibility which has escaped Waddington. It is necessary to revert to this now. It was pointed out that the marriage of M. Aurelius and Faustina in all probability took place a year earlier than Waddington places it. This allows the alternative of A.D. 144, 145, or A.D. 145, 146, for the consulship of Julianus, whereas Waddington contemplates only the latter. But, if the former were adopted, then the proconsulship of Quadratus would be removed a year back correspondingly, and the martyrdom would fall in A.D. 154. The reason for rejecting this solution is the fact already mentioned, that the 2nd of Xanthicus did not fall on a Saturday in that year.

We have seen that the great majority of subsequent critics have accepted Waddington's revision of the Aristidean chronology with or without modifications which have no great importance. Amidst this general chorus of approbation however, two dissentient voices have been raised loudly. It has been strenously attacked from directly opposite quarters, by the ultra-conservative critic Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen* etc. p. 34 sq., 1878), and by the ultra-radical critic Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 34 sq., 1878).

Wieseler has subjected Waddington's results to a thorough examination; but his failure only serves to establish Waddington's main position more firmly. He himself accepts A.D. 166 as the date of the martyrdom, believing that he can claim the authority of Eusebius for this year, while in the Aristidean chronology he is found for the most part agreeing with Masson. His processes have been criticized by Lipsius in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1878, p. 751 sq.; and Wieseler has made a reply to Lipsius in *Studien u. Kritiken* 1880, p. 141 sq. The thorough sifting which the question has thus undergone is a guarantee of the results.

Wieseler is obliged to confess that Waddington rightly dates the proconsulship of a Julianus in A.D. 145, 146; but he supposes that there was a second Julianus proconsul some years later (p. 65). He cannot deny that there was one Heliodorus prefect of Egypt about A.D. 140, but he supposes that Aristides refers to another bearing the same name and office some years later (p. 66). He is willing to allow that Statius Quadratus was proconsul, as Waddington insists, some

years before A.D. 166, but he supposes that another Quadratus held the proconsulate in that year (p. 69)[1]. He is prepared to admit that the Severus, of whom we read elsewhere, was proconsul about the time which Waddington assigns to him; but he postulates another Severus likewise proconsul some years later (p. 72). Of this second Julianus, this second Quadratus, this second Severus—all proconsuls of Asia like their namesakes—or of this second Heliodorus—prefect of Egypt like the first—there is no record in history or in the monuments hitherto discovered. A theory which requires all these duplicates stands self-condemned.

Moreover the old historical difficulties which beset Masson's chronology remain unsolved. Thus the date of the plague still stands in the way. Aristides says that the plague came at the close of his malady; but the chronology of Masson and of Wieseler places it many years before the close (see above, p. 648). Wieseler, so far as I have observed, does not address himself to this subject at all[2]. Yet it is a fatal flaw in his reckoning. Again the difficulty in reference to the letter 'from the emperor himself and his son' (*τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδός*) is shifted but not removed by Wieseler's modification of Masson's views. Whereas Masson (p. cxix), and after him Clinton, place the proconsulate of Severus, during which the letter arrives, A.D. 168, 169, and refer the expression to M. Aurelius and Commodus, though L. Verus was still living, Wieseler places it A.D. 167, 168, and refers it to M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He has thus obviated the objections founded on the omission of Verus' name and on the tender years of Commodus. But he has introduced new difficulties as great or even greater. Why should Aristides say 'the emperor himself and his son,' when M. Aurelius and L. Verus were joint-emperors? Why 'his son' and not 'his brother', when they were known as the 'fratres Augusti'? It is quite incredible that an independent author like Aristides, writing long after the events, and referring to a time when they had been associated in the empire for several years, should have used this lan-

[1] Somewhat perversely he urges that, because some MSS and authorities read *Στράτιος* and *Τάτιος* for *Στάτιος*, the word ought to be left out altogether, as in the Moscow MS, holding that the Quadratus of Polycarp's martyrdom was not a Statius (p. 69). Keim also (p. 148) argues in the same way. Yet it ought to be evident that all these corrupt readings are so many witnesses not to the absence but to the presence of the name 'Statius' in the original text.

[2] In a later investigation however (p. 103), relating to a wholly different matter, he refers to the passage of Aristides (*Op.* I. p. 504), as evidence that a six months' plague desolated Asia Minor about A.D. 170, 171. Thus he is ready to produce a duplicate plague, just as he produced duplicate proconsuls and a duplicate prefect.

guage, which is without a parallel either in extant literature or in the inscriptions. In the correspondence of the two with their friend and tutor Fronto this brotherly relation is recognized some thirty times. Fronto, writing to the one of the other, speaks of 'frater tuus,' and they in like manner designate each other 'frater meus' (Fronto *Epist.* pp. 85, 87, 94, 95, 101, 104, 111, 116, 117, 118, 121, 123, 133, 137, 138, 202, ed. Naber). Moreover Fronto several times mentions Antoninus Pius as 'pater vester' and Hadrian as 'avos vester.' In like manner Julian (*Caesares* 312) speaks of τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρίδος, Βήρου καὶ Λουκίου. So too the Augustan historians habitually designate them 'brothers' (Spartian. *Hadr.* 24, *Æl. Ver.* 5, 7, Capitolin. *Pius* 4, *Marcus* 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 20, *Verus* 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, Lamprid. *Commodus* 1). So likewise Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 16). So also Galen (*Op.* XIV. p. 650). The same is also the language of the inscriptions, where they are designated 'fratres imperatores' (*C. I. L.* III. 781) and 'divi fratres' (*C. I. L.* V. 6971). And again they are coupled together as 'the affectionate brothers' φιλάδελφοι (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* III. 532, 533). In the same way in the statute book their legislation is commonly quoted under the name of the 'divi fratres.' But we have even more direct testimony than this. Aristides himself elsewhere distinctly calls them brothers (*Op.* I. p. 394 θαυμαστοῦ μὲν τοῦ μηδὲν δεομένου βασιλεύειν εἰ μὴ δοκοίη τῷ ἀδελφῷ, θαυμαστοῦ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δεχομένου βασιλεύειν εἰ μὴ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ)[1]. Moreover Wieseler himself is obliged to commit the

[1] Against all this mass of evidence Wieseler can only refer to Capitolin. *Marcus* 5 'Antoninum Pium Hadrianus ea lege in adoptionem legit, ut sibi Marcum Pius adoptaret; ita tamen ut et Marcus sibi Lucium Commodum adoptaret', but this same writer says two chapters later § 7 'Post excessum Divi Pii, a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere, *fratrem* sibi participem in imperio designavit...Caesaremque atque Augustum dixit ... Antonini mox ipse nomen recepit, et *quasi pater* Lucii Commodi esset, et Verum eum appellavit addito Antonini nomine filiamque suam Lucillam *fratri* despondit.' Again Spartian. *Æl. Ver.* 5 'Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco vel certe cum Marco, et cum eodem aequale gessit imperium'. It must be remembered that there is such a thing as 'adoptatio in fratrem', as well as 'adoptatio in filium'. Again in Vulcat. Gallic. *Avid. Cass.* 1 Lucius writes to Marcus 'sub avo meo patre tuo innotuit'. Wieseler supposes the historian to be referring to Antoninus Pius. Yet Marcus in reply says 'Scis enim ipse quid *avos tuus Hadrianus* dixerit', and Lipsius is probably correct in supposing that Hadrian is intended by Lucius also. The utmost that can be made of such passages is that Lucius privately regarded himself as standing in a quasi filial relation to Marcus. But the language of contemporary and succeeding generations alike is unanimous in designating them 'brothers.' See on this subject Lipsius *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1878, p. 756 sq. Lucius was forty years old at the time when Aristides is supposed so to designate him, being only seven or eight years younger than Marcus.

same critical offence which he charges against his opponent, and to postulate an imperial visit to the East of which history records nothing. The αὐτοκράτωρ of Aristides *Op.* I. pp. 451, 453, who is represented as being in Syria at the time, could be none other according to his view than M. Aurelius himself. He is forced therefore to send M. Aurelius to the East about A.D. 166 to conclude the negotiations with Vologesus (p. 70 sq.), though the silence of history in this case would indeed be strange, where it has preserved at least an outline of the Parthian war under M. Aurelius and of the expeditions of this emperor.

Wieseler's own reconstructions deserve a passing notice. He supposes the ἑταῖρος mentioned by Aristides (*Op.* I. p. 523) as the successor of Severus in the proconsulate to be his friend and fellow-citizen Rufinus, whose name occurs elsewhere in this discourse (pp. 510, 514, 532 sq.). But Rufinus is not mentioned in any close connexion with the passage relating to the successor of Severus, whereas the account of his intercourse with Quadratus has immediately preceded it. Moreover at least two other persons are called specially his ἑταῖροι in this very speech—Pyrallianus (p. 519) and Pardalus (p. 527); while of several persons collectively he says (p. 509) that 'from that day forward they all became his ἑταῖροι.' There is therefore no reason why Rufinus should be singled out here. There was however a person of the name M. Junius Rufinus Sabinianus proconsul of Asia in A.D. 170 (see Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 233), and Wieseler identifies him with Aristides' friend. Moreover the senior colleague of this Rufinus in the consulship (A.D. 155) was C. Julius Severus. Wieseler supposes (pp. 72, 98) this to be the Severus of Aristides, who might well by virtue of his seniority have obtained the proconsulate of Asia the year before. This combination is specious in itself and might have deserved consideration, if it had not formed part of a general chronological scheme which is burdened with difficulties. In favour of Waddington's identification of the proconsul Severus as against Wieseler's, it should be urged that the description of the former exactly accords with the account of Aristides (I. p. 505), who describes him as 'one of the notables of Upper Phrygia' (*μάλα τῶν γνωρίμων Σεβῆρος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν Φρυγίας*). He is designated (*C. I. G.* 4033) 'a descendant of kings and tetrarchs' (*βασιλέων καὶ τετραρχῶν*).

Wieseler's was at least a serious attempt to deal with the chronological data of the period. Keim's attack cannot claim this praise. He steers clear of the chronology of Aristides altogether. Accepting A.D. 166 as the date of the martyrdom on the authority, as he supposes, of Eusebius (p. 101), he suggests (p. 147 sq.) that the author

of the chronological appendix to the martyrdom may have confused L. Statius Quadratus the consul of A.D. 142 with T. Numidius [M. Ummidius] Quadratus the consul of A.D. 167, and because the latter was consul in Rome the year after the martyrdom may have represented the former as proconsul of Asia the year of the martyrdom. The rest of his criticism is such as this beginning would lead us to expect. It is a shadowy attempt to show that the surrounding circumstances point to the later rather than the earlier date for Polycarp's death[1]. Thus for instance, because Irenæus (iii. 4. 3) says of Marcion 'invaluit sub Aniceto', he argues that in the first year of Anicetus Marcion cannot have been sufficiently important to be denounced by Polycarp as 'the first-born of Satan.' He considers it highly improbable that the prelude to the Quartodeciman controversy, as implied in the interview between Polycarp and Anicetus, can have taken place as early as A.D. 154 or 155 (though he is quite satisfied to accept A.D. 157 or 158), because the Quartodeciman controversy itself did not break out in Laodicea till A.D. 167 (p. 154 sq.). He assumes that Polycarp went to Rome for the express purpose of settling the Paschal dispute, though Irenæus does not say so (see above, p. 539). As the usages of Rome and Smyrna had been divergent for a whole generation or more (see above, p. 433 sq.), the divergence could hardly fail to come under discussion, when Polycarp and Anicetus met face to face, especially if Eastertide were the time of their meeting. He assumes that Quintus the Phrygian (*Mart. Polyc.* 4) was a Montanist; and having made this assumption he argues in favour of the later year for the martyrdom, because at the earlier date Montanism had not yet come to the fore (p. 155 sq.). He even uses the astonishing argument (p. 156 sq.) that, judging from the sequence of names—Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, Papirius—in Polycrates (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24; see above, p. 540), this writer intended only to enumerate persons between A.D. 160—180, and that therefore we are not permitted

[1] Keim (p. 149) considers that the outward circumstances of the Roman empire better explain the persecution in A.D. 166 than at the earlier date, and quotes Tertull. *Apol.* 40 'Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si coelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim *Christianos ad leonem* adclamatur.' But anyone who will refer to the passage of Spartianus quoted above (p. 445) must demur to this statement. In that passage four at least of the six calamities enumerated by Tertullian are mentioned as having occurred in the reign of Antoninus Pius, besides many others. The 'lues' indeed might be explained by the pestilence which raged in Asia Minor under M. Aurelius from A.D. 162—166; but in this case why should four years have been suffered to elapse before victims were demanded to appease the angry gods?

to place the martyrdom of Polycarp as far back as A.D. 150—160. As Polycrates mentions S. John immediately before he mentions Polycarp, it might be argued with equal reason that the death of the latter cannot have happened many years after the death of the Apostle. All this is mere beating of the air. Waddington's arguments may fall short of absolute demonstration; and there remains the bare possibility that the discovery of some unknown document may falsify his conclusions. But assuredly they have not been shaken by the arguments hitherto brought against them.

2. *THE DAY OF THE MARTYRDOM.*

The day of the martyrdom is very precisely given in the chronological postscript to the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* (see II. p. 983; comp. above, I. p. 611 sq.), as follows;

'The blessed Polycarp is martyred on the second of the beginning of the month Xanthicus, the seventh before the Kalends of March, on a great sabbath, at the eighth hour' (*μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος* Πολύκαρπος *μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν* Μαρτίων, *σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρᾳ ὀγδόῃ*). The MSS bp indeed have Μαΐων, but b indicates elsewhere that the day intended is vii Kal. Mart. (see II. p. 940). In v the passage is wanting, but the date is introduced into the text of the epistle at an earlier point (§ 16) *τῇ εἰκάδι τρίτῃ τοῦ φευρουαρίου μηνός* (see II. p. 976). The recently discovered Moscow MS m, which is elsewhere our best authority (see II. p. 939), preserves the correct reading Μαρτίων. This reading had been conjecturally restored by Valesius (on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15), by Noris (*de Anno et Epochis Syromaced.* p. 29, Lips. 1696), by Ideler (*Handb. d. Chron.* I. p. 419), by Waddington (*Vie du Rhét. Arist.* p. 236), and by several others, before there was known to be direct authority for it in our text. This restoration was made chiefly on the ground that the universal tradition of the Greek Church places the festival of Polycarp's martyrdom on Feb. 23. The discovery of m has placed, or ought to have placed, this reading beyond the reach of doubt. The corruption Μαΐων however was earlier than the Latin translation, which for *μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ...σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ* substitutes, 'mense Aprilio, vii Kal. Maii, majore sabbato.' On the other hand the *Chronicon Paschale* p. 480 (see above, p. 553) gives the date of the martyrdom 'the 7th before the Kalends of April, on the great sabbath' (*τῇ πρὸ ζ' καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων, τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ*), omitting all mention of the month Xanthicus. The reasons for this substitution of April for March will be considered hereafter.

Building upon these data, different modern writers have supported four several days for the martyrdom of Polycarp, February 23, April 6, March 23, and March 26, while in the Latin Calendar the festival has for centuries past been kept on Jan. 26.

(i) *February* 23.

This day, the traditional festival of Polycarp, is adopted by the vast majority of critics and historians.

In the Medicean Library in the MS Plut. xxviii. Cod. xxvi (see Bandini *Catal. Cod. Graec. Bibl. Laur.* II. p. 46 sq.) after the Commentary of Theon on the Tables of Ptolemæus, amidst other astronomical and chronological matter, is a *Hemerology of the Months of Different Cities* (Ἡμερολόγιον μηνῶν διαφόρων πόλεων), which contains thirteen other calendars compared with the Roman. It was first discovered by Masson about A.D. 1715, but not then published by him. Among these thirteen calendars is one called 'of the Asiatics' (Ἀσιανῶν) and another 'of the Ephesians.' Subsequently a Leyden MS (*Graec.* n. 78) was discovered with substantially the same contents, but instead of the Cretan, Cyprian, and Ephesian calendars, it substitutes those of Gaza, Ascalon, and the Pierian Seleucia. All the seventeen are included in an article of Sainte Croix in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* XLVII. p. 66 sq. (1809). Their contents will be found in Ideler (I. p. 410 sq.).

The 'Asiatic' and 'Ephesian' calendars agree in the limits and lengths of the months, with one slight exception[1], and differ only in the names. They are not however correctly described by Ideler or by writers generally before or after him. Their true character was first pointed out by Usener (*Bullet. dell' Instit. di Corrisp. Archeol.* 1874, p. 73 sq.). They are a strict reproduction of the Julian calendar, even to the retention of a month of 28 days (Dystrus) corresponding to February, but with these exceptions. (1) The Epheso-Asiatic months commence eight days before the corresponding Julian months. Thus Dius, corresponding to October, commences Sept. 23; Xanthicus, corresponding to March, commences February 21; and so with the others. (2) The year commences, not in midwinter, but about the time of the autumnal equinox. (3) The months bear different names. In the 'Ephesian' calendar the Macedonian names are retained throughout;

[1] There is a divergence of one day in the commencement of the last month in the 'Asiatic' calendar. This would seem to be an error on the part of the transcriber (see Usener, p. 75 sq.), as the Ephesian calendar otherwise corresponds exactly with the Julian in the number of days in each successive month. I have not recorded this divergence in the table given in the text.

whereas the 'Asiatic' nomenclature seems to be founded on an old Ionian calendar (e.g. Apaturius, Poseidaon, Lenæus, etc.), but several of the months have been renamed after persons or events (e.g. Tiberius, Stratonicus, etc.).

The following table exhibits the Ephesian and Asiatic calendars.

Ephesian	Asiatic	Beginning	Days
Dius	Cæsarius	Sept. 23	31
Apellæus	Tiberius	Oct. 24	30
Audynæus	Apaturius	Nov. 23	31
Peritius	Poseidaon	Dec. 24	31
Dystrus	Lenæus	Jan. 24	28
Xanthicus	Hierosebastus	Feb. 21	31
Artemisius	Artemisius	March 24	30
Dæsius	Euangelius	April 23	31
Panemus	Stratonicus	May 24	30
Lous	Hecatombæus	June 23	31
Gorpiæus	Anteus	July 24	31
Hyperberetæus	Laodicius	Aug. 24	30

These two calendars have two peculiarities which distinguish them from the rest. *First;* it seems to have been a superstition in these parts, that the last day of the month should be τριακάς, 'the thirtieth.' In order to effect this, those months which consisted of thirty-one days were considered to have two first days, and accordingly in these months alone the days are numbered Α Α Β Γ Δ, etc. *Secondly;* the last decade of the month is reckoned backwards (as in the Athenian lunar months) thus, ΙΕΞ (i.e. δεκάτη ἐξιόντος), ΘΚ (i.e. the 9th day in the twenties), ΗΚ, ΖΚ, ϛΚ, ΕΚ, ΔΚ, ΓΚ, ΠΡΟ[ΤΕ] (i.e. προτέρα, the day before the 30th)[1], Λ. But here again some religious scruple required that the twenty-first day should always be 'the 10th of the waning month', or 'the later 10th,' as Aristides calls it[2]. Hence in the month Dystrus, which has only 28 days, some numbers are skipped, and the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, etc. are designated ΙΕΞ, ΖΚ, ϛΚ, etc., so that the month again ends as before ΠΡΟ, Λ.

[1] It is apparently not ΠΡΟΤϹ (i.e. προτριακάς), as Ideler supposes (I. p. 415). Though C is written in some places, it is a corruption for Ε, if Usener be correct. He compares Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 25 μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου τῇ προτέρᾳ.

[2] *Op.* I. p. 448 δεκάτῃ ὑστέρᾳ. The *Etymol. Magn.* defines the expression thus; ὑστέρα δεκάτη ἡ ἐξ εἰκάδος ἡμέρα καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἣν ἡμεῖς πρώτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καλοῦμεν. Comp. *Corp. Inscr. Att.* II. 270, 297, etc.

The following table therefore exhibits this portion of the Ephesian calendar compared with the Roman.

ix Kl. Feb.	ΔΥCΤΡΟC A	xv Kl. Mar.	ΔΥCΤΡΟC ϛK	vii Id. Mar.	ΞΑΝΘΙΚΟC Iϛ
viii Kal.	B	xiv Kal.	EK	vi Id.	IZ
vii Kal.	Γ	xiii Kal.	ΔK	v Id.	IH
vi Kal.	Δ	xii Kal.	ΓK	iv Id.	IΘ
v Kal.	E	xi Kal.	ΠΡΟ	iii Id.	K
iv Kal.	ϛ	x Kal.	A	Prid. Id.	IEΞ
iii Kal.	Z	ix Kal.	ΞΑΝΘΙΚΟC A	Idus	ΘK
Prid. Kal.	H	viii Kal.	A	xvii Kl. Ap.	HK
Kalendae	Θ	vii Kal.	B	xvi Kal.	ZK
iv Non.	I	vi Kal.	Γ	xv Kal.	ϛK
iii Non.	IA	v Kal.	Δ	xiv Kal.	EK
Prid. Non.	IB	iv Kal.	E	xiii Kal.	ΔK
Nonae	IΓ	iii Kal.	ϛ	xii Kal.	ΓK
viii Id.	IΔ	Prid. Kal.	Z	xi Kal.	ΠΡΟΤΕ
vii Id.	IE	Kalendae	H	x Kal.	A
vi Id.	Iϛ	vi Non.	Θ	ix Kal.	ΑΡΤΕΜΙCΙΟC A
v Id.	IZ	v Non.	I	viii Kal.	B
iv Id.	IH	iv Non.	IA	vii Kal.	Γ
iii Id.	IΘ	iii Non.	IB	vi Kal.	Δ
Prid. Id.	K	Prid. Non.	IΓ	v Kal.	E
Idus	IEΞ	Nonae	IΔ	iv Kal.	ϛ
xvi Kl. Mar.	ZK	viii Id.	IE	iii Kal.	Z

Thus it will be seen that the 2nd Xanthicus corresponded with vii Kal. Mart. or Feb. 23, not (as commonly represented) because Xanthicus began on Feb. 22, but because it began on Feb. 21 and being a month of thirty-one days had two firsts, so that its real third was nominally its second. This trick of repeating the same day in order to preserve the same total has an analogy in the treatment of February in leap year in the Julian calendar. It was a point of religion with the Romans not to exceed the twenty-eight days in February, and therefore one particular day, vi Kal. Mart. (= Feb. 24), was repeated (bissextum). I shall have to return to the phenomena of these Ephesian and Asiatic calendars again at a later point.

It is doubtless this same Epheso-Asiatic calendar, which is contemplated in the inscription at Stratonicea in Caria (Lebas and Waddington no. 514; comp. *C. I. G.* 2722), giving a *memoria technica* for the numbers of days in the successive months in exact accordance with these; and it is worthy of notice, though this may possibly be an accident, that one of the months in the 'Asiatic' calendar bears the name Stratonicus. We meet also with the same adaptation of the Julian calendar in Bithynia (Ideler I. p. 421), in Crete (*ib.* p. 426), and in Cyprus (*ib.* p. 427).

This calendar also agrees with the statement of Galen, himself a

Pergamene, who spent some time at Smyrna and was about 25 years old at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom. As I shall have occasion to revert to this statement more than once, I shall save time by giving it fully now.

Galen (*Comm. in Hippocr. Epidem.* i, *Op.* XVII. p. 19 sq., ed. Kühn) is explaining why Hippocrates dates by the equinoxes, the motions of the stars, etc., rather than by the months. The motions of the celestial bodies, he says, are the same for all men, whereas each nation has its own months. Thus, if Hippocrates had mentioned Dius, it would have been intelligible to the Macedonians, but not to the Athenians. The reader however has only to remember that the year is cut up into four parts by the equinoxes and the solstices, and to know that the autumnal equinox coincides with the beginning of Dius, the winter solstice with the beginning of Peritius[1], the vernal equinox with the beginning of Artemisius, the summer solstice with the beginning of Lous. He will then understand the computations of Hippocrates. 'But,' he continues, 'it is plainly necessary that the months should be reckoned not according to the moon, as in most of the Greek cities at the present time, but according to the sun, as in all the Asiatic cities and in many of the nations, and so the year is reckoned by the Romans, the whole of it being divided into twelve months[2]'; after which he gives the number of days in each month according to the Roman calendar. Then, after speaking of the lunar calendar in Palestine and of the intercalary months, he continues; 'Wherefore, as I said, with these persons, since they so reckon the months, it is impossible to define the days on which the equinoxes and solstices and the risings of the conspicuous stars occur; but in the computation of those who observe the sun such definition is possible, as well by the Romans and Macedonians, as by my own countrymen the Asiatics, and by many other nations (*κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἥλιον ἄγοντας*

[1] For *πέρατος*, which stands in the present text, we should doubtless read *Περιτίου* with Ussher and others.

[2] *χρὴ δὲ δηλονότι τοὺς μῆνας οὐ πρὸς σελήνην ἀριθμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις νῦν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἐν ἁπάσαις τε τῶν† ἀρχαίων† καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀριθμεῖται καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁ σύμπας ἐνιαυτὸς εἰς ιβ' διαιρούμενος· ἑνὸς μὲν αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.* Here for *τῶν ἀρχαίων* Ussher substitutes *τῶν Ἀσιανῶν*. This emendation, which is doubtless correct, has been very generally adopted. Wieseler however would supply a word, *τῶν ἀρχαίων* [*Αἰγυπτίων*], *Christenverfolgungen* p. 84; but elsewhere (pp. 52, 92) he tacitly adopts *Ἀσιανῶν*. From *καθάπερ* onward there is apparently some confusion in the sentence, and I have been obliged to translate according to what seems the obvious sense, without following the precise construction of the Greek. I shall have to return to this subject again (p. 673).

ὁρίσαι δύνατον, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μακεδόνων Ἀσιανῶν τε τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν)'.

It will be observed that Galen leaves no room for exceptions, when he classes 'all the Asiatic cities' among those who use the solar calendar. We have no right indeed to assume that they all called the months by the same name, nor even that their months commenced with the same day (unless this should appear on other grounds). But it seems tolerably evident that they had altogether discarded the lunar calendar. The term 'Asiatics' however must at all events comprise Proconsular Asia, whether we allow it a wider range or not. Ephesus and Smyrna therefore would be included, not less than his native Pergamon.

This interpretation agrees with the records on the monuments. The following are the only inscriptions of Proconsular Asia and the neighbouring provinces, so far as I have observed, which give side by side the Roman and the native dating.

(i) The first is at Nysa[1] in the valley of the Mæander (Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2943). The day of the month is given *μηνὸς Γορπιαίου ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ, πρὸ μιᾶς* [ϵ]*ἰδῶν Αὐ*[γ]*ούστω*[ν]. It will be observed that in the Ephesian calendar, as given above (p. 662), Gorpiæus 19 would correspond exactly with Prid. Id. Aug. [= August 12]. The year is fixed by the names of the consuls, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and L. Piso, to A. U. C. 753 or B. C. 1[2].

(ii) The second is an Ephesian inscription published in Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. vi. p. 36, dated in the consulship of Sextus Attius Suburanus and M. Asinius Marcellus, i. e. A. D. 104 (see below, II. p. 493). The month and day are given *πρὸ ἡ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων... μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος β' σεβαστῇ*[3]. As we have seen already, it was a principle of these calendars of Proconsular Asia, that each month

[1] This inscription certainly belongs to Nysa, though Waddington and Perrot have referred it to Mastaura; see Ramsay in *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. p. 270 (1883).

[2] Wieseler (p. 85 sq.) has entirely misunderstood Boeckh's remark when he supposes that there is any ground for suspecting the Macedonian date *μηνὸς Γορπιαίου* as a later addition. Boeckh says of a Macedonian date *μηνὸς Δαισίου ιζ'*, which occurs at a later point in the same inscription and stands at the head of the letter of the proconsul Gn. Lentulus Augur, that it was no part of the proconsul's letter, but was prefixed by the Nysæans. He does not suggest that it was a later insertion in the inscription itself, as Wieseler seems to think, but implies just the contrary. Of the date with which we are concerned, *μηνὸς Γορπιαίου κ.τ.λ.*, he says nothing, and obviously regards it as coeval with the inscription containing it.

[3] For the meaning of *Σεβαστή* see below, p. 694.

should begin on ix Kal. Thus viii Kal. would correspond to the 2nd day of the month, as here represented[1]. Moreover it will appear presently from a comparison of calendars, that Anthesterion was the same month as Xanthicus. So far therefore there is perfect harmony. But the reckoning here does not follow the system of the Ephesian and Asiatic calendars in the *Hemerologium*, by which two first days are assigned to all months containing 31 days (see p. 662), since in this case viii Kal. Mart. would not be the 2nd, but the (nominal) 1st of Anthesterion.

(iii) The third of these inscriptions is at Smyrna itself. It is given by Lebas and Waddington III. no. 25, p. 15. It contains the name Aurelia Felicissima, and is ascribed by Waddington to the age of the Antonines. The dating is given *ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐ[κ]σφράγισμα ἀπετέθη ἐς τὸ ἀρχ[ε]ῖον πρὸ πέντε καλανδῶν Εἰουνίων μη(νὸς) Ἑκατωνβεῶνος τετάρτῃ.* It will be observed that, if we suppose an error either of the stone-cutter or of the transcriber and read Εἰουλίων for Εἰουνίων (a very easy mistake on the part of either)[2], then v Kal. Jul. (June 27) corresponds exactly with Hecatombæus 4 in the Asiatic calendar given above (p. 662).

(iv) A fourth example falls somewhat outside our limits both in time and country; but I give it, as a valuable confirmation of the correctness of the calendar in the Florentine *Hemerology*. In the *Bullet. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. p. 260 (1883) an inscription of Attalia in Pamphylia is given by Prof. Ramsay with a Roman and native reckoning; *ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ α' εἰδῶν Μ[α]ίων ἕως τῆς πρὸ ι' καλ. Ἰουνίων, κατὰ Παμφυλ. μη(νὶ) η', κβ' ἕως λα', τῶν ι' ἡμερῶν.* He describes it as 'certainly not earlier than the third century, to judge from the forms of the letters'. These ten days in the Roman reckoning, prid. Id. Mai—x Kal. Jun. (i.e. May 14—23), correspond exactly to the 8th month Dæsius 22—31, as the 9th month Panemus begins on May 24.

But the names of the months in the second and third examples demand notice. The table on the opposite page will best explain what I conceive to have been the relations of the several calendars with their respective nomenclatures, and will serve as a basis of discussion.

(1) The first column gives the Macedonian names, which are also

[1] The year in question, A.D. 104, is a leap year; but the nomenclature of the days in the Roman calendar was unaffected thereby, the device of the *Bissextum* being invented to preserve the uniformity.

[2] See for a parallel instance of this error Ideler I. p. 428. Wieseler (p. 81 sq.), not seeing this, adduces this inscription as a proof that 'the calendar of the Hemerologium was not yet in use in Smyrna.'

	Macedonian	Asiatic	Athenian	Cyzicene	Ephesian	Smyrnæan	Delian
1	Dius	Cæsarius	Boedromion	[Boedromion]	Neocæsareon		Buphonion
2	Apellæus	Tiberius	Pyanepsion	Cyanepsion			Apaturion
3	Audynæus	Apaturius	Mæmacterion	Apaturion	Mæmacterion		Aresion
4	Peritius	Poseidaon	Poseideon	Poseideon	Poseideon	Poseideon	Posideon
5	Dystrus	Lenæus	Gamelion	Lenæon	Lenæon	Lenæon	Lenæon
6	Xanthicus	Hierosebastus	Anthesterion	Anthesterion	Anthesterion	Anthesterion	Hieros
7	Artemisius	Artemisius	Elaphebolion	Artemision	Artemision		Galaxion
8	Dæsius	Euangelius	Munychion	Taureon			Artemision
9	Panemus	Stratonicus	Thargelion	Thargelion	Thargelion		Targelion
10	Lous	Hecatombæus	Scirophorion	Calamæon		Hecatombæon	Panemus
11	Gorpiæus	Anteus	Hecatombæon	Panemus		[Sebastus]	Hecatombæon
12	Hyperberetæus	Laodicius	Metageitnion	[Cronion]	Metageitonion		Metageitnion

retained in the so-called 'Ephesian' calendar of the Florentine *Hemerology* (see above, p. 662). (2) The next system of months is the 'Asiatic', as it appears in this same document (see above, p. 662). (3) The third gives the familiar Athenian months. (4) The next, the Cyzicene calendar, is introduced for the sake of comparison; inasmuch as Cyzicus was another Ionian city belonging to the *Commune Asiae*, and its list of months is almost complete. The materials for this list will be found in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3657, 3661—3664, and J. H. Mordtmann *Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Instit. in Athen* VI. p. 40 sq. (1881). My order differs from those of previous writers, e.g. Boeckh (III. p. 920) and Ahrens (*Rhein. Mus.* N. F. XVII. p. 329 sq., 1862). The new materials given by Mordtmann have antiquated these earlier lists. He himself declines to pronounce upon the order of the months (p. 50) with our present materials. But inasmuch as Poseideon was followed by Lenæon (*C. I. G.* 3664), Lenæon by Anthesterion (*ib.*), Artemision by Taureon (Mordtmann p. 45), and Calamæon by Panemus (*C. I. G.* 3663, Mordtmann p. 44), we have only to retain Artemision and Thargelion in their proper places, and our calendar is very nearly completed. As Ahrens (pp. 336 sq., 345 sq., 365) has shown, Panemus (Πάνημος) is not a late importation into the Ionian calendar from the Macedonian, but a transmission from a remote past. We need therefore have no scruple in assigning to it a place different from that which it has in the Macedonian list. Its position, as I have given it, seems to be determined by the fact that in the closely allied Samian calendar (see Ahrens *l.c.* p. 329 sq.) Panemus is succeeded immediately by Cronion (Πανήμου καὶ Κρονιῶνος), and Cronion is followed by an intercalation (ἐμβολίμου). Two months however, the first and last, in this Cyzicene calendar remain still unnamed. The first was probably Βοηδρομιών originally, and may perhaps have been changed afterwards, as at Ephesus, into Νεοκαισαρεών; the last may have been Metageitnion or Metageitonion, as at Ephesus and Priene (see *Journ. of Hellen. Studies* IV. p. 239), or Cronion, as at Samos. The month Taureon appears likewise at Priene (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.* IV. p. 238, V. p. 61) and at Samos (Ahrens p. 329)[1]. Again Calamæon has been found hitherto only at Cyzicus and Olbia, and seems therefore to have been derived from Miletus, of which they were

[1] As we seem forced by the evidence to put it in the place of Munychion, the name would appear to be connected with Artemis Tauropolos or Tauro (see Preller *Griech. Mythol.* I. p. 241, who however wrongly identifies Taureon with Elaphebolion), since this goddess had a festival in Munychion. Otherwise we should naturally with Ahrens (p. 332) connect it with the Ταύρεια, a well-known festival in honour of Poseidon, of which we hear at Ephesus and elsewhere.

both colonies (Ahrens p. 335). It is wrongly given by Boeckh (II. p. 598 sq.) as an Ephesian month[1]. (5) The list of Ephesian months is taken from the forthcoming volume *Greek Inscr. of Brit. Mus.* III. p. 78. By the kindness of the editor Mr Hicks, I am permitted to anticipate its publication. He has gathered the names together from the inscriptions. The first month Νεοκαισαρεών is his restoration from a comparison of two fragmentary passages [M]HNOΣ NEOK[AIΣAPE-ΩNOΣ] and [NEO]KAIΣAPEΩ[N]. As this name is found likewise at Teira near Tralles (*Bull. de Corresp. Archéol.* III. p. 57, 1878; Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη κ.τ.λ. II. i. p. 116 sq., Smyrna 1876), there can hardly be any doubt about the restoration here. We may conjecture that, like the corresponding Cæsarius in the 'Asiatic' calendar, it was substituted for Βοηδρομιών when the solar calendar was introduced into Ephesus under Augustus. (6) The data for the Smyrnæan months are very scanty. Aristides, a Pergamene who spent a large portion of his time at Smyrna, speaks of two successive winter months as Poseideon and Lenæon. Lenæon is mentioned likewise in a Smyrnæan inscription (*C. I. G.* 3137). Philostratus also mentions the month Anthesterion in reference to Smyrna (*Vit. Soph.* i. 25). The inscription giving Hecatombæon has been referred to already (p. 666). Yet another inscription, as read by Boeckh (*C. I. G.* 3203), mentions a month Σεβαστός. If the lacuna is properly supplied, the month intended would probably be August, as apparently at Perinthus (Ahrens *l.c.* p. 345), though it might possibly be the same as Hierosebastus, that is, Xanthicus or Anthesterion. But, looking at the context, we may well question whether Σεβαστός here is the name of a month at all. Probably the Smyrnæan months would correspond generally with the Ephesian, though here and there there might be a different name. Thus the third month would probably retain the old Ionian name Apaturion, since we are told that the Ephesians and Colophonians 'alone of the Ionians do not observe the Apaturia' (Herod. i. 147). (7) The Delian list has the advantage of being complete (*Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* v. p. 25 sq.). Though not very closely allied, it affords an instructive comparison.

I suppose then that, when the solar calendar was introduced, the Macedonian names of the months were adopted generally in Proconsular Asia, as well as in other districts of Asia Minor. As Ephesus was

[1] The inscription *C.I.G.* 2953 b, which Boeckh assigns to Ephesus, is now generally allowed to be Delian (see Homolle *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* II. p. 333 sq., V. p. 26, Clodius *Fasti Ionici* p. 22), and the mutilated name of the month is correctly restored not ΚΑΛΑΜΑΙΩΝ but ΓΑΛΑΞ-ΙΩΝ.

the capital of Proconsular Asia, and the authoritative documents were issued thence, the general nomenclature adopted for the province got the name of 'Ephesian' which it has in the Florentine Hemerology. At the same time the great cities, such as Ephesus and Smyrna, retained, at all events for municipal and religious purposes, the old Ionian names of the months, introducing here and there a change in compliment to the reigning powers, such as Neocæsareon for Boedromion, the opening month in the year. The nomenclature, which the Florentine Hemerology terms 'Asiatic', can never have prevailed in the province generally. It must have been confined to some particular city or neighbourhood of 'Asia', and is perhaps only one type of several nomenclatures, more or less various, which might be found within the limits of the proconsular province.

(ii) *April* 6.

Wieseler (*Christenverfolgungen* p. 47 sq.) arbitrarily rejects from the chronological notice the words μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου πρὸ ἑπτὰ Καλανδῶν Μαρτίων (or Ἀπριλίων). He argues that the name Ξανθικὸς betokens a lunar month, and that a lunar reckoning is still further implied in the word ἱσταμένου. He insists moreover that the solar calendar had not yet been introduced at Smyrna at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom. But in a lunar calendar the 2nd of Xanthicus would not correspond either to vii Kal. Mart. or to vii Kal. April., and this part of the notice is therefore discredited. Though he regards it as a matter of indifference to him how Feb. 23 came to be observed as the festival of Polycarp, yet he tries to explain the fact. He infers from the *Paschal Chronicle* that for some reason or other it was at one time kept on vii Kal. April., and he believes that the calendar of Asia Minor was at a particular epoch pushed a month farther back so that vii Kal. Mart. took the place of vii Kal. April.

I shall have to consider presently the arguments by which Wieseler endeavours to prove that a lunar calendar prevailed at Smyrna in the middle of the second century. As regards the rest of his speculations, it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that, even if we discard the evidence drawn from the Acts of Pionius, which is surely very important, the Syriac Martyrology (see above, p. 544), which places Polycarp's martyrdom on February 23, carries us back two or three centuries earlier than the Paschal Chronicle, and must therefore be regarded as far more trustworthy.

Having thus rejected both the Asiatic and the Roman dates for the month and day, he falls back on the notice of the 'great sabbath', as

the sole authentic chronological note of the day. But this he considers all-sufficient. He holds that the 'great sabbath' must refer to a Christian, not a Jewish observance. He maintains with Ideler (II. p. 201) and others that the Quartodeciman Paschal commemoration included three days (Nisan 15, 16, 17)—the Passion and the Resurrection with the intervening day when the Lord rested in the grave—corresponding to the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, of the Western usage, though independent of the days of the week. And accordingly he urges that whenever the 15th Nisan fell on a Friday, the Saturday was called a 'great sabbath' by the Quartodecimans.

Having previously satisfied himself that Polycarp was martyred A.D. 166, he ascertains from a calculation made for him by Prof. Minnigerode on the basis of Largeteau's tables that the 15th Nisan this year would be Friday April 5th, so that the day of Polycarp's martyrdom would be Saturday April 6th, and in this particular year the Quartodecimans of Asia Minor would be keeping their Paschal celebration on the same three days as the Westerns, who did not observe the Quartodeciman usage (pp. 75, 76).

Moreover he believes himself to have shown that the greater Dionysia were celebrated at Smyrna at this time of the year, the concluding day, the Pandeia, falling on the 16th day of the moon, and therefore of Nisan: so that we have here the explanation of the heathen festival which occupies a prominent place in the account of the martyrdom.

It will have appeared that in Wieseler's computation the day of the month depends on the year of the martyrdom, and reasons have already been given for rejecting A.D. 166. I need not stop to enquire whether he is right in supposing that the Quartodecimans extended their Paschal celebration over three days. But, granting that this was the case, it is quite incredible that the intermediate day between the commemorations of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection should be called *μέγα σάββατον* by the Quartodecimans in any year when it chanced to fall on a Saturday, which would be the case at irregular intervals; while it would have no special designation in the intervening years. The later Jewish usage and the later Christian usage of the term afford no analogy for such a theory.

Wieseler's hypothesis indeed seems to have nothing to recommend it. It starts from an arbitrary rejection of evidence, and it lands us in conclusions which are full of difficulty. Yet Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum* p. 163) expresses himself in favour of this same solution.

(iii) *March* 23.

This date for the martyrdom has been recently proposed by Dr Salmon in the *Academy*, July 21, 1883, p. 46 sq. Of all the theories which depart from the traditional day, this is the most attractive and deserves the greatest respect. It is as follows.

Pionius, the martyr in the Decian persecution (A.D. 250), revived the commemoration of Polycarp's passion. He discovered a much worn manuscript of the *Letter of the Smyrnæans;* and he added a postscript describing how he had found it. This is the note which we find appended in our manuscripts (II. p. 985). At the same time he inserted the Roman date vii Kal. Mart., corresponding to the Macedonian Xanthicus 2nd (*μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου*) which he found in the MS. In doing this however, he inadvertently changed the day. The Smyrnæan calendar in the time of Polycarp was lunar; but before the age of Pionius the solar calendar had been substituted. Pionius, not being aware of the change, interpreted Xanthicus 2nd according to the solar calendar as Feb. 23. But in the lunar calendar Xanthicus corresponds to the Jewish month Nisan[1], so that the true day of the martyrdom was the 2nd Nisan. Now the 2nd Nisan during the years A.D. 154—161 only fell on a Saturday on two occasions; in A.D. 155 when it was Saturday March 23, and in A. D. 159 when it was Saturday April 8. We have thus a confirmation of Waddington's date for the martyrdom, A. D. 155. Moreover this solution offers an adequate account of the 'great sabbath', 2nd Nisan being the first sabbath in the year[2].

It has been made evident above (p. 622 sq.), if I mistake not, that we can no longer identify the Pionius of the postscript to the Smyrnæan Letter with the Pionius the martyr in the Decian persecution. In the writer of the postscript we have detected the same hand which penned the fictitious biography of Polycarp. Salmon's theory therefore loses the support of this identification, and its attractiveness is somewhat impaired in consequence. Still it would be quite possible to maintain that the Roman date was inserted in the middle of the third century by the genuine Pionius, who certainly took a great interest in Polycarp's commemoration: or, if not by him, at least by some one else at a comparatively early date, as for instance by the spurious Pionius the author of the Life.

[1] Josephus uses Xanthicus as an exact equivalent to Nisan (*Ant.* i. 3. 3, iii. 10. 5, *B. J.* v. 3. 1), it being his common practice to give the Macedonian names to the corresponding Jewish lunar months; see Ideler I. p. 400 sq. On this point see below, p. 685.

[2] See also Wieseler p. 91, note 35.

But it is essential to the validity of this theory to prove that the original date (Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου) is according to the lunar reckoning, either because it bears evidence of this on its face, or because the lunar calendar can be shown to have still prevailed at the time, or for both reasons. We have already seen that Wieseler maintained this position, though he did not make any adequate use of it. Salmon follows in the same line, and even employs the same arguments (though apparently without any knowledge that Wieseler had anticipated him); but he has turned the result to a much better account, if only the arguments could be accepted.

The reasons urged in favour of a lunar calendar at Smyrna at this time are as follows.

(1) It is maintained that the statement of Galen quoted above (p. 664), if correctly interpreted, implies this. He places among those who still use the lunar calendar in his time 'most of the Greek cities'. Smyrna is claimed as belonging to this category.

Doubtless Smyrna, as a Greek colony and the reputed birth-place of Homer, might be called in some sense a Greek city[1]; and so in fact the Smyrnæans are sometimes designated (e.g. Pausan. ix. 11. 7 ἥ δὴ καὶ Σμυρναίους μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρωμένους οἶδα: comp. Aristid. *Op.* i. pp. 372, 425, 427, 435 sq.). This is the case likewise with Ephesus (Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. ii. 7, p. 10, τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας), and with many other important cities in these parts. Indeed Proconsular Asia would on this showing be entirely eviscerated, and Galen's assertion respecting the 'Asiatics' would become meaningless. On the other hand Ephesus was commonly recognized as the metropolis of Asia. Smyrna likewise was regarded as the eye, the jewel, the crown, of Asia. Thus the Asia of Galen will be the Asia of S. John (Rev. i. 4) and S. Peter (1 Pet. i. 1) and S. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 19, etc.), and the Asiani of Galen the Asiani of S. Luke (Acts xx. 4). In other words the term is political and topographical, but not ethnological[2].

[1] Even the Macedonians are so called (Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2954 παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς); but Galen in the passage before us distinguishes them from the Greeks.

[2] The text of Galen (see above, p. 664) is here accepted as it stands; but I confess to having a suspicion that 'the majority of the Greek cities' ought to be transferred to the other side of the list, so that the words would run, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις νῦν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων καὶ ἐν ἁπάσαις τε τῶν Ἀσιανῶν κ.τ.λ. For (1) The construction is halting without such a transference; (2) The νῦν is not naturally translated as if νῦν ἔτι, as the present text requires us to translate it, but rather contrasts the present with the past; (3) The false readings πέρατος and ἀρχαίων show that Galen's text has been corrupted hereabouts.

(2) But again the particular expressions used are thought to betoken a lunar calendar.

Thus it is supposed that only in a lunar calendar would the word ἑσταμένου be in place, as it implies that the numbering of the days was not continuous and progressive, but that in the last decade of the month they were reckoned backwards, δεκάτη, ἐνάτη, etc., φθίνοντος (or ἐξιόντος), as in the Attic lunar calendar. The same argument is applied likewise to the contemporary writer Aristides (*Op.* I. 448 sq.), who not only reckons the days in the last decade of the month backwards, δεκάτη, ἐνάτη, ὀγδόη, etc., but even speaks (p. 452) of τρίτη φθίνοντος. It is assumed that in this passage he also must be following a lunar computation.

This argument however is disproved by facts. Doubtless the reckoning of the last decade backwards was originally connected with the phases of the moon, as μηνὸς φθίνοντος suggests. But the word μὴν itself had no other connexion, and yet it was adopted as the designation of a solar month. The same is the case with νεομηνία or νουμηνία, which signified the 'new moon,' but was transferred to the first day of the solar month; e.g. Plut. *Galb.* 22 ἐπῆλθεν ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι, *Romul.* 1, 2 νῦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αἱ Ῥωμαϊκαὶ νουμηνίαι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμολογούμενον ἔχουσιν, where the Roman νουμηνίαι are solar and the Greek are lunar. So again Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 18), speaking of the time of the celebration of Easter by certain Montanists, gives as one of their reasons τὴν σελήνην διὰ ὀκταετηρίδος τῷ ἡλίῳ συνιέναι καὶ ἀμφοῖν κατὰ ταὐτὸν νουμηνίαν συμβαίνειν, so that the sun as well as the moon has a νουμηνία. This transference of νουμηνία is indeed so obvious as to be beyond question. Nor does the backward reckoning of the last decade present any greater difficulty. When the Romans substituted a solar for a lunar year, they still continued their backward reckoning. Why should not the Macedonians and the Greeks of Asia Minor have done the same? But indeed we are not left to bare hypothesis. We have seen above (p. 663) that of the solar calendars included in the Florentine and Leyden *Hemerologia* two only (besides the Roman) retain the backward reckoning in the last decade, and these two belong to Proconsular Asia. See also for other authorities Ideler *Handb. d. Chron.* I. p. 281 sq. So also Oribasius, the friend of Julian, writes (*Coll. Med.* ix. 8) μηνὸς Λῴου φθίνοντος πέμπτῃ δ' ἀνατέλλοντος ἡλίου ὁ Κύων ἐπιτέλλειν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Περγάμῳ πεπίστευται (II. p. 298, ed. Bussemaker & Daremberg, Paris 1851), where the context shows that a solar calendar is meant.

(3) Again it is argued by Wieseler and Salmon that, if the name

Xanthicus were the designation of both a solar and a lunar month, the confusion would be intolerable. Undoubtedly there would be confusion, if the two were so called in the same locality and at the same epoch. Yet this is exactly what happened with the Egyptian months, where two calendars were used side by side (Ideler I. p. 140 sq.). But why need we suppose that in Proconsular Asia they were used simultaneously? The Romans, when the Julian calendar was introduced, transferred the old names of the lunar months, Januarius, Februarius, etc., to the new solar calendar. Why then should not the Macedonians and the Greeks of Asia Minor have done the same? As a matter of fact, we do find the same names retained continuously in divers cities of Proconsular Asia long after the solar calendar had superseded the lunar. Thus for instance at Julia Gordus we have the following series of inscriptions[1];

ἔτους ρ΄ καὶ ϵ΄.	μη. Δύσ[τρου]	= A.D. 21
ἔτους ρμβ΄	μη. Πανήμου γ΄	= A.D. 58
ἔτους σ΄	μη. Ξανδικοῦ ιβ΄	= A.D. 116
ἔτους σζ΄	μη. Ξανδικοῦ βι΄	= A.D. 123
ἔτους σλϛ΄	μη. Ξανδικοῦ ζ΄	= A.D. 152
ἔτους σλη΄	μη. Αὐδνέου τετράδι	= A.D. 155
ἔτους τ΄	μη. Δύστρου ιδ΄	= A.D. 216
ἔτους τγ΄	μη. Αὐδνέου	= A.D. 219
ἔτους τδ΄	μη. Δύστρου αι΄	= A.D. 220
ἔτους τνθ΄	μ. Πα[νή]μου [ια΄]	= A.D. 275.

Again in inscriptions found in and near Mæonia and Coloe, two neighbouring Lydian cities in the valley of the Hermus, not far from Philadelphia, we meet with these dates[2];

ἔτους ρκ΄	μη. Ὑπερβερεταίου θι΄	= A.D. 36
ἔτους σ΄	μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ιβ΄	= A.D. 116
ἔτους σζ΄	μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ	= A.D. 123
ἔτους σι΄	μη. Ἀπελλαίου ιβ΄	= A.D. 126
ἔτους σιζ΄	μ. Δίου γ΄	= A.D. 133
ἔτους σνϛ΄	μ. Δύστρου	= A.D. 172

[1] These inscriptions will be found partly in Lebas and Waddington *Asie Mineure* Inscr. III. nos. 679—683, partly in a paper by P. Paris in *Bullet. de Correspond. Hellén.* VIII. p. 382—389.

[2] I have treated these Mæonian dates as following the Sullan era (August, B.C. 85), as Waddington does, and have deducted 84 years, disregarding the difference in the commencement of the year. So also Franz (*C. I. G.* III. p. 1104). On the other hand Boeckh (II. p. 808), following Leake, supposes them to refer to the era of Actium (I know not for what reason). This would push them some 54 years later.

ἔτους σνζ′	μ. Δύστρου	= A.D. 173
ἔτους σηv′	μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ	= A.D. 174
ἔτους σξα′	μ. Ἀρτεμισίου	= A.D. 177
ἔτους σπ′	μη. Ἀρτεμεισί[ου]	= A.D. 196
ἔτους σϛβ′	μη. Αὐ[δ]ναίου ι′	= A.D. 208
ἔτους σϛε′	μη. Ἀπελλαίου	= A.D. 211
ἔτους σϛθ′	μη. Δείου βι′	= A.D. 215
ἔτους τα′	μη. Ἀπελλαίου	= A.D. 217
ἔτους τθ′	μη. Ὑπερβερ[εταίου]	= A.D. 225
ἔτους τκθ′	μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ	= A.D. 245
ἔτους τκθ′	μη. Ξανδικο[ῦ]	= A.D. 245[1].

Again at Philadelphia we find

ἔτους ριε′	[μηνὸς] Γορπιαίου ιγ′	= A.D. 31
ἔτους ροη′	μη. Ὑπερβερεταίου ϛ′	= A.D. 94
ἔτους ρπ′	μη. Δείου	= A.D. 96
ἔτους σξγ′	μη. Λώου	= A.D. 179[2].

Similar modes of dating are found from the Christian era onward in many other towns of Proconsular Asia, e.g.

Silandus	ἔτους ρμη′ μη. Γορπιαίου	= A.D. 64
Æzani	ἔτους βξρ′ μηνὸς Δύστρου γι′	= A.D. 78
Silandus	ἔτους σρπ′ μηνὸς Δείου ε′	= A.D. 102
Apamea	ἔτους τκβ′ μηνὸς Δήου	= A.D. 238[3].

And the number of examples might be very largely increased.

We have thus ample evidence that the same mode of designating the months (after the Macedonian names) prevailed in various cities of Proconsular Asia from the Christian era till towards the close of the third century. But on any showing the solar calendar must have been introduced long before the end of this period. Either therefore it was already introduced at the beginning of this period of three centuries (as the inscription at Nysa indicates, p. 665), or if introduced during the period, it caused no change in the names of the months. The month with which we are specially concerned, Ξανθικός, Ξανδικός, or Ζανδικός, appears throughout[4].

[1] These inscriptions will be found partly in Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3438, 3443, 3445 (with Add.), 3447, 3448, partly in Lebas and Waddington *Asie Mineure* Inscr. III. 667—671, 700—703, and partly in *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* V. p. 325, VIII. p. 378.

[2] From *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. p. 502 sq., and Lebas and Waddington III. 661.

[3] See Lebas and Waddington III. 709, 710, 904, *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VIII. p. 311.

[4] It is the opinion of Prof. Ramsay

(4) But it is part of the same theory that, when the solar months displaced the lunar, they did not take new names, but were simply numbered 'first month,' 'second month,' and so forth. This mode of designation therefore is taken to indicate a solar calendar. Thus, when Aristides (*Op.* I. p. 469) writes 'It was the fourteenth day of the second month according to our usage here (*ἦν τετρὰς ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ δευτέρου μηνός, ὡς νομίζομεν οἱ ταύτῃ*)', he is assumed to be referring to a solar calendar prevailing at Pergamon; whereas elsewhere (p. 446; see above, p. 644), when he mentions the names of the months, he is supposed to have in view a lunar calendar still retained in Smyrna. So again in the Acts of Pionius, the narrator, speaking of the commemoration of Polycarp, describes it as 'secundo die sexti mensis' (*Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 188, Ruinart). But this hypothesis again is not borne out by the evidence. The probable view is that the numbering of the months was adopted, not to distinguish the solar from the lunar calendar (it would be a very poor expedient for this purpose), but to secure intelligibility, where the names and order of the months differed even in neighbouring towns, and intercommunication was thus perplexing. This at all events is the opinion of Ussher (p. 359) and of Ideler (I. p. 423) and many others; and it alone seems to be consonant with the facts[1]. See, for instance, *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* v. p. 431 sq., where months are numbered and named in the same inscription. At some places the numbering superseded the nomenclature earlier and more completely than elsewhere, as for instance at Eumenia and Sebaste, neighbouring cities of Phrygia[2];

ἔτους σνη΄	*μ. πρώτου δ΄*	= A.D. 174
ἔτους σπθ΄	*μηνὸς [ε]΄*	= A.D. 205
ἔτους σπθ΄,	*μη. ια΄ κ΄*	= A.D. 205
ἔτους τια΄	*μη. πέμπτου λ΄.*	= A.D. 227
ἔτους τκ΄	*μη. θ΄*	= A.D. 236
ἔτους τκθ΄	*μηνὸς θ΄*	= A.D. 245
ἔτους τμ΄	*μηνὸς θ΄ κ΄.*	= A.D. 256[3].

that wherever *Ζανδικός* is written, there was a thin stroke across the Z, unobserved by the transcriber, thus making it *Ξανδικός*.

[1] In *C. I. G.* 2693 e however, where Boeckh has *πέμπτῳ*, referring obviously to a lunar month, the correct reading is *Περιτίῳ*: see *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. p. 117.

[2] The dates are here treated as belonging to the Sullan era; see Franz *C. I. G.* III. p. 1103. Boeckh (III. p. 22) supposes that another epoch is intended.

In the third and last inscriptions Paris prints *ιακ* and *θκ* continuously, and is at a loss to explain the superfluous *κ*. The analogy of the 1st and 3rd inscriptions (given in Boeckh) suggests that this letter denotes the day of the month, and so I have treated it.

[3] See Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3872, 3892, 3896, *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. pp.

The facts then seem to justify the following conclusions.

The distinction between the numbering and the naming of the months, as referring to the solar and lunar calendars respectively, is not borne out by the documents. The former practice is certainly adopted occasionally in lunar calendars, as the latter is used very frequently in solar calendars. Moreover the two modes of designation occur even in the same document. There is therefore no ground for the supposition (improbable in itself) that Aristides computes according to different calendars in different passages. If the same month was differently named, or if the same name denoted different months, in different cities contiguous or otherwise related to each other[1], there was a special convenience in identifying the month by the number[2]. Probably there was a tendency, as time advanced, to substitute the numbering for the naming, as being more convenient. But in some localities, as we have seen, the numbering is found at a very early date.

Thus the case for the survival of the lunar calendar in the middle of the second century breaks down. The direct evidence indeed is not very complete, but so far as it goes it is all on one side. No example has yet been produced of the use of a lunar calendar in Proconsular Asia at this time or for several generations before[3].

Moreover probability would suggest the same conclusion. The cities of Proconsular Asia were bound together by very close religious as well as political ties. In the former respect, not less than in the latter, Rome supplied the principle of cohesion. The Roman state-worship was the most potent religious element which they had in common[4]. The

450, 451, 457, VIII. p. 253 (papers contributed by P. Paris); see Ramsay's corrections in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* IV. p. 411.

[1] The month Xanthicus is a good example. In the following calendars it begins on the following days: Ephesian, Feb. 22 (or rather Feb. 21, see above p. 663); Arabian, March 22; Gazan, March 27; Antiochene, April 1; Tyrian, April 18; Ascalonite, April 26; Cappadocian, May 11; Lycian and Sidonian, June 1; Seleucian, Dec. 1. See Ideler I. pp. 419, 430, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438, 442.

[2] We find one instance (*C. I. G.* 1845) at Corcyra, where the month is both numbered and named ἐμ μηνὶ δυωδεκάτῳ καὶ Εὐκλείῳ, two other months, Μαχανεύς and Ἀρταμίτιος, being named in the same inscription. It is assigned by Boeckh to the 2nd or 3rd century B.C.

[3] In Athens however a lunar reckoning long survived. Again in *Greek Inscr. in the Brit. Mus.* II. p. 116 sq. a portion of a Rhodian lunar calendar is preserved belonging to an epoch certainly not earlier than the Flavian dynasty, as the names show. At Tyra in Mœsia Inferior in one inscription dated A.D. 201 (*C. I. L.* III. 781) xiii Kal. Mart. coincides with Lenæon 8, and in another dated A.D. 182 (*Revue Archéologique* 1883, II. p. 84) v Kal. Mai. coincides with Artemision 30. It may be doubtful whether this calendar was lunar or solar.

[4] See above, I. pp. 444, 451 sq., and below, II. p. 987 sq.

Commune Asiae, which maintained this worship, celebrated its festivals in the several cities according to some cycle. The inconvenience of various and fluctuating lunar calendars with their uncertain intercalations would be felt increasingly. It would be a matter of growing importance that a definite day in the calendar of one Asiatic city should correspond to a definite day in the calendar of another Asiatic city as well as in the calendar of Rome. This would lead to the adoption of a solar calendar on the Julian principle, though not necessarily assigning the same names to the months, or even beginning either the year or the several months at the same time. In short, the establishment of the Asiatic Confederation, linking the cities one with another and with Rome, would lead to a speedy reform of the calendar. This suggestion of probability accords with the testimony of facts. The Nysæan inscription (see above p. 665) is about contemporary with the Christian era, and nearly half a century later than the introduction (B.C. 46) of the Julian calendar at Rome. The *Commune Asiae* at this time must have been firmly established and in active working.

But indeed we are not left altogether to conjecture as to the epoch of the introduction of the solar calendar in Asia Minor. Noris (*de Anno Maced.* i. 2, p. 17), drawing his inference from probabilities, speaks of this change as the work of 'the Asiatic proconsuls.' We seem now to have evidence which assigns it definitely to one particular proconsul.

It has been shown above (p. 661 sq.), that in the two solar calendars belonging to Proconsular Asia, the 'Asiatic' and the 'Ephesian,' the year begins on ix Kal. Oct. [September 23], and the first day of each succeeding month throughout the year corresponds to ix Kal. of the Roman calendar. Now the natural beginning of the year would have been not Sept. 23, but Sept. 24, on which latter day the Julian reckoning placed the autumnal equinox; and the only assignable reason for antedating the commencement of the year by a single day is the fact that this was the birthday of Augustus. But in the 'Asiatic' calendar the first month is named Cæsarius, and the second Tiberius. As the birthday of Tiberius fell during the second month (xvi Kal. Dec. = Nov. 16), so the birthday of Augustus opened the first month. From Augustus therefore it takes its name Cæsarius[1]. Usener, to whom we owe the true interpretation of these facts relating to these calendars of Asia Minor (see above, p. 661), refers to Mommsen on *C. I. L.* i. pp. 363, 387, for this use of Cæsar simply when Augustus is intended. I might add that the year of Cæsar in Egyptian inscriptions (*C. I. G.* 4715, 5866 c

[1] See also the remarks on the Ephesian month Νεοκαισαρεών above, p. 669.

Add., *Ephem. Epigr.* IV. p. 27, V. p. 2) refers not to Julius but to Augustus. But indeed we need not go so far for examples. Proconsular Asia itself furnishes an illustration in a bilingual inscription (*C. I. L.* III. 424) where a person erects a bridge a few miles out of Ephesus, DEANAE . EPHESIAE . ET . IMP . CAESARI . ET . TI . CAESARI . AVG . F. (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ . ΕΦΕCΙΑΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ . ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ . CΕΒΑCΤΩΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΙΒΕΡΙΩΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ . CΕΒ . ΥΙΩΙ), the reigning emperor Augustus being designated Cæsar alone in the Latin. The spirit which dictated this inscription would welcome the nomenclature which provided that the first two months of the year should be called Cæsarius and Tiberius, the great goddess Artemis being already honoured with a month of her own. Moreover, as we have seen, the arrangement of these calendars of Proconsular Asia is such as to secure not only an annual, but a monthly commemoration of Augustus' birthday. This, as Usener has pointed out, is no novelty. These monthly commemorations of royal birthdays appear in the dynasty of Attalus (*Hermes* VII. p. 113 sq.) and under the Ptolemies (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 4697, l. 48, *κατὰ μῆνα*, the Rosetta stone). It is worth observing also that among the months of Aphrodisias, a city of Proconsular Asia in the valley of the Mæander, we find a Cæsar (**Καῖσαρ** *C. I. G.* 2842), as well as a Julieus (**Ἰουλιῆος** *C. I. G.* 2817 [?], 2827, 2836), a Tiberius (**Τιβ**[*έριος*] *C. I. G.* 2817), and a Trajanus Augustus (**Τραϊανος Σεβαστός**[1] *C. I. G.* 2834), other months named being Gorpiæus and Xandicus. Indeed the nomenclature of the months at Aphrodisias approaches more closely than any other to that of the 'Asiatic' calendar. Altogether we may say that the structure of the 'Ephesian' and 'Asiatic' calendars points distinctly to the age of Augustus, and is hardly conceivable at a later date; though perhaps the names of individual months might have been altered afterwards, just as at Aphrodisias the month Trajanus would be so called subsequently.

But who was the author of this very ingenious modification of the Julian calendar devised to do honour to Augustus? Usener has given a highly probable answer to this question.

Paullus Fabius Maximus was consul A.U.C. 743. In due course he held the Asiatic proconsulate. Now there are two Greek inscriptions, one at Eumenia, the other at Apamea Cibotus, relating to action taken with respect to the birthday of Augustus, in which he was the prime mover. The first (*C. I. G.* 3902 b) is mutilated at the beginning. It commences with a mention of the birthday of Augustus [*πρὸ ἐννέα*

[1] Should we read **Σεβαστῇ** for **Σεβαστοῦ**? see below, p. 694.

καλανδῶν] τῶν Ὀκτωβρίων γενεθλίου ἡμέρας Καίσαρο[ς]. It records a vote of thanks to Paullus Fabius Maximus the proconsul; it declares that 'Asia crowns him' for devising 'the honours to be paid to Cæsar' (τὰς εἰς Καίσαρα τείμας); and it directs that both 'the table of Maximus (τὸ δελτογράφημα τὸ Μαξίμου) and the decree of Asia be inscribed on marble stelæ in the leading cities of the dioceses.' The Apamæan inscription likewise (*C. I. G.* 3957) is fragmentary. It does not in the extant part mention the proconsul; but it gives, very much mutilated, the decree of the Asiatic Greeks (Ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλλησιν) conferring special honours on the birthday of the godlike Cæsar (τοῦ θειοτάτου Καίσαρος); it states that Providence in giving Augustus conferred the greatest benefit on mankind; it declares that his birthday is the most auspicious time for commencing any public or private enterprise (οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν ἀπὸ ἡμέρας εἴς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ε[ἰ]ς τὸ ἴδιον ἕκαστος ὄφελος εὐτυχεστέρας λάβοι ἀφορμὰς ἢ τῆς πᾶσιν γενομένης εὐτυχοῦς); it says that it coincides generally with the time when the magistrates in the different cities of Asia enter upon their office; and it connects this imperial birthday in some way or other with the first day of the month ([μί]αν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν νέαν νουμ[ηνίαν.....τὴν τοῦ Καί]σαρος γενέθλιον, ἐκείνη τε πάντ[ων.....] ἥτις ἐστὶν πρὸ ἐννέα καλανδῶν [Ὀκτωβρίων.....πρό]τερον τειμηθῇ κ.τ.λ.). Its coincidence with the commencement of the magisterial offices is easily explicable, since the year in these parts began about the autumnal equinox. The connexion of the imperial birthday with the first day of the month is not made clear owing to the mutilation of the context; but light is thrown upon it by the structure of the calendars of Proconsular Asia. The lacunæ are filled in here, as I find them in Boeckh; but it is a question whether Ὀκτωβρίων is right in this place, since the reference seems to be to the monthly recurrence of ix Kal. What else then can the δελτογράφημα of the proconsul Maximus have been, but the table giving his newly constructed solar calendar, of which the central idea was the commemoration of Augustus' birthday? If so, we have evidence that its publication was followed up by a decree of Asia adopting the calendar and conferring honours on its author. As the Bithynian, Cretan, and Cyprian calendars are framed on the same principle, these provinces must have followed the example of Proconsular Asia.

But is it possible to fix the precise year when the proconsul Maximus introduced this change of calendar? Usener answers in the affirmative. In A.U.C. 746 (= B.C. 8) a decree of the Senate changed the name of the month Sextilis into Augustus (Censorin. *de Die Natal.* xxii. 16). The general desire had been to confer this name on September, during

which month his birthday fell; but they acceded to his own wishes that it should be given to Sextilis which had witnessed his greatest achievements and honours (Dion Cass. lv. 6, Sueton. *Octav.* 31, Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 12. 35). Usener supposes that the action of Maximus, who was an intimate friend of Augustus, followed immediately on this decree of the Senate and therefore places his proconsulship in A.U.C. 746, 747. This indeed is possible; for the prescribed interval of five years (see above, p. 639) was not rigidly enforced at this time, as we find from the case of Gallus who was consul A.U.C. 746 and proconsul A.U.C. 748, 749 (see Waddington *Fastes* p. 94 sq.). But the inference is too hasty. Waddington (*ib.* p. 98) has given reasons why it could not well be later than A.U.C. 749, 750, and no greater precision is attainable. The Nysæan inscription (see above, p. 665) shows that the new calendar was in full use four years later (A.U.C. 753).

This view seems to me to be strongly confirmed by another consideration which appears to have been overlooked. It has been mentioned already (p. 663) that the Cyprian calendar is constructed on the same principle, beginning on the same day Sept. 23. The names of the months in this calendar (see Ideler I. p. 427) are curious; (1) Ἀφροδίσιος, (2) Ἀπογονικός, (3) Αἰνικός, (4) Ἰούλιος, (5) Καισάριος, (6) Σεβαστός, (7) Αὐτοκρατορικός, (8) Δημαρχεξούσιος, (9) Πληθύπατος, (10) Ἀρχιερεύς, (11) Ἑστιεύς, (12) Ῥωμαῖος. Obviously this nomenclature points to the reign of Augustus, under whom Cyprus became a Roman province, and whose names, offices, and descent it commemorates; nor can we easily imagine its being invented at a later date, since it entirely ignores any subsequent emperor. But indeed we have direct evidence of its early use. In an inscription in Lebas and Waddington III. 2773, dated A.D. 29, the birthday of Tiberius (xvi Kal. Dec.) is given as the 24th Apogonicus, thus showing that this calendar was already in use. Now it is worthy of notice that this same Paullus Fabius Maximus, to whom we have ascribed the Asiatic and Ephesian calendars, was also connected with Cyprus[1]. The inscription *C. I. G.* 2629, belonging to Paphos, is in honour of his wife Marcia, who is described as first cousin of Augustus (ἀνεψιᾷ Καίσαρος Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ). For this connexion with the emperor by marriage, and for his intimate relations with him, see Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 98 sq.

(iv) *March* 26.

This is the date given in the *Paschal Chronicle* (see above, pp. 553, 660), which has πρὸ ζ' καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων (for Μαρτίων). It is

[1] Boeckh would make him proconsul, but to this Waddington demurs.

adopted on different grounds by Bucher, Ussher, Pearson, and Hilgenfeld.

Bucher (*Tract. de Pasch. Judaeor. Cycl.* c. 8, p. 417 sq.; see above, p. 634) accepts this day (March 26) on the authority of the *Paschal Chronicle* as his starting point. In the 7th year of M. Aurelius however A.D. 167, the year supposed to be given by Eusebius, March 26 did not fall on a Saturday, whereas in A.D. 169 this condition is fulfilled. He therefore substitutes A.D. 169 for A.D. 167. He further calculates that in A.D. 169, March 26 coincided with Nisan 15, the First Day of Unleavened Bread; and in this he finds the explanation of the σάββατον μέγα.

In like manner Ussher (*De Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari* c. 3, *Works* VII. p. 368 sq.) adopts A.D. 169 as the year of the martyrdom and accepts the day as given in the *Paschal Chronicle*. But at this point he diverges from Bucher. Declining to discuss Bucher's Jewish calendar, he finds (see above, p. 634) that according to Quartodeciman usage March 26 would in A.D. 169 be the Saturday preceding the Paschal celebration. But the Saturday preceding the Passover was called 'the great sabbath' by the Jews; and the same name for the day would be retained by those Christians who followed the Quartodeciman usage. He further infers from the Acts of Pionius, that the annual festival of Polycarp was a moveable festival, being always kept on the Saturday before the Paschal celebration.

Again Pearson (*De Ann. Prim. Rom. Episc.* c. 18, *Minor Works* II. p. 542 sq.) adopts this same day. Having determined on grounds which have been mentioned already (p. 636 sq.) that the year of the martyrdom was A.D. 147, he finds that in this year March 26 was a Saturday; and he calculates that it was the Saturday preceding the 14th Nisan, or the Paschal celebration. Hence it is called σάββατον μέγα.

The opinions of these older critics suggest two remarks.

First; the stress which they laid on the testimony of the *Paschal Chronicle* might have seemed justifiable when they wrote, but with the fuller evidence which we possess the case is altogether different. This evidence is threefold. (1) It can no longer be contended that the reading Μαρτίων in the Smyrnæan Letter is an arbitrary emendation[1]. This reading appears in the best MS, and it moreover explains all the others.

[1] Thus Pearson (*Minor Works*, II. pp. 545, 546) speaks of the reading Μαρτίων adopted by Valesius as 'nova sua lectio hactenus inaudita,' and adds 'lectio Valesii ex errore manifesto orta est.' In like manner Ussher (p. 368 sq.) assumes the correctness of 'Απριλίων as his starting point.

(2) We have overwhelming testimony that in the earliest ages the day of Polycarp in the Greek and Eastern Church was February 23; and none other is mentioned outside the *Paschal Chronicle*. On this point the Acts of Pionius and the Syriac Martyrology are two entirely independent witnesses of the highest value. (3) The reckoning of the Smyrnæan Letter (Xanthicus 2 = February 23) is confirmed by the calendar in the Florentine *Hemerology*, and they are quite independent the one of the other.

Secondly; though seemingly in the schemes of these critics the day of the month confirms the date of the year, and conversely, yet this confirmation is only apparent, not real. The year is indeed ascertained first, and the day of the month is found afterwards to harmonize with it. But on examination we find that, on their own principles, there was no more reason why Ussher should have chosen A.D. 169 or Pearson A.D. 147 than any of the neighbouring years; but obviously in both cases the preference was given to the particular year, because the subsequent investigation respecting the day of the month required it.

Nor do these formidable objections stand alone. To maintain this day, it is necessary to identify Xanthicus 2 with March 26. But no calendar known to have been in use in Proconsular Asia admits this identification. There are indeed good reasons for believing that in Syria Xanthicus was not the 6th, but the 7th month, counting from the autumnal equinox[1]. We have seen already (p. 678) that in different calendars it occupied very various places. In a calendar which has been reconstructed by Ussher, and which he ascribes to the Syromacedonians and Smyrnæans (p. 381), this seventh month Xanthicus begins on March 25. I need not stop to enquire whether he is correct as to the day of its commencement. It is sufficient to say that there is absolutely no evidence for dissociating the Smyrnæans from the surrounding peoples of Asia Minor and associating them with the Syromacedonians. Moreover, it should be observed that the Smyrnæan Letter is addressed to the Philomelians, and that its circulation in other churches is enjoined; so that a Syromacedonian date would be altogether out of place. But Ussher started from the date given in the Paschal Chronicle, vii Kal. April., though at the same time adopting Xanthicus 2, of which the Paschal Chronicle says nothing, and his whole theory is built upon this sandy foundation. Of the Syromacedonian calendar we may observe by the way, that it seems to have passed through three stages, the

[1] For the different modes of explaining how this divergence between the Macedonian calendar of Asia Minor and the Macedonian calendar of Syria was brought about, see Ideler I. p. 432.

Macedonian names of the months being retained throughout, except when they were numbered instead of being named. (1) It was originally a lunar calendar. Hence Josephus after his wont, translating Jewish names into their corresponding Gentile equivalents, speaks of Nisan as Xanthicus, Nisan 14 being Xanthicus 14, and so with the months and days generally. This adaptation however does not warrant the assumption (improbable in itself) that the Syromacedonian lunar months coincided with the Jewish. (2) A solar calendar was substituted, beginning at the autumnal equinox. So far it agreed (though differing somewhat in the lengths of the several months) with the solar calendar of Macedonia and Asia Minor; but the names of the months in the latter were one in advance of those in the former. Thus, while Dius was the first month in the Asiomacedonian year, it was relegated to the second place, and Hyperberetæus stood first, in the Syromacedonian. (3) A Julian calendar was introduced, retaining however the Macedonian names of the months. Hitherto the months in every case had commenced a few days before the Roman. From this time forward they corresponded exactly with the Roman. Thus Hyperberetæus is October, Dius is November, Xanthicus is April, and so forth. This calendar we find in Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others. Thus Eusebius (*Mart. Palaest.* praef.) speaks of Ξανθικὸς μήν, ὃς λέγοιτ' ἂν Ἀπρίλλιος κατὰ Ῥωμαίους; and he more than once (§§ 4, 7) mentions martyrdoms as happening on the 2nd of Xanthicus, but in this region and at this epoch it is not, as in Polycarp's age and country, February 23, but April 2 (πρὸ τεσσάρων Νώνων Ἀπριλλίων).

Of more recent critics Hilgenfeld alone, so far as I have observed, adopts the day given by the *Paschal Chronicle*, vii Kal. April. It is part of his Quartodeciman theory, which assumes that the Quartodecimans regarded the 15th Nisan as the day of the Crucifixion, thus confirming the account (as he holds) of the Synoptic Gospels against the Fourth Evangelist. To this theory I have had occasion to allude already (pp. 609, 654). Regarding the Letter of the Smyrnæans as a Quartodeciman document, he supposes that the idea of conformity to the Lord's Passion, which certainly appears elsewhere in this letter (see above, p. 594 sq.), is especially enforced in the coincidence of the time of the martyrdom, so that Polycarp likewise must have suffered on the 15th Nisan, i.e. on the First Day of Unleavened Bread[1]. Ac-

[1] The coincidence of the day, on Hilgenfeld's showing, is not confined to the Jewish lunar calendar, but extends likewise to the Roman solar calendar. The Crucifixion was believed to have taken place (Tertull. *adv. Jud.* 8) 'consulibus Rubellio Gemino et Fufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschae, die viii Ca-

cordingly he sees a direct reference to this assumed coincidence in the words of Polycarp's prayer (§ 14) εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι κατηξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης (*Paschastreit* p. 246, *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXII. p. 157). For this reason he considers 'the great sabbath' to have no reference to the day of the week but to designate the 15th Nisan, as a great festival of the Jews, and therefore of the Quartodecimans. This explanation of the term, it will be remembered, was first suggested by Bucher (see p. 683). Hilgenfeld himself, though his opinion respecting the year of the martyrdom has undergone a change, has clung persistently throughout to March 26, as the day on which Polycarp suffered.

(1) In his *Paschastreit* p. 234 sq. (1860), and in the *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* IV. pp. 288 sq., 331 (1861), he expounds his earlier view. Here he adopts A.D. 166 with Masson and Clinton, as the date of the martyrdom. For the selection of this particular year there is no adequate ground, as I have already explained (p. 629). But having adopted it, he calculated that the 15th Nisan might fall as early as March 27 in this year, and as the Jews outside Palestine (owing to the uncertainty of the calendar) were directed to keep the first and the last days of the Passover festival twice, he thus arrived at March 26 (*Paschastreit* p. 243, *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* IV. pp. 303, 331). There can be little doubt however, that he was several days out in his computation, if at least we reckon by the full moons, and that Nisan 15 must be placed in April in this year. See the calculations of Kunze in *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* IV. pp. 303, 330; of Gensler *ib.* VII. p. 62 sq.; and of Minnigerode in Wieseler *Christenverfolg.* p. 75 (see above, p. 671); and comp. Lipsius in *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 204 sq. It is unnecessary however to pursue this question further, as Hilgenfeld himself has since changed his mind respecting the year.

(2) At a later date Hilgenfeld adopted Waddington's chronology as against Masson's, but with the modification advocated by Lipsius (see above, p. 652), so that he now places the martyrdom A.D. 156. His exposition of this later view will be found in *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 324 sq., 1874 (comp. XX. p. 143 sq., 1877; XXII. p. 153 sq., 1879). In this year 156 he again finds that the 15th Nisan fell on vii Kal.

lendarum Aprilium, die prima azymorum, quo agnum occiderunt ad vesperam' (see also below, II. p. 1011). If, argues Hilgenfeld, the Antiquartodecimans, who placed the Crucifixion on Nisan 14, dated it viii Kal. April., the Quartodecimans, in whose reckoning it fell on Nisan 15, made it coincide with vii Kal. April., or March 26, the very day of Polycarp's martyrdom; see *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* IV. p. 307, XVII. p. 330.

April., being a Thursday. Here he seems to be less wide of the mark than in the former case. According to the calculations of Lipsius (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 204), if we take the eclipse of the moon on May 6, A.D. 133, as our starting point, we arrive at March 23 for the full moon of Nisan in the year A.D. 156; while, if we calculate by Largeteau's tables we obtain as the result the evening of March 24. This agrees roughly with Salmon's calculation (p. 672) which makes Nisan 1 coincide with March 10, so that Nisan 14 would be March 23. This would give March 24 or 25 for Nisan 15; and since the Jews reckoned commonly, not by the astronomical new moon, but by the first visible appearance, it might very well, he thinks, have coincided with March 26 (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XVII. p. 330 sq.).

Hilgenfeld's theory, besides its inherent difficulties, is built upon a mistaken interpretation of the words τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης in § 14 as its foundation. If they had referred, as he supposes, to the coincidence of the day and hour with the time of the Crucifixion, we might confidently have expected that a fact so remarkable would have been emphasized in the course of the narrative[1]. But, though attention is called to other parallels with the Gospel narrative of the Passion, nothing is said of this. The true and obvious explanation will be found in the notes on the passage (II. p. 971). 'This hour', 'that hour', are expressions in which the narrators delight; and there is no more ground for seeing a reference to the Crucifixion here than in § 2 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, where other martyrs are mentioned, and where any such reference is impossible. These expressions are not indicative of time at all.

The objections then to March 26, as the day of the martyrdom, may be summarized as follows.

(1) It involves the adoption of a calendar which is somewhat uncertain in itself, and of which there is no evidence whatever that it existed at this time and in this locality; (2) It rejects not only the evidence of all the authorities in the postscript of the Smyrnæan Letter itself, which, even when corrupt, point to February 23, but the unanimous usage of the Eastern Church from the earliest times. (3) It necessitates the adoption of a year (whether 169 or 166 or 156 or 147) to which there are various objections on one ground or another. (4) It depends (at

[1] As for instance in the Acts of Martyrdom of SS. Simeon Barsaboe, etc., in Assemani *Act. Mart. Orient.* I. p. 31 'Me indignum ac plane immerentem exaudi, mi Jesu, ut hac die tua atque passionis tuae hora ipsa quoque calicem hunc hauriam. Cupio scilicet ut ventura saecula praedicent me Domini mei die fuisse interfectum, utque a parentibus filii discant Simeonem Domini sui audientem fuisse, et in eundem quo Deus suus modum, die quartodecimo, feria sexta, fuisse immolatum.'

least in the case of Bucher and Hilgenfeld) on an interpretation of the 'great sabbath' which is unsupported by evidence or analogy, and which seems improbable in itself. To counterbalance all these serious objections it offers only the testimony of a single document of late date and (for this purpose) of very inferior authority.

But what account are we to give of the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of this theory, the reading Ἀπριλίων in the *Paschal Chronicle*? For the following reasons it cannot have stood in the original text. (1) It is wholly unconfirmed by any other authority. (2) It offers no explanation of the other variations. While it is easy to explain how the other variations arose out of Μαρτίων, whether by corruption (Μαΐων) or by deliberate alteration (Ἀπριλίων), no satisfactory genesis of the readings can be given, if we start from Ἀπριλίων. (3) On the other hand very obvious reasons will occur, why the compiler of the *Paschal Chronicle*, having the text of the Smyrnæan Letter before him, and finding there either Μαρτίων or Μαΐων, should alter it into Ἀπριλίων. For (α) Neither vii Kal. Mart. nor vii Kal. Mai. would fall within the possible limits of Easter; whereas both the Paschal interests of the chronicler himself and the parallelisms to the Lord's Passion in the document before him would suggest the Easter time as the date of the martyrdom. (β) He would naturally interpret the 'great sabbath' according to the technical sense which it bore in his own day, as the Saturday before Easter Day; and this necessitated an alteration of the month. (γ) In the age and country in which he lived, the only calendar retaining the Macedonian names of the months, with which he was acquainted, would be the Syromacedonian; and in this, as we have seen (p. 684), the months were pushed forward, so that Xanthicus was no longer the sixth, as in the Asiatic calendar, but the seventh. (δ) The arbitrary character of his alterations is shown in the fact that he has altogether erased the words μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, perhaps because he could not make this date fit in with the calendar with which he was acquainted, perhaps because the mode of expression would be unfamiliar to his readers.

(v) *January* 26.

This is the day assigned to Polycarp in the Latin calendars, so far back as we can trace them. We may suspect indeed that in Gaul, so long as Græco-Asiatic influences prevailed, the original day, February 23, was retained; but our knowledge here is a blank.

How January 26 came to be observed in the Latin Church will be seen from a comparison of the notices in the two old Roman Martyr-

ologies (see above, p. 554) with corresponding notices in the ancient Syriac Martyrology (see above, p. 544) which is much older than either.

(i) *Ancient Syriac Martyrology.*

Latter Kanun 27 [Jan. 27] 'In the city of Nicæa, Polycarpus.'
Shebat 23 [Febr. 23] 'In Asia, of the number of the ancient confessors, Polycarp the bishop, etc.'

(ii) *Hieronymian Martyrology.*

vii Kal. Febr. [Jan. 26] In Nicaea Smyrnae, passio sancti Polycarpi episcopi.
vii Kal. Mart. [Febr. 23] In Asia Polycarpi episcopi cum aliis duodecim martyribus. Smyrnae, S. Erotis, Carpori, etc.

(iii) *Old Roman Martyrology.*

vii Kal. Febr. [Jan. 26] S. Polycarpi, discipuli S. Joannis apostoli, apud Smyrnam passi.
vii Kal. Mart. [Febr. 23] Romae, Polycarpi presbyteri.

Here the secret is revealed. The last mentioned Polycarp is a local saint, a Roman presbyter and confessor, a companion of S. Sebastian, who was martyred under Diocletian (see Bolland *Act. Sanct.* Februarius III. p. 369). He would naturally occupy a large space in the field of view with Romans in the succeeding centuries; and, finding a Polycarp's festival in some calendar which fell into their hands, they would not unnaturally assign the day to him. But when they came afterwards to commemorate the great Polycarp of Smyrna, his day was preoccupied, and another time must be found for him. What more natural than that he should be identified with or substituted for the first person of the name who met their eye in the calendar? These substitutions and interchanges of namesakes are a very common feature in calendars, and we shall come across instances (see below, II. p. 418 sq., 428). In this way the Polycarp of Nicæa is altogether excluded in the final stage of the Roman calendar. Who he was, and when he suffered, I am unable to say. Judging from the place of martyrdom and from the fact that he is not designated an 'ancient martyr', we may infer that he suffered under one of the later heathen emperors, perhaps Diocletian. The displacement of a day (Jan. 26 for Jan. 27) is frequent in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*, as indeed elsewhere.

The first of the three Martyrologies therefore exhibits the original Eastern, the last the final Western arrangement; while the middle one presents an intermediate stage, a dissolving view where the Polycarp of Nicæa is fading away and the Polycarp of Smyrna is emerging to take his place.

It has been shown, if I mistake not, that the traditional day of the martyrdom, February 23, has the highest claims on our acceptance, and that its authority remains unshaken by any rival theories. But the difficulty of the 'great sabbath' still remains to be explained.

'The great sabbath' in the Christian Church was the Saturday intervening between Good Friday and Easter Day. As the whole week was called ἡ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς (Chrysost. *Op.* IV. p. 294), so this Saturday was τὸ μέγα σάββατον. Thus Chrysostom (*Op.* V. p. 525) writes, ὥσπερ αὕτη κεφάλαιον τῶν λοιπῶν ἑβδομάδων, οὕτως ταύτης κεφαλὴ τὸ σάββατον τὸ μέγα. So again it appears *ib.* III. p. 518 τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ, and in Pallad. *Vit. Chrysost.* 9 (*ib.* XIII. p. 33) ἐπέστη ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ ὁ σωτὴρ σταυρωθεὶς ἐσκύλευσε τὸν ᾅδην. But the expression does not seem to be found earlier than the age of Chrysostom; for in *Apost. Const.* V. 19 it occurs only in the heading of the chapter, περὶ τῆς πανυχίδος τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου, but not in the document itself. Again in *Can. Apost.* 66 εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου, καθαιρείσθω, where the day is mentioned, but not the name, its absence is surely significant. It is also a noticeable fact that neither in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (V. 18, 19, VIII. 33) nor in Eusebius (e.g. *Vit. Const.* IV. 22) nor in the *Festal Letters* of Athanasius nor in the spurious Ignatian Epistles (*Philipp.* 13), where they have occasion to refer to the day, do we find this designation, which would have been highly convenient if it had been known to the writers. There is therefore no evidence of the use of this term till more than two centuries after Polycarp's death. Nor indeed in Polycarp's age and country would it be possible; for according to Quartodeciman usage there could not be any 'great Saturday.'

The 'great sabbath' in Jewish nomenclature was different. Here it signified the sabbath preceding the Passover. See on this subject Buxtorf *Synagog. Jud.* p. 285, Pearson *Minor Works* II. p. 544, and especially Jost in Steitz *Jahrb. f. Deutsch. Theol.* 1861, p. 122. It will be seen from these sources of information that, though this designation of the Saturday preceding the Passover is conjectured to have been much older than it is known to have been, yet the direct evidence for its use is separated from the age of Polycarp by an interval as wide as that which separates the England of Alfred from the England of Victoria[1]. Under these circumstances no stress can be laid on the Jewish use of the term, more especially as it creates new difficulties when applied to the expression in the Letter of the Smyrnæans.

[1] The earliest example given by Jost belongs to the eleventh century. I have made enquiry also of Dr Schiller-Szinessy, and he knows no earlier evidence.

But it is important to observe that the words used in the Smyrnæan Letter are not *τὸ μέγα σάββατον*, but *σάββατον μέγα*. So far as I have observed, in passages where according to the later Christian usage Easter Eve is intended the definite article is always present, *τὸ μέγα σάββατον*, and sometimes is twice repeated, *τὸ σάββατον τὸ μέγα*. It is quite conceivable indeed that, as urged by Keim (p. 104) and Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXII. p. 157), the expression might ultimately assume the character of a proper name, and the definite article be dispensed with. But no example is produced; and even then I should have expected the order *μέγα σάββατον*. When the author of the *Paschal Chronicle* (c. A.D. 630) desires to make it signify the Saturday of Passion week, he deliberately substitutes *τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ* (see above, pp. 553, 660) for *σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ* of the original document. On the other hand the old Latin translators of the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* (§§ 8, 21) and of the *Acts of Pionius* (see below p. 697) both correctly translate the expression not by 'sabbatum magnum' but by 'sabbatum majus,' 'a high sabbath.'

Schürer therefore (*Passastreitigkeiten* p. 204 sq., in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1870) is justified in laying stress on the absence of the article in this case. A 'great' or a 'high sabbath' is an expression which explains itself. Such was the sabbath mentioned in Joh. xix. 31 *ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου*. Such would be any sabbath which coincided with a festival or other marked day in the Jewish calendar. There might therefore be several 'great sabbaths' in the course of a particular year. Can we determine the sabbath meant in this instance?

If Salmon's theory were correct (see above, p. 672 sq.), it would be the first sabbath in Nisan, the first sabbath in the year. We have been obliged however to abandon this theory. Volkmar (see Egli in *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* XXV. p. 246) would explain it as 'the first sabbath in the season of the Fast.' It is so called, he supposes, 'having regard to the *μεγάλη ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων*, the 15th Nisan, the first great day on which there was no more fasting.' This is the only explanation given, and I confess that I do not understand it. A far more probable solution was suggested by E. Liveley († 1605), Hebrew Professor at Cambridge. He calculated that, according to the modern Jewish calendar, in A.D. 167 the 15th Adar, or the Feast of Purim, would be a sabbath and would fall on February 22[1]. But this year for the martyrdom must be rejected,

[1] Ussher *de Maced. et Asian. Ann.* p. 367 'Juxta rationes hodierni computi Judaici, anno Mundi 3927, die 15 mensis Adar, hoc est aerae Christianae CLXVII

and moreover the great sabbath is the day not of his apprehension, but of his martyrdom, not Feb. 22, but Feb. 23. Still with the proper rectification this identification with the Feast of Purim is by far the most probable explanation of the difficulty; and, as such, is favourably entertained by Zahn (note on *Mart. Polyc.* 8). Wieseler indeed, though allowing that the term σάββατον μέγα might well be used of a sabbath which coincided with the Feast of Purim, says 'This festival could hardly fall as early as 23 February, since according to rule Nisan 15 must take place ('Statt haben sollte') after the vernal equinox.' This statement is over bold[1]. A study of the excellent article on the Jewish calendar in Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud* II. p. 608 sq., will dissipate any such confidence. It is plain that the present Jewish calendar was not introduced till long after Polycarp's time; that in his age there was no universally recognized and authoritative rule; that the calendar varied from place to place, as well as from time to time; that these fluctuations and divergences gave infinite trouble to the leading spirits among the Jews; and that conferences and journeys were undertaken again and again ineffectually in order to arrive at uniformity. It was an age of transition. The devastation of Palestine under Hadrian had made the need of a central authority at once more necessary and more difficult. The perplexities of the times affected the calendar. The old mode of regulating the months by the first appearance of the new moon had proved unsatisfactory. The need of some fixed rule was felt. As regards Proconsular Asia more especially two notices are preserved, bearing on this subject. Somewhere about the middle of the second century the famous R. Meir took up his abode in Sardis[2], where he lived until his death[3]. He there framed a system of intercalation (Talm. Babl. *Megillah* 18 b)[4]. In the first half of the third century again two other Rabbis, Chiya and Simon, made a journey

die 22 mensis Februarii, festum Purim cum die Sabbati concurrebat; quem idcirco magnum Sabbatum fuisse dictum scripsit in chronologia nondum edita vir doctissimus Edouardus Liveleius.' The work seems to remain still unpublished (MS Dubl. Univ. Libr. F. 88, 89). On this learned man and his works see Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* II. p. 407 sq. Wieseler (p. 59) calls him 'Livel'.

[1] According to Jahn's *Tafeln* (1856) the 14th Adar has with the existing Jewish calendar frequently fallen many days before Feb. 23, before the Gregorian reform of the Julian calendar.

[2] It is called 'Asia' (אסיא or עסיא); see Neubauer *Geogr. du Talmud*, p. 310.

[3] See also Hamburger *Real-Encycl.* II. p. 714 sq., s. v. Mair, R.

[4] The notice illustrates the observance of the Feast of Purim in these parts; for we are told that R. Meir, not being able to find there a roll of the Book of Esther, wrote one from memory.

to this same place; and they too are reported to have undertaken a similar reform of the calendar[1] (*Synhedrin* 26 a).

The present Jewish calendar is regulated by a cycle of nineteen years. There is every reason to believe that it was not framed before the close of the Talmudic age, and therefore not till many generations after Polycarp's time; nor indeed would it offer a solution of the problem. Yet, if at that time any cycle had been introduced, it would most probably be a period of nineteen years. This is the Metonic cycle. It had long been known in Syria and the adjacent countries. It is the simplest of application. It has ultimately triumphed over all rivals as a main element in the regulation of Easter in the Christian Church. A hypothesis, even though incapable of verification, will serve to show the possibilities of the case, which are manifold. Let us suppose then, that Rabbi Meir, when he migrated to Proconsular Asia owing to the troubles in Palestine under Hadrian, persuaded the Jews of those parts to adopt a nineteen years' cycle of his own construction; that its intercalary months were so arranged that in the year 155 the 14th or 15th Adar fell on February 23; and that this calendar continued still in use till after the middle of the third century. We might thus find an explanation of the fact that this same day of the solar calendar, which was a 'great sabbath' in A.D. 155 when Polycarp was martyred, was likewise a 'great sabbath' in A.D. 250 when Pionius was apprehended; for the interval is an exact multiple of nineteen (19×5). The Feast of Purim would on the assumed hypothesis fall on the same day in these two years. No commemoration in the Jewish calendar was so likely to excite the fanaticism of the more bigoted Jews, as we find it excited in the accounts of the last hours of Polycarp and Pionius.

But the martyrdom of Polycarp not only synchronized with a Jewish high-day. It occurred likewise during a heathen festival. What was this festival?

The three celebrations, of which we hear most at Smyrna at this epoch (though chiefly in connexion with gymnastic contests), are the games of the Asiatic Confederation (κοινὰ Ἀσίας), the Olympia (Ὀλύμπια), and the Hadrianian Olympia (Ἀδριανὰ or Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια)[2].

[1] The expression in both cases is לעבר שנה 'to intercalate a year,' but this is understood to mean 'to calculate a system of intercalation,' as I learn from Dr Schiller-Szinessy.

[2] *C.I.A.* III. 129 Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ β', Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ β', κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ (comp. ib. 127, 128), dating soon after A.D. 248; *C.I.G.* 5913 Ζμύρναν ἐ κοινὰ Ἀσίας δὶς τὸ δεύτερον στήσας τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς, ὁμοίως ἐν Ζμύρνῃ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Ἀδριάνια Ὀλύμπια. See also

At a later date a festival in honour of Commodus is added (*C. I. G.* 1720 Κομόδεια). Of these three we most naturally turn to the κοινὰ Ἀσίας—the great anniversary of Cæsar-worship—as the most renowned (see above p. 451, and below II. p. 988). The presence of both Proconsul and Asiarch suggests this occasion. The air likewise is redolent of Cæsar (§§ 8, 9, 10). We may observe also that on vii Kal. Mart., the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, the festival had been going on for some days (§ 12); and that in an inscription belonging to the neighbouring city of Ephesus dated A.D. 104 (see above, p. 665) the preceding day, viii Kal. Mart., is styled 'Augustus' Day' (Σεβαστή)[1].

ib. 3208 Σμύρναν Ὀλύμπια τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ...Σμύρναν κοινὸν Ἀσίας: comp. *ib.* 1720, where again these same two festivals are mentioned together. The Olympia and Hadrianian Olympia occur together in Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 20 (p. 70); the κοινὸν (or κοινὰ) Ἀσίας alone, *C.I.G.* 247, 2810 b Add., 3910, 5804, 5918; the Ὀλύμπια alone, *ib.* 3201; the Ἀδρ. Ὀλύμπια, *ib.* 3148.

Speaking of the honours showered upon the sophist Polemon by the Smyrnæans, Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* i. 25 § 1) writes, προκαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδριανῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔδοσαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τριήρους ἐπιβατεύειν· πέμπεται γάρ τις μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι μεταρσία τριήρης ἐς ἀγοράν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερεύς, οἷον κυβερνήτης, εὐθύνει πείσματα ἐκ θαλάττης λύουσαν. This Polemon seems to have been instrumental in establishing the Hadrianian Olympia (Boeckh *C.I.G.* II. p. 713; see above p. 451, note 5). He is also mentioned by Philostratus in connexion with the Olympia at Smyrna (*l. c.* § 9). Philostratus' account of him throws considerable light on the condition of Smyrna in the age of Polycarp. The pageant of the trireme formed part of the Dionysia (Aristid. *Op.* I. 373 ἦρος ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ Διονυσίοις τριήρης κ.τ.λ.). The Dionysia therefore took place in Anthesterion; and it is possible that Polycarp suffered during them. But 'the beginning of spring' suggests a somewhat later day than Feb. 23.

[1] The meaning of Σεβαστή is difficult to determine, and the suggestion in the text can only be taken as tentative. The following are the occurrences of the word. (α) In the Ephesian inscription, with which we are immediately concerned, it is Anthesterion 2 = viii Kal. Mart. (β) An inscription at Trajanopolis given in Lebas and Waddington no 1676 is dated ἔτους σιε', μ(ηνὸς) Δαισ[ί]ου, Σεβαστῇ ϛ'. The Syllan year 215 is A.D. 130, and therefore in the reign of Hadrian. The 6th Dæsius according to the calendar of Proconsular Asia (see above, p. 662) would be April 28; but we do not know what calendar is intended. (γ) We meet with 'Sebaste' again in two Egyptian inscriptions (*C. I. G.* 4715, 5866 c. Add.), and with 'Julia Sebaste' in a third (*C.I.G.* 4957). In 4715, belonging to the 31st year of Augustus, we have Θωῦθ Σεβαστῇ, which (if it had stood alone) would have been easily explicable, since the birthday of Augustus (Sept. 23) fell on the 26th of the month Thoth. But in Add. 5866 c, belonging to the 27th year of the same reign, we read φαρμουθ[ι] Σεβαστῇ, as if some one particular day in each month bore this name. In 4957 the date is given Γάλβα αὐτοκράτορος, φαωφὶ α', Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ. If the reckoning is according to the fixed Egyptian calendar, this would be iv Kal. Oct. (Sept. 28). This is not, as Boeckh (III. p. 451), following Letronne, supposes, the birthday of Livia, whose title was Julia Augusta. Her birthday fell towards the end of

But if there is any connexion between these two facts which I have thus put in juxtaposition, both the Olympia and the Hadrianian Olympia are excluded, as not yet existing in A.D. 104; the former having been instituted, as the inscriptions suggest, at a more recent date and probably by Hadrian's influence (see above, p. 617 sq.), the latter having been founded, as the name betokens, to commemorate this emperor either by himself or by his successor. We thus fall back once more upon the κοινὰ Ἀσίας. It should be added also that in the 'Asiatic' calendar the month Xanthicus is designated 'Hierosebastus' (see above, p. 662), thus pointing to some imperial commemoration at this season. All this however is merely tentative. We need further epigraphic aid which the discoveries of future years may afford, before we can advance beyond the region of conjecture.

On the Date of Pionius' Martyrdom.

It may be convenient, before entering on this investigation, to premise that the two years with which we are especially concerned are designated by the following consulships.

A.D. 250 { Imp. Caesar C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Augustus II.
{ .....Vettius Gratus.

A.D. 251 { Imp. Caesar C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Augustus III.
{ Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius Caesar.

See Klein *Fasti Consulares* p. 105. The latter year is sometimes designated 'duobus Deciis,' the emperor and his son being colleagues in office.

I have explained already (p. 624) the relation in which these Acts of Pionius stood to those of Polycarp in the copy used by Eusebius. The volume comprised (1) The *Letter of the Smyrnæans*, containing the

January (see *C. I. L.* VI. 2024), though I do not see why Henzen places it definitely on iii Kal. Feb. (Jan. 30).

Usener (see above, p. 661), finding the letters ΣΕΒΑΣ opposite the first day in several months in the Lycian calendar of the Leyden Hemerology, infers that the first of each month in the calendar of Proconsular Asia (corresponding always to ix Kal. of the Julian calendar) was called σεβαστή, because it was the monthly commemoration of the birthday of Augustus. This is plausible in itself; but it does not explain all the facts.

It should be mentioned that Unger (Fleckeisen's *Neue Jahrbücher* 1884, p. 569) believes that Sept. 23, as the birthday of Augustus, was according to the old Roman calendar before the Julian reform. This however is a matter of no moment for our present purpose, since confessedly after the introduction of the Julian calendar it was always celebrated on Sept. 23 of this latter.

narrative of Polycarp's martyrdom; (2) The *Acts of Pionius* and others who were martyred with him; (3) The *Acts of Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice* (see above, p. 542 sq.). Eusebius ascribed all the three to the time of M. Aurelius. In the case of the first he was not far wrong, though we have seen reasons for assigning it to the previous reign. The third seems certainly to belong to the epoch of an associated sovereignty, and may have been correctly ascribed by him to the age of M. Aurelius, who during a great part of his reign had a colleague in the empire, first his 'brother' Verus and then his son Commodus (see above, p. 625 sq.). In the second case alone Eusebius seems to have been wide of the mark. All the extant recensions of the Acts of Pionius place his martyrdom a century later, in the reign of Decius. Yet, even so, the mistake of Eusebius is explicable. *First;* these Acts at the opening speak of the celebration of Polycarp's day and might suggest to a careless reader the impression that they were contemporaneous. *Secondly;* as they were interposed between two sets of Acts both belonging to the age of the Antonines, the first impulse would be to assign them to the same age.

The *Acts of Pionius*, as hitherto published, appear only in Latin, but in two different recensions. (A) An old Latin version of Greek Acts, first published in full by Ruinart *Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 188 sq. (ed. Ratisbon.) from two Colbertine and two other MSS. Bolland (*Act. Sanct.* Febr. 1) had already given fragments of this recension from a MS of the monastery of S. Maximin at Treves. One of the Colbertine MSS is stated by Ruinart to be nearly eight hundred years old ('ad annos 800 accedit'). I have myself looked at the British Museum MS *Harl.* 2800, which contains these Acts (fol. 246 b); but its text is corrupt and of no value. (B) A modern Latin version made from 'the Metaphrast,' and published under Febr. 1 by Lipomannus (A. D. 1551 sq.) and Surius (A. D. 1570). The greater part is given likewise by Baronius *Ann. Eccles.* s. a. 254. It is reprinted in Bolland *Act. Sanct.* Februarius I. p. 37 sq. By the kindness of Dr O. von Gebhardt, who has transcribed the unpublished Greek Acts from a MS in the Library of S. Mark, Venice, *Graec.* ccclix, with a view to publication, I am enabled to give some extracts. So far as I can judge from these extracts, this seems to be the same recension from which the Latin version in Surius, Bolland, and the others is made.

Of the comparative merits of these two recensions, which I shall call A and B respectively, it would be more easy to judge if we possessed the originals. On the whole A seems to preserve the more ancient form. The chief distinguishing characteristic of B is the insertion of

some explanatory details which are wanting in A. Thus in § 3 B gives a notice about the movements of the crowd, which implies some local knowledge ('cum in forum venissent et in porticu ad orientem sita ad portam duplicem constitissent, impletum est totum forum et superiores porticus, etc.'). So again in § 9, where we are told that Sabina had been schooled by Pionius to give her name as Theodota 'ne in manus dominae impiae posset incidere,' the allusion is unexplained in A (see above, p. 623); but B inserts an explanation of which I give the original from the Venice MS: *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος πάλιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ἀνόμου Πολίττης τῆς γενομένης αὐτῆς δεσποίνης· αὕτη γὰρ ἐπὶ καιρῶν Γορδιανοῦ, βουλομένη μεταγαγεῖν τῆς πίστεως τὴν Σαβῖναν, πεδήσασα ἐξώρισεν αὐτὴν ἐν ὄρεσιν ὅπου εἶχε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια λάθρα παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σπουδὴ ἐγένετο ὥστε αὐτὴν ἐλευθερωθῆναι καὶ Πολίττης καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν κ.τ.λ.* It will be seen from these examples that the insertions of the recension B resemble in character the additions of Codex Bezæ in the Acts of the Apostles. Perhaps also they may be explained in the same way, as additions made to the original Acts of Pionius by some one who, if not an eye-witness, yet lived while the tradition was still fresh. But I would wish to speak with reserve on this point, as our published data are at present insufficient to justify a confident opinion. On the whole, as a recension, A seems to be more ancient than B, and the Latin appears to have been for the most part a very close translation from the original.

The notices then respecting the dates are as follows.

(1) *The time of the apprehension* at the opening in § 2.

(A) 'Secundo itaque die sexti mensis, qui dies est quarto Idus Martias, die sabbati majore, natale Polycarpi martyris celebrantes genuinum, Pionium, Sabinam, etc....vis persecutionis invenit.'

In the two Colbert MSS 'sexti' is omitted, probably from the inability of the scribe to understand how the Ides of March could synchronize with the 6th month.

(B) 'Vigesima tertia mensis Februarii die, cum sabbatum magnum instaret, natali scilicet beati martyris Polycarpi, vigente Decii imperatoris persecutione, Pionius presbyter et Sabina verae pietatis studiosa etc...comprehensi sunt.'

μηνὸς ἕκτου δευτέρᾳ ἐνισταμένου σαββάτου μεγάλου ἐν τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυρος Πολυκάρπου, ὄντος τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Δέκιον, συνελήφθησαν Πιόνιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ Σαβῖνα ὁμολογητρία κ.τ.λ.

(2) *The time of the martyrdom* at the close in § 23.

(A) 'Acta sunt haec sub proconsule Julio Proclo et Quintiliano, consule Imperatore Gaio Mense Quinto, Trajano Decio et Vizeto Grato, et ut Romani dicunt iv Idus Martii, et ut Asiani dicunt mense sexto, die sabbati, hora decima. Sic autem facta sunt ut nos scripsimus, imperante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

So it is read in the Colbert MSS. For 'Julio.....ut nos scripsimus' the MS S. Maximin. has 'Julio Proculo et Quintiliano C. Messio Quinto Trajano Decio, Vicio Grato, ut Romani dicunt' etc. (the rest as in the Colbert MSS); the MS of de Noailles 'Julio Proculo et Quintiliano, Gaio Messio, Quinto Trajano Decio Vitiotrato, quarto Idus Martii, die sabbati, hora decima: sunt autem facta ut scripsimus'; *Harl.* 2800 'Julio Proculo et Decio imperatore quarta Idus Martii, sexta die mensis, sabbato et hora decima' (omitting 'sic autem...scripsimus').

(B) 'Haec acta sunt Julio Asiae proconsule, Proclo et Quintiliano magistratum gerentibus, consule tertium Messio Quinto Trajano et Deltio Gratio secundum, Trajano Decio Augusto, ante iv Idus Martias more Romanorum, Asiae autem more septimi mensis undecimo, die sabbati, hora decima; ut nos autem loquimur, regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo etc.'

ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουλίου, Πρόκλου καὶ Κυντιλλιανοῦ ὑπατευόντων, αὐτοκράτορος τὸ τρίτον Μεσίου Κύντου Τραϊανοῦ καὶ Δελτίου Γρατοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Δεκίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Δελτίου Γρατοῦ τὸ δεύτερον, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἰδῶν Μαρτίων κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ δὲ Ἀσιανοὺς μηνὸς ἕκτου ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ, ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ, ὥρᾳ δεκάτῃ, κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

To these passages in the Acts should be added the notice in the *Chron. Pasch.* pp. 503, 504 (ed. Bonn.), which I will call C.

(C) *Ἰνδ. ιϑ'. α'. ὑπ. Δεκίου Καίσαρος καὶ Δεκίου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

Καὶ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας Πιόνιος σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ τῶν ἐν μαθήμασιν τοῦ Χριστιανῶν λόγου διαπρεπόντων γνωριζόμενος, ἐπὶ Πρόκλου Κυϊντιλλιανοῦ ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀσίας πρὸ δ' ἰδῶν Μαρτίων, ὅ ἐστι κατὰ Ἀσιανοὺς μηνὶ ἕκτῳ ιβ', σαββάτου ὥρᾳ δεκάτῃ.

With these data, we have to consider first the *year* and then the *day* of the martyrdom.

(1) As regards the year, there can be no doubt that A assigns it to A.D. 250. The words should doubtless be read 'Sub proconsule Julio Proclo Quintiliano, coss. Imperatore Gaio Messio Quinto Trajano Decio et Vettio Grato.' On the other hand C places it under A.D. 251, but C has tumbled about the consuls for these years in hopeless confusion. It gives the names in the following order: (i) Decius and Gratianus, i.e. Gratus (A.D. 250); (ii) Gallus and Volusianus (A.D. 252); (iii) Volusianus and Maximus (A.D. 253); (iv) Decius and Decius (A.D. 251); (v) Valerianus and Gallienus (A.D. 254). Its authority therefore is valueless. As regards B, Ussher (*de Maced. et Asian. Ann.* p. 372 sq.) considers that it originally gave the consuls of A.D. 251 in the text; that some scribe annotated in the margin those of A.D. 250 'ex fastis consularibus, qui hoc in loco sunt turbatissimi'; and that thence the note crept partially into the text and produced the confusion which we find. It should be observed that Ussher was only acquainted with B and C. Had he known A, he could not have maintained this view. If there be any interpolation from the margin such as he supposes, it

must have been the converse. The consuls of A.D. 250 must have stood in the text originally, and those of A.D. 251 have been superposed. But I do not see anything of the kind. The *τὸ τρίτον* is a mistaken interpretation of Γ, i.e. *Γαΐου*, the prænomen of Decius, which accordingly has disappeared in B, and *τὸ δεύτερον* belongs properly to the senior consul, the emperor himself; but as he was already provided with a number *τὸ τρίτον* in the way which I have explained, it was necessary to transfer *τὸ δεύτερον* to his junior colleague. The younger Decius however, the son Herennius Etruscus, was never consul more than once. The rest of the confusion is explained by a careless repetition of names. The year of the martyrdom therefore is A.D. 250. This year moreover, as I have shown (see above, p. 693), offers an explanation of the 'great sabbath', which it is impossible to explain if the year 251 be taken.

(2) When we come to consider the day, we must keep apart two distinct dates; (*α*) The day of the apprehension, and (*β*) The day of the martyrdom.

(*α*) As regards the day of the apprehension, C affords no aid. But comparing A and B together, we can be at no loss as to the original. It stood *μηνὸς ἕκτου δευτέρᾳ ἐνισταμένου σαββάτου μεγάλου, ἐν τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυρος Πολυκάρπου κ.τ.λ.*; or perhaps we should read *δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ κ.τ.λ.*, which may be compared with the date given in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom *Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου...σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ*. The explanatory Roman date found only in the Latin of A, 'qui dies est quarto Idus Martias' [March 12], is obviously an interpolation from the end of the Acts where it gives the day of the martyrdom. The day of the apprehension then was Febr. 23. The *genuinum natale* of the Latin is probably a translation of the simple *γενέθλιος ἡμέρα* of the Greek. The Roman emperors had two birthdays, the 'imperii natalis' and the 'lucis natalis,' the day of their accession and the day of their natural birth, the latter being called also 'genuinus' or 'genethliacus' (see Gothofred *Cod. Theod.* I. p. 143, II. p. 156). As applied to a martyr, his 'genuinus natalis' is the day of his martyrdom, which was his birth into the heavenly light. The word therefore does not contain any suggestion of a previous error in the time of keeping Polycarp's festival, as we might suppose at first sight.

In the year A.D. 250 the second of the sixth month (Xanthicus), February 23, was a Saturday, as it was in A.D. 155, the year of Polycarp's martyrdom. In A the expression *σάββατον μέγα* is correctly translated 'sabbatum majus,' not 'magnum', as I have already pointed out. The

translator did not confuse it with '*the* great sabbath' of later Christian nomenclature. Probably, as on the actual day of Polycarp's martyrdom, so also on this commemoration the Feast of Purim fell on this day, and hence the name. Reasons have been given above (p. 692 sq.) for the surmise that a nineteen years' cycle prevailed in Asia Minor at this time; so that the Jewish festivals would recur on exactly the same days of the year in A.D. 250 as in A.D. 155. This, so far as it goes, is a confirmation not only of the veracity of the accounts both of Polycarp and of Pionius, but also of the particular years which we have assigned on other grounds to the two martyrdoms[1].

(*β*) The day of the martyrdom is given in all our authorities as iv Id. Mart. (i.e. March 12). Moreover, as we have already seen, this date has from this passage crept into the opening of the narrative likewise. The evidence therefore in its favour is very considerable. This point then we must regard as settled. A period of seventeen days would thus have elapsed between the capture and the martyrdom. This is an interval long enough, and not too long, for the incidents as given in the Acts. In the corresponding 'Asiatic' date there are great discrepancies. In the Greek of B it is given as ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ, the 19th. A glance at the calendar given above (p. 663) will show that this is correct; for iv Id. Mart. there corresponds to Xanthicus 19. Moreover the date in the corresponding Latin of B, 'undecimo,' is explicable. Some letters have dropped out either in the Greek (ἐν[νεακαι]δεκάτῃ, and so ἑνδεκάτῃ) or in the Latin ('unde[vi]c[es]imo, and so 'undecimo'). In A the number of the day is altogether omitted, probably because the translator or the scribe could not reconcile it with any calendar with which he was acquainted. In C we have the substitution ιβ'. This may be an error of transcription; but I am disposed to think that it is a deliberate substitution in accordance with the Syromacedonian calendar of the fourth and later centuries (see above, p. 685), where the Syromacedonian months ran *pari passu* with the Julian. In the Menæa the day of Pionius is March 11. This may be an accidental displacement of one day (which is not unfrequent), or it may have arisen out of the false reading ἑνδεκάτῃ already mentioned. As regards the number of the month, A and C agree with the Greek of B in ἕκτῳ, as indeed the corresponding Latin date requires. The Latin of B alone reads the

[1] Following his theory (see above, p. 683) that Polycarp's day was a moveable feast, and adopting the year 251, Ussher (p. 372) finds that the Saturday before the Passover in this year was March 22, and on this day therefore he places the apprehension of Pionius. But to do this he is obliged to reject both the Asiatic and the Roman dating and retains only the σάββατον μέγα.

7th, 'septimo.' I suppose that this is an error of some Latin scribe, vii for vi. Noris (*De Ann. Maced.* p. 31) says 'Unius literae variatione, ἕπτῳ for ἕκτῳ, mensis *sextus* in *septimum*...mutatus fuit.' It is barely possible perhaps that the Latin translator might have supposed that ἕπτος was a good Greek word (for ἕβδομος), but he has done nothing to deserve this imputation of ignorance. Another possible explanation would be that Xanthicus was the 7th month in the calendar (see above, p. 685) of some Greek scribe, who altered it accordingly.

But what are we to say of σαββάτῳ? March 12 was not a Saturday either in A.D. 250 or in A.D. 251. The Saturdays in A.D. 250 were Feb. 23 (vii Kal. Mart.), March 2 (vi Non. Mart.), March 9 (vii Id. Mart.), March 16 (xvii Kal. Apr.). No explanation therefore is possible, based on an erroneous transcription of the Roman date. It remains that σαββάτῳ must be an interpolation here. This is also Noris's view (p. 31)[1]. Just as we saw that the Roman date, iv Id. Mart., was interpolated in the earlier part of the narrative from the later, so conversely the 'sabbath' is interpolated in the later part from the earlier. Everything in the narrative points to a sabbath as the day of the apprehension, but nothing there suggests a sabbath as the day of the actual martyrdom.

We may therefore with some confidence restore the chronological notice at the close of the Acts of Pionius as follows;

Ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου [τῆς Ἀσίας] Ἰουλίου Πρόκλου Κοϊντιλλιανοῦ, ὑπατευόντων [αὐτοκράτορος] Γαΐου Μεσσίου Κοΐντου Τραϊανοῦ Δεκίου [Σεβαστοῦ] τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Οὐεττίου Γράτου, πρὸ τεσσάρων εἰδῶν Μαρτίων κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ δὲ Ἀσιανοὺς μηνὸς ἕκτου ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥρᾳ δεκάτῃ, κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.

'These things happened when Julius Proculus Quintilianus was proconsul [of Asia], in the consulship of [Imperator] Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius [Augustus] for the second time and Vettius Gratus, according to Roman reckoning on the 4th before the Ides of March, according to Asiatic reckoning on the 19th day of the sixth month, at the tenth hour, but according to the reckoning of us (Christians) in the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.'

Aubé (*L'Église et l'État* p. 142, 1885) writes; 'It is certain that the Greek Acts which Eusebius had before his eyes did not contain either the name of the proconsul who judged Pionius or the name of the emperor Trajanus Decius, both of them given in the Latin works.' I do not feel so sure on this point. As regards the proconsul's name, I have

[1] He says 'utrobique', 'in both places'; but in the earlier passage, where it is the day of the apprehension, a sabbath is altogether in its place, as we have seen.

already given reasons why it might have been read by Eusebius without suggesting a date (p. 620). The case of the emperor's name is different. Clearly it cannot have stood in the forefront (§ 2), as it does in B, τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Δέκιον. But its absence in A shows that the mention of the name here in B is a later addition. If however it occurred only in the chronological note at the end, it might possibly have escaped his notice, more especially if αὐτοκράτορος and Σεβαστοῦ were wanting in his copy, as they are in some of ours. Zahn apparently considers that Eusebius was correct in ascribing the martyrdom of Pionius to the age of Polycarp and not to that of Decius (see Harnack *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* II. p. 81). He therefore looks upon the present *Acts of Pionius* as interpolated since the time of Eusebius (Ign. et Polyc. *Epist.* pp. l, 164, 165). But the characteristics of the age of Decius (the prominence of the sects for instance) seem to me to be woven into the very texture of these Acts; and I cannot conceive any scheme of interpolation which would bring them into harmony with the times of M. Aurelius and yet preserve anything worth preserving. I am constrained therefore to hold Eusebius guilty of an error in this case.

The Western Churches keep the day of Pionius on Febr. 1st, and this is found as early as the *Old Roman Martyrology* (see above, p. 554). But the *Hieronymian Martyrology* preserves traces of the correct day. Under iv Id. Mart. we read 'Smyrnae Pionis Metrodi' [l. Pionii, Metrodori]; though under Kal. Feb. we find the name 'Poenis' [Pionii] twice, and in conjunction with a Polycarpus (see above, p. 554). There seems therefore to be a confusion of two persons bearing the name; and Feb. 1st would belong originally not to the Smyrnæan martyr, but to his namesake.

IMPERIAL FASTI.

A.D. 117. ACCESSION OF HADRIAN (August 11). His name becomes Imp. Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus.

A.D. 136. L. Ceionius Commodus Verus adopted *Caesar* (before August 29). His name becomes L. Aelius Caesar.

A.D. 138. L. Aelius Caesar dies (January 1). T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus adopted *Caesar* (February 25). His name becomes T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus.

He himself adopts M. Annius Verus and L. Ceionius Commodus (the son of the above-mentioned). They become M. Aelius Aurelius Verus and L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus.

ACCESSION OF T. ANTONINUS on the death of Hadrian (July 10). His imperial name is Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius.

A.D. 147. M. Aurelius receives *the tribunician power* (before March 17).

A.D. 161. ACCESSION OF M. AURELIUS on the death of Antoninus Pius (March 7). His imperial title is Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus.

L. AELIUS is associated in the empire, and becomes Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Verus Augustus.

A.D. 166. L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, the son of Marcus, is made *Caesar* (Oct. 12).

A.D. 169. DEATH OF L. VERUS (January). M. Aurelius is now sole emperor.

A.D. 176. L. AURELIUS COMMODUS is associated with his father in the empire at the end of this year or the beginning of the next. His name is Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Commodus Augustus.

A.D. 180. DEATH OF M. AURELIUS (March 17), when Commodus becomes sole emperor. His name is changed into Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus; but the change of the prænomen from Lucius to Marcus is not constant.

A MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE EPISTLES OF S. IGNATIUS.



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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 18, l. 29. A fresh illustration of this jealousy of clubs or guilds on the part of the authorities appears in an inscription published *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. p. 506 (1883) *ὅθεν ἀπαγορεύω μήτε συνέρχεσθαι τοὺς ἄρτοκ[ό]πους κατ' ἑταιρίαν μήτε προεστηκότας θρασύνεσθαι κ.τ.λ.*

p. 31, l. 3. On this antiphonal singing see Hooker's *Works* II. p. 164 sq.

p. 74, l. 6. For 'thirteen' it should probably be 'twelve,' since the Epistle to the Philippians may have been omitted, as in the corresponding Latin Version (see p. 81).

p. 80, l. 5. Since this sheet was printed, Funk has collated the MS *Caiensis*, and gives the results in an appendix to his *Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe* p. 141 sq. (1883). He has corrected many errors of his predecessors, but has failed to observe (see p. 144, l. 5) that this MS contains an explicit notice of its date.

p. 81, l. 15. Mr R. L. Bensly has sent me the following extract from the *Liber Bursarii* 1609—1634 of Gonville and Caius College: 'Ad Festum Mich. 1631'; 'Item to S^r^ [i.e. Dominus] Younger for wrighting out Ignatius Epistles and a Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library, xiii^s^. 4^d^.' This agrees with Ussher's date. This W. Younger is described in 1632 as 'prius scholaris et bibliothecarius hujus collegii.'

p. 83, l. 6. In a series of interesting letters in the *Academy* XX. pp. 10, 53, 404 (July—December, 1881), published since this sheet passed out of my hands, the late Rev. J. H. Backhouse has given reasons for believing that this MS, with others, was taken to Italy by Mountague's chaplain Mileson, who became a Jesuit.

p. 101, l. 5. These Copto-Thebaic fragments have since been published with a translation in *Anal. Spicil. Solesm.* IV. pp. 255, 277 (comp. p. viii), being edited by Ciasca. My own transcript was made many years ago, and I have had no opportunity of collating it since. I see that my text differs in several places from Ciasca's. See the *Additions and Corrections* to the second volume.

p. 102, l. 14. Since this sheet was printed off, Funk's second volume has appeared (1881), containing a new collation of *Monacensis*. I have not compared it with my own.

p. 110, l. 30. Funk has procured from Bryennios a collation of the manuscript *Constantinopolitanus* also.

p. 112, l. 16. Cureton (*Vind. Ign.* p. 13), apparently misunderstanding Hammond, says that Ussher took his text from Vedelius.

p. 115, l. 28. It has since been examined by Funk *Patr. Apost.* II. p. xxix.

p. 118, l. 21. Since this sheet was printed off, Lagarde's volume *Die Lateinischen Uebersetzungen des Ignatius* has appeared (1882). It contains (with other matter) new collations of *Regin.* 81 and *Palatin.* 150.

p. 129, l. 2. For other parallels in this Letter of the Smyrnæans see below, p. 329.

p. 133, l. 30. For other parallels in the Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons see below, p. 330.

p. 134, l. 30. Zahn's second part of his *Forsch. zur Gesch. des Neutest. Kanons*, containing *Der Evangelien-commentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*, has since appeared (1883). It has been answered by Harnack *Texte u. Untersuchungen* I. iv. p. 97 sq. In the Brussels MS 9850—9852 a prologue is prefixed to this commentary, describing it as a compilation from various quarters. Zahn has replied to Harnack, *Nachträge zu Theophilus* p. 198 sq., in his *Forsch. zur Gesch. des Neutest. Kan.* III. He considers the prologue of the Brussels MS not to be genuine.

p. 135, l. 29. Add also to these references in the *Acts of Perpetua* etc. § 5 'nos

non in nostra potestate constitutos esse sed in Dei' (comp. *Polyc.* 7 *χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει*).

p. 168, l. 7. There can hardly be a doubt that the author was Timotheus Ælurus, though Churton (Pearson *Vind. Ign.* p. 98 sq.) following the *Quarterly Review* (see Cureton *Vind. Ign.* p. 49) ascribes it to a later Alexandrian patriarch (A.D. 519—535) of the same name.

p. 231, l. 4. After my account of this controversy had passed through the press, Mark Pattison's instructive volume on *Milton* appeared. He represents the matter in quite a different light (p. 75);

"The incident of this collision between Milton, young and unknown, and the venerable prelate whom he was assaulting with the rude wantonness of untempered youth, deserves to be mentioned here. Ussher had incautiously included the Ignatian epistles among his authorities. This laid the most learned man of his day at the mercy of an adversary of less learning than himself. Milton, who at least knew so much suspicion of the genuineness of these remains as Casaubon's *Exercitations on Baronius* and Vedelin's [Vedelius'?] edition (Geneva, 1623) could tell him, pounced upon this critical flaw, and delightedly denounced in trenchant tones this 'Perkin Warbeck of Ignatius', and the 'supposititious offspring of some dozen epistles'. This rude shock it was which set Ussher upon a more careful examination of the Ignatian question. The result was his well-known edition of Ignatius, printed 1642, though not published till 1644" etc.

This representation is inconsistent with the dates. I have shown (p. 229 sq.) that Ussher, at least as early as 1631, had seen the true solution of the Ignatian question; that some years before the date of Milton's tract (1641) he had declared his intention of publishing Ignatius; that in the treatise, which Milton attacks, he had carefully confined his quotations to those parts of which he was prepared to maintain the genuineness; and that so far from detecting a critical flaw in Ussher, Milton, led astray by his reticence, had exposed himself to attack. But Ussher from his lofty vantage ground could afford to be generous, and he appears never to have retaliated on his gifted youthful assailant.

p. 233, l. 11. Ussher was probably put on the scent of the Medicean MS by the Ignatian quotations in Turrianus whom he mentions. I have observed the following quotations from the Medicean MS in this writer; *Adv. Magd. Cent. pro Can. Apost.* (Coloniae 1573) iv. 5 (p. 433) 'Credite in dilectione' from *Philad.* 9; *ib.* iv. 7 (p. 442) 'Sic fides est *ἀναγωγεὺς ἡμῶν*...Dilectio vero est *ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς θεόν*', from *Ephes.* 9. This latter quotation is given likewise in *Dogmat. de Justif.* fol. 38 a (Romae 1557). In *Adv. Magd. Cent.* etc. ii. 10 (p. 203) the MS is mentioned by name; 'Hoc solum admonere volui, in exemplari vetustissimo et emendatissimo bibliothecae Mediceae Florentinae, non *Ἀνακλήτῳ* sed *Λήνῳ* [misprinted *Δήνῳ*] esse,' a reference to *Ign. Mar.* 4. Though Turrianus praises the Medicean MS for its correctness, he failed to see that it contained the key to the solution of the Ignatian question.

p. 250, l. 33. Harnack has recently (1884) attempted to revive Ussher's theory of the identity of the author (or rather interpolator) of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the Ignatian Epistles, but places him as early as A.D. 340—380 (*Texte u. Untersuch.* II. ii. p. 244 sq.). My reasons for adopting a different view are given in the text.

p. 276, l. 30. I am afraid there is no authority for regarding Pamphilus as a personal friend of Origen, of whom he was a devoted admirer.

p. 315, l. 2. The work of Funk *Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe* (Tübingen, 1883) had not reached my hands when this chapter was sent to the press. The case in favour of the Ignatian Epistles is stated with his characteristic good sense.

p. 347, l. 3. See for instance the case of Bradford in Foxe's *Martyrs* VII. p. 196.

p. 351, l. 1. Information respecting the distances on these two roads will be found in papers by Prof. W. M. Ramsay in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* II. p. 44 sq., IV. p. 337. From this information it would appear that from Laodicea on the Lycus where the two routes diverge, the lengths of the successive stages in Roman miles by either road are as follows:

		LAODICEA.		
6	Hierapolis		Antiochia	31
12	Tripolis		Tralles	45
34	Philadelphia		Magnesia	17
25	Sardis		Ephesus	15
63		SMYRNA.		44
160				152

The distance between Sardis and Smyrna (63 miles) has been furnished to me by Prof. Ramsay as an approximate estimate. The railway is much longer.

If these calculations be correct, the route which the delegates of the Churches would take is a few miles shorter than that of Ignatius, and they might have arrived at Smyrna before him, even if he had not stayed, as he certainly did for an appreciable time, at Philadelphia on the way.

p. 376, l. 38. After this portion relating to the ministry was printed off, the remarkable document entitled Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων was given to the world by Bryennios (1884). It seems to me to confirm very strongly the historical views put forward by me in the essay 'On the Christian Ministry' to which I have here referred. Nor does it necessitate any modification of what I have written in this discussion on the genuineness of the Epistles of Ignatius. As I stated briefly in a paper read at the Carlisle Church Congress (1884), the indications in the Διδαχὴ seem to me to point to a very early age. Among those who maintain the opposite view, the most thorough and learned discussion is that of Harnack (*Texte u. Untersuchungen* II. ii. p. 63 sq.), who places it between A.D. 135 (A.D. 140) and A.D. 165 (p. 159). Yet it seems not a little strange to assign to a document, of which he himself says (p. 101) that the ecclesiastical organization more closely resembles that of S. Paul in the Epistle to the Corinthians than that 'of the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians', a date bordering close upon the age of Irenæus. The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written A.D. 57, i.e. nearly a century before the medium date (A.D. 150) between the limits which he allows to the Διδαχή. The great work of Irenæus was written during the episcopate of Eleutherus (A.D. 175–189) and therefore forty years later at the outside. On what conceivable grounds of reason or experience can we suppose that the development of the Church was so very slow during that preceding century, and so exceptionally fast during these succeeding decades? It still appears to me that the indications in the Διδαχή point to the later decades of the first century; though a little more latitude may be allowed, if it emanated from Egypt, where the progress of ecclesiastical organization was apparently slower than elsewhere. The passage however (§ 9), which speaks of the corn, from which the eucharistic bread is made as having 'been scattered *on the mountains*', seems fatal to Egypt as its locality. I find that Sabatier (*La Didache* p. 165, Paris 1885) places it even earlier than I had ventured to do, and dates it about the middle of the first century 'before the great missionary journeys of Paul'.

p. 399, l. 10. See more on the subject of this term 'Catholic' below, p. 605 sq.

p. 613, l. 10. The inscriptions here numbered (2), (3), (4), have been published, since this sheet was struck off, in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies*

I. p. 100 sq. (1885), an article entitled *Inscriptions of Tralleis* by Dr J. R. Sterrett, supplemented by Prof. W. M. Ramsay. The error with respect to inscription (8), which I have pointed out (p. 616), is there tacitly corrected by Dr Sterrett. I am much pleased to know that Prof. Ramsay arrives at the same solution, with regard to the Asiarchate of Philip in connexion with the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, which had commended itself to me, and which I have set forth in the text.

p. 623, l. 12. See below, p. 697.

p. 625, l. 17. Aubé has since reprinted these Acts in his last volume *L'Église et l'État dans la seconde moitié du iii^e siècle* p. 499 sq. (1885). He still places these martyrdoms in the reign of Decius.

p. 636, l. 11. I should have added that Pearson's date can now be shown to be wrong. The proconsul of Asia in February 147 was not Statius Quadratus, but Atilius Maximus, as appears from the inscription *C. I. G.* 3176; see the note on p. 641, and comp. Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 212 sq.

p. 671, l. 19. It is clear however from a comparison of Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 373 (ed. Dind.) ἦρος ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ Διονυσίοις τριήρης ἱερὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ φέρεται κύκλῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς with Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 25 πέμπεται γάρ τις μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι μεταρσία τριήρης κ.τ.λ. (quoted above, p. 694, note), that the Dionysia at Smyrna fell in the month Anthesterion and at the very beginning of spring. This would not suit April 6. The month Anthesterion in these parts began on Feb. 21, being synonymous with Xanthicus (see above, pp. 662, 667). Nor indeed could so late a date as April 6 well be called ἦρος ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ in these latitudes.

Wieseler assumes that in these two passages the 'Lesser Dionysia' are meant, whereas in Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 527 γιγνόμεθα ἐν Σμύρνῃ Διονυσίοις he supposes the Greater Dionysia to be spoken of. But this is quite arbitrary. It does not follow that there were any Lesser Dionysia at Smyrna because they existed at Athens; and, if the lesser festival had been meant, it would hardly have been styled Διονύσια simply.

p. 678, l. 18. Droysen (*Hermes* XV. p. 363 sq. 1880) adduces the inscription which I have quoted (p. 665) from Wood's *Ephesus*, as showing that a lunar calendar still prevailed there, and as proving that the 'Ephesian' Calendar of the *Hemerology* is false in all points. As regards the lunar calendar, the only facts which he alleges are the retention of the old Ionian names of the months and the word ἱσταμένου. Both these tests I have shown to be fallacious. As regards the second point, the assumed disproval of the 'Ephesian' calendar, I can only say that to my mind it is a most valuable confirmation of the correctness of this and the closely allied 'Asiatic' Calendar. It does indeed show that, so far as concerns the *names* of the months, the Ephesians used the old Ionian nomenclature at least for municipal purposes in preference to the Macedonian; but it strikingly confirms the structure of these calendars. The three points are these; (1) That according to these calendars the second of the month would correspond to viii Kal.; (2) That these calendars commenced with the autumnal equinox; and (3) That Anthesterion is the sixth month, so that 2nd Anthesterion would be viii Kal. Mart., as it is here represented. This cannot reasonably be regarded as an accident. Nor is it easy consistently with known facts in Proconsular Asia to conceive a lunar calendar which would produce such a coincidence.

But even if it could be shown that the retention of these Ionian names was bound up with a lunar calendar, the fact that in the account of Polycarp's Martyrdom not the Ionian name (Anthesterion) but the Macedonian (Xanthicus) is used would point only the more directly to a solar calendar.

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